

Sacris Erudiri
Journal of Late Antique and Medieval Christianity

Sacris Erudiri
Journal of Late Antique and Medieval Christianity

Founded by Dom Eligius Dekkers († 1998)

Editorial Board

R. Beyers G. Declercq M. Lamberigts B. Meijns
G. Partoens P. Van Deun P. Van Nuffelen W. Verbaal

Editor-in-Chief

J. Leemans

Publishing Manager

B. Janssens

Advisory Board

P. Allen P. Bourgain H. Brandenburg M. Bruun Birkedal
M. Cacouros M. Cassin G. Constable G. Di Maria
G. Dinkova-Bruun Fr. Dolbeau U. Kindermann C. H. Kneepkens
M. Lapidge E. A. Matter Ch. Mériaux B. Neil
D. Ó Cróinín G. Quicke E. Rose P. Stotz J. Van Engen

All correspondence should be addressed to the Editor-in-Chief:

Prof. Dr. Johan Leemans
KU Leuven , Faculteit Theologie en Religiewetenschappen
OE Geschiedenis van Kerk en Theologie
Ch. Deberiotstraat 26 – bus 3101
B-3000 Leuven (Belgium)
johan.leemans@theo.kuleuven.be

Sacris Erudiri publishes articles in all major European languages.
Norms for publication are available at www.corpuschristianorum.org/series/se.html
This journal does not publish any reviews.

Subscriptions and back issues should be ordered directly from the publisher.

Sacris Erudiri

Journal of Late Antique and Medieval Christianity

LVI
2017

BREPOLS

Published with the financial support of
“Encyclopédie bénédictine”

Sacris Erudiri is indexed or abstracted in (inter alia) the printed
(and where appropriate, electronic) bibliographies of *Index Religiosus*, *ATLA*,
L'Année philologique, *Revue des d'Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques*, *Analecta Bollandiana*,
the *International Medieval Bibliography* and *Medioevo Latino*

© 2017, Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, Belgium

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise,
without the prior permission of the publisher.

D/2017/0095/295
ISBN 978-2-503-57228-4
DOI 10.1484/J.SE.5.114768
ISSN 0771-7776
eISSN 2295-9025

Table of Contents

Mark DELCOGLIANO, Basil of Caesarea's Homily <i>On Psalm 115</i> (CPG 2910): Origen and Anti-Eunomian Polemic	7
Luis Josué SALÉS, Can These Bones Live? Gregory of Nyssa's Appropriation of Aristotelian Psychology in <i>On the Soul and the Resurrection</i>	33
François DOLBEAU, Deux sermons d'Augustin pour des fêtes de martyrs. Édition critique des s. 285 et 306	65
Richard W. BISHOP & Nathalie RAMBAULT, Severian of Gabala, <i>In ascensionem et in principium Actorum</i> (CPG 4187). Introduction and Critical Edition	113
Jean-Marie OLIVIER, À propos du «Grand commentaire» d'Hésychius de Jérusalem (CPG 6554) au Psaume 71	237
Ryan W. STRICKLER, A Dispute in Dispute: Revisiting the <i>Disputatio cum Pyrrho</i> Attributed to Maximus the Confessor (CPG 7698)	243
Pietro PODOLAK, Per una futura edizione di Ugo Eteriano: censimento della tradizione manoscritta e problemi di cronologia. Con un'appendice sui codici che conservano i frammenti greci di Alessandra BUCOSSÌ	273
Pablo ACOSTA-GARCÍA, "Notez bien, bonnes pucelles": A Complete Transcription of the French and Continental Latin Annotations of <i>The Mirror of Simple Souls</i>	347
Techniques of Compilation in Late Ancient and Medieval Historiography Edited by P. VAN NUFFELEN, E. DELACENSERIE, P. MANAFIS	
Introduction	393
Alexander MEEUS, Compilation or Tradition? Some Thoughts on the Methods of Historians and Other Scholars in Anti-quity	395

Emerance DELACENSERIE, Beyond the Compilation. The Two <i>Historiae Tripartitae</i> of Theodore Lector and Cassiodorus ...	415
Marianna MAZZOLA, A “Woven-Texture” Narration: On the Compilation Method of the Syriac Renaissance Chronicles (Twelfth-Thirteenth Centuries).....	445
Stephen H. RAPP JR., The Making of <i>K‘art‘lis c‘xovreba</i> , the So-Called Georgian Chronicles	465

Basil of Caesarea's Homily *On Psalm 115* (*CPG* 2910): Origen and Anti-Eunomian Polemic

Mark DELCOGLIANO

(*St. Paul*)

One of the odd features of Basil's homily *On Psalm 115* (= *Ps115*) is its lack of thematic unity.¹ It jumps from subject to subject seemingly with-

¹ Psalm 115 according to the LXX enumeration. This homily has been somewhat neglected because Julien Garnier, the editor of the 1721-1730 Maurist edition of Basil's *Opera omnia*, placed it among the works falsely ascribed to Basil; on this edition, see P. J. FEDWICK, *Bibliotheca Basiliana Vniversalis* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), i.272-289 (hereafter = *BBV*). De Sinner's reprint of the Maurist edition in 1839 is considered the best from a technical standpoint; see FEDWICK, *BBV* ii.291-294. In this reprint edition, *Ps115* appears in vol. I, p. 525-532. When the Maurist edition was reprinted by J. P. Migne (see *PG* 30.104-116), several errors were introduced. Garnier's assessment can be found in De Sinner, vol. I p. xxxv-xxxvi (= *PG* 29.cxcvi). The ubiquity of Migne has allowed Garnier's judgment about the dubious authenticity of this homily to endure until the present. For example, it was considered inauthentic by B. JACKSON, "Prolegomena: Sketch of the Life and Works of Saint Basil," *NPNF* ii.8, xiii-lxxvii at xxxii; J. TIXERONT, *A Handbook of Patrology* (St. Louis / London: Herder, 1920), 171; B. ALTANER, *Patrology* (Freiburg: Herder, 1960), 339; and J. QUASTEN, *Patrology*, Vol. 3 (Westminster, Maryland, Newman Press, 1960), 218. M. GEERARD, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Volumen II. Ab Athanasio ad Chrysostomum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974), 166, ranked it among the Basilian *dubia*, though the 1998 *CPG Supplementum* (ed. M. GEERARD and J. NORET) drops this classification. Most significantly, perhaps, *Ps115* was omitted in the only English translation of the homilies on the psalms: A. C. WAY, *Saint Basil: Exegetic Homilies*, FOTC 46 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1963). But because *Ps115* is widely attested in manuscripts of Basil's homilies, Jean Gribomont thought it should be seen as an authentic work of Basil (*In Tomum 30 Patrologiae graecae ed editionem operum Sancti Basilii Magni Adnotationes* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1960), 3). J. BERNARDI, P. J. FEDWICK, and M. GIRARDI have agreed with Gribomont's assessment; see, respectively, *La prédication des Pères cappadociens. Le prédicateur et son auditoire* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1968), 22-23; "A Chronology of the Life and Works of Basil of Caesarea," in IDEM, ed., *Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic. A Sixteenth-Hundredth Anniversary Symposium* (Toronto: The Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), 3-19 at 10; and *Basilio di Cesarea interprete della Scrittura. Lessico, principi ermeneutici, prassi* (Bari: Epipuglia, 1998), 193. More recently, Fedwick has confirmed that the homily is widely attested in manuscripts of Basil's homilies (*BBV* ii.1039-1041). And so, today nothing within the homily itself nor within the manuscript tradition suggests that Basil is not its author. An English translation of this homily, along with a brief discussion of its contents, authenticity, and date, can be

out a thread connecting the parts. This is all the more surprising since in general Basil's homilies are well-organized pieces of rhetoric. This is even true of his other fourteen homilies on psalms, in which Basil manages to present a cohesive teaching in spite of his similar use of the verse-by-verse exegetical method.² This odd feature of the homily can be explained: the frequent changes of subject are the consequence of Basil drawing upon Origen's interpretation of Psalm 115, which itself is a little disjointed, and combining this with an anti-Eunomian polemic, though neither Origen nor Eunomius is mentioned by name. Basil has used Origen's exegesis of Psalm 115 as the structural foundation of his homily and then in places developed this into an attack on his opponent, Eunomius. Indeed, in *On Psalm 115* we find a unique polemical construction of Eunomius on the part of Basil that complements the depiction of his opponent in other works. We see in this homily, then, a fine example of Basil deploying resources from the tradition in response to contemporary challenges.

We do not possess from Origen a homily or commentary on Psalm 115, but his interpretation can be reconstructed from three distinct sources. First, Origen comments upon selected verses of the psalm in a number of his extant works. His most extensive discussion is found in his *Commentarii in epistolam ad Romanos* (= *Rom*), which survives only in the Latin translation by Rufinus. In the course of his interpretation of Romans 3:4, which Origen sees as a reformulation of Ps 115:2, he gives a detailed exegesis of the first four verses of the psalm.³ In his *Exhortatio ad martyrium* (= *Mart*) he interprets Psalm 115:3-6 in relation to martyrdom.⁴ Several other works as well contain comments on verses of Psalm 115 that are use-

found in M. DELCOGLIANO, *St Basil the Great: On Christian Doctrine and Practice*, Popular Patristics Series 47 (Yonkers: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2012), 211-226 (= hereafter *SVS*).

² There are fifteen homilies on the psalms considered authentically Basilian, on the following psalms: 1, 7, 14, 28, 29, 32, 33, 44, 45, 48, 59, 61, 114, and 115. There are two homilies on Psalm 14. See *BBV* ii for details.

³ *Rom* 2.10 HB, 189-259 / 2.14.18-21 PGS. Edition: C. P. HAMMOND BÄMMEL, *Der Römerbriefkommentar des Origenes: Kritische Ausgabe der Übersetzung Rufinus. Buch 1-3* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1990). The chapter enumerations of Hammond Bammel's edition differ from those used in *PG* 14.831-1293. In his English translation, T. P. SCHECK, *Origen: Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. Books 1-5*, The Fathers of the Church 103 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2001), employs the enumeration used in *PG* and helpfully further subdivides each chapter into numbered paragraphs. Thus references to *Rom* are made in two ways: according to Hammond Bammel (= HB) and according *PG* and Scheck (= PGS).

⁴ *Mart* 28-29. Edition: P. KOETSCHAU, *Origenes Werke I*, GCS 2 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1899), 3-47.

ful for retrieving Origen's interpretation.⁵ Second, a number of fragments on Psalm 115 attributed to Origen are found in the catena.⁶ Because the authenticity of these fragments is not assured, I use them with caution and never as the sole evidence for Origen's influence on Basil. In many cases, however, the interpretations contained in the fragments echo the interpretations elaborated in Origen's undisputed works. Third, Origen's interpretation of Psalm 115 can be retrieved from Jerome's tractate on this psalm.⁷ In 1980 Vittorio Peri made a compelling case that Jerome's *Tractatus in Psalmos* (= *Tract*) are actually Latin adaptations of authentic homilies of

⁵ Among others mentioned below, these include the *Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei* (= *Matt*) and the *Commentariorum series in evangelium Matthaei* (= *Ser*). Editions: E. KLOSTERMANN and E. BENZ, eds, *Origenes Werke X. Origenes Matthäuseklärung I: Die griechisch erhaltenen Tomoi*, GCS 40 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1935); E. KLOSTERMANN, E. BENZ, and U. TREU, eds, *Origenes Werke XI. Origenes Matthäuseklärung II: Die lateinische Übersetzung der Commentariorum series*, 2nd ed., GCS 38 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1976); E. KLOSTERMANN and E. BENZ, eds, *Origenes Werke XII. Origenes Matthäuseklärung III,1: Fragmente und Indices*, GCS 41/1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1941); and E. KLOSTERMANN, L. FRÜCHTEL, and U. TREU, eds, *Origenes Werke XII. Origenes Matthäuseklärung III,2: Fragmente und Indices*, 2nd ed., GCS 41/2 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1968).

⁶ I will use the following designations for the fragments: **Fragment I** = J. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, Tome 2, Patres Antenicani (Tusculanis, 1884), 339-340 (lines 1-4 = J. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, Tome 3: Patres antenicani (Venetiis, 1883), 236, lines 13-16); **Fragment II** = PG 12:1576c2-7 = R. CADIOU, *Commentaires inédits des Psaumes. Etude sur les textes d'Origène contenus dans le manuscrit Vindobonensis* 8 (Paris: Société d'édition Les Belles Lettres, 1936), 102, CXV.1b, lines 1-2; **Fragment III** = PG 12:1576c9-10; **Fragment IV** = Cadiou, *Commentaires*, 102, CXV.1b, lines 2-5; **Fragment V** = Cadiou, *Commentaires*, 103, CXV.2a; **Fragment VI** = PG 12:1576c11-d4 = Pitra, Tome 3, 236, lines 4-13; **Fragment VII** = PG 12:1576d5-12 (lines d5-7 = Pitra, Tome 3, 236, lines 1-3); **Fragment VIII** = PG 12:1576d13-1577a2 = Cadiou, *Commentaires*, 102-103, CXV.1b, lines 5-8; **Fragment IX** = PG 12:1577a2-11; **Fragment X** = Cadiou, *Commentaires*, 103, CXV.1b, lines 8-12; **Fragment XI** = PG 12:1577a13-d3; **Fragment XII** = PG 12:1577d4-12. Only Fragment I is genuine according to R. DEVREESE, *Les anciens commentateurs grecs des psaumes*, Studi e Testi 264 (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1970), 19; and E. MÜHLENBERG, *Psalmenkommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung*, Patristische Texte und Studien 16 (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1977), vol. 2, xvii. According to M.-J. RONDEAU, "Le commentaire sur les Psaumes d'Évagre le Pontique," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 26 (1960), 307-348 at 345, Fragments III and VI should be assigned to Evagrius. (An anonymous reviewer notes that in unpublished files Rondeau also assigned Fragment V to Evagrius.) Fragment IX is identical with a passage in *Ps 115* 4 (DE SINNER i, 529, lines 16-29 = PG 30:109a15-b12). Either Basil has quoted Origen verbatim, or a Basilian excerpt has been attributed to Origen; the latter seems far more likely to me.

⁷ Edition: G. MORIN, *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Tractatus sive Homiliae in Psalmos, in Marci Evangelium aliaque varia Argumenta*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 78.2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1958).

Origen.⁸ Though Peri's thesis continues to be debated, there is widespread consensus that these tractates accurately represent the thought of Origen, even if Jerome has slightly altered his source at times.⁹ In this study I will treat Jerome's tractate on Psalm 115, which covers all the verses of the psalm, as further evidence for Origen's viewpoint. I will refer to the author of this tractate as Origen-Jerome.

Basil's Use of Origen

In *On Psalm 115* Basil discusses every verse of the psalm, though not to the same extent. He treats Ps 115:1-2 the most extensively; it is the focus of the first half of the homily, from the first line through the beginning of section 4. The main theme of this section is the necessity of faith and includes a refutation of the Liar paradox. The remainder of section 4 deals with Ps 115:3-6 in some detail, discussing aspects of the life of faith, namely, suffering, martyrdom, and relics. The fifth and final section of the homily covers Ps 115:7-10 rather cursorily, especially the last two verses. Here a number of themes are broached but none is treated in detail: every creature's enslavement to the Creator by choice and by nature; the devil's seduction of humanity through Eve from enslavement to the Creator to enslavement to sin; humanity's release from enslavement to sin through Christ's harrowing of hell; and the proper way to sacrifice to God. Basil's interpretation of nearly every verse of the psalm, however, owes something

⁸ V. PERI, *Omellie origeniane sui Salmi: Contributo all'identificazione del testo latino*, Studi e Testi 289 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1980).

⁹ See the list of scholars who accept Peri's thesis in G. COPPA, ed., *Origene-Gerolamo: 74 omelie sul libro dei salmi* (Milano: Edizioni Paoline, 1993), 26 n. 47, to which one can add: J. A. MCGUCKIN, *The SCM Press A-Z of Origen* (London: SCM Press, 2006), 28-29; and C. A. BLAISING and C. HARDIN, eds, *Psalms 1-50*, Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: Old Testament 7 (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2008), xix and xxv. In contrast, P. JAY, "Les Tractatus in Psalmos", in Y.-M. DUVAL, ed., *Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient. XVI^e centenaire du départ de saint Jérôme de Rome et de son installation à Bethléem. Actes du colloque de Chantilly (septembre 1986)* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1988), 367-380, rejected Peri's thesis and argued that while Origen may have inspired the tractates Jerome should still be considered the author. Henri Crouzel responded to Jay in "Les Tractatus in Psalmos, oeuvre d'Origène ou de Jérôme," a section of the introduction in *Origène: Homélies sur les Psaumes 36 à 38*, Sources Chrétiennes 411 (Paris: Cerf, 1995), 12-14. He proposed seeing the tractates as an intermediate genre between a strict translation and a work inspired by another. The most extensive investigation is found in COPPA, *Origene-Gerolamo*, 13-32, who concludes that the tractates were authored by Origen but translated and redacted by Jerome in a very personal manner. For my purposes, the key point is that these tractates allow access to Origen's interpretation of Psalm 115; whether the exact wording is Origen's or Jerome's is not important for my thesis.

to Origen. To demonstrate this, it is best to proceed sequentially through the homily (which itself proceeds verse-by-verse through the psalm) summarizing Basil's interpretation of each line and laying out the parallels with Origen's interpretation, in order to elucidate the precise manner in which Basil has borrowed from Origen.¹⁰

[Ps 115:1] *I believed; therefore I spoke. But I was very humbled.* Basil begins the homily with a discussion of the role of faith in theological discourse.¹¹ Any speech about God must be preceded by faith, because it is far more effective in drawing the soul to assent than deductive proofs. The works of the Spirit as revealed in scripture are what engender faith in the soul, not syllogisms and logical demonstration. Basil emphasizes simple belief in God as revealed by scripture over philosophical argumentation in the face of a current preference for the latter over the former. And yet, in spite of his insistence on the necessity of faith and his denigration of logical demonstration, Basil then proceeds to suggest that theology is a deductive science, in which a body of knowledge is rationally and logically constructed by repeatedly drawing conclusions from premises.¹² As Basil puts it, every discipline or branch of knowledge proceeds "in a methodical and orderly fashion to its full realization."¹³ However, each deductive science is ultimately founded on certain first principles (or axioms) whose truth is self-evident and indemonstrable. And so, Basil proposes that just as geometers, arithmeticians, and physicians give unquestioning assent to the first principles of their respective disciplines, so too should theologians give unquestioning assent to the principles of the faith revealed in scripture. One should simply assent to these principles of the faith, not futilely investigate what cannot be rationally understood, let alone quarrel about it. To prove this point, Basil then notes that the first line of the current psalm – *I believed; therefore I spoke* – has a "logical connection" with the last line of previous psalm: *I shall be pleasing to the Lord in the land of the*

¹⁰ A methodological note: it is not my goal to provide a complete reconstruction of Origen's interpretation of Psalm 115. My reconstruction is mostly limited to those aspects of Origen's interpretation which seem to have influenced Basil, though Origenian exegeses that differ from Basil's are also mentioned. That said, most of what can be retrieved of Origen's interpretation, especially from the major sources (*Rom*, *Mart*, and *Tract*), has parallels in Basil.

¹¹ *Ps115* 1 (DE SINNER i, 525-526; PG 30: 104b; SVS 47: 218-219). The opening lines of the homily are quoted below at p. 22-23.

¹² *Ps115* 1 (DE SINNER i, 526-527; PG 30: 104c-105b; SVS 47: 219). Aristotle's *Analytica Posteriora* contains the classic description of deductive science but the same basic concept is also found elsewhere, such as in Euclid's treatises.

¹³ *Ps115* 1 (DE SINNER i, 526; PG 30: 105a; SVS 47: 219).

living (Ps 114:9).¹⁴ This connection indicates that it was only because the psalmist *believed* that there was a land of the living that he *spoke* the words of Psalm 114:9; in other words, the psalmist's discourse about God was preceded by faith. Basil concludes that any speech about God without faith results in vapid nonsense, since faith is the basis for prudent discussion. Moving on to the words, *But I was very humbled*, Basil adds that faith is perfected when it is joined to intellectual humility.¹⁵ Those who engage in theology without the requisite humility "measure" God by the standards of their own powers of reasoning. Relying solely on their own abilities, they lack the insight that comes from faith and refuse to stand in awe in the presence of the mysteriousness and incomprehensibility of God. Anyone who thinks he can comprehend the substance of God is guilty of self-conceit and intellectual vanity. Such a one cannot say, *I believed; therefore I spoke*, because, lacking the requisite humility, he cannot say, *But I was very humbled*.

Basil's exegesis in these opening lines indicates that he has borrowed much from Origen, who understood Psalm 115 as a whole to be about the psalmist's search for truth. In the Romans commentary, Origen offers an interpretive paraphrase of Psalm 115:1-4 in which he contrasts the psalmist with philosophers in terms of the search for truth.¹⁶ Origen assumes the persona of the psalmist; the interpretative paraphrase is in the first-person. Fragment I provides the same kind of first-person interpretive paraphrase of Ps 115:1-6, but here the contrast between the psalmist and philosophers, while present, is muted, though the same basic point is made. Faith in God is supposed to precede any investigation of truth. But philosophers search for truth without prior faith and become haughty because of the knowledge they gain. And yet in actuality they have not found the truth at all because they did not believe before their investigation. In contrast, the psalmist conducts his search for truth with prior faith and so attains true knowledge. Only once he found the truth he *spoke* it to the nations. All the while the psalmist remained very humble because he knew that it is God who teaches human beings. Here in discussing the proper way to search for the truth Origen stresses the necessity of both believing in God before finding the truth and then speaking about it with humility once true knowledge from God has been received. Similar ideas are found elsewhere

¹⁴ *Ps115* 2 (DE SINNER i, 527; *PG* 30: 105b; SVS 47: 219). Ps 114:9 is the last verse of Ps 114 and so immediately precedes Ps 115:1. In the Hebrew Bible Ps 114 and Ps 115 are a single psalm (Ps 116), further supporting Basil's idea of the "logical connection" between the two verses. Basil does not note this, but Origen-Jerome does (see p. 13 below).

¹⁵ *Ps115* 2 (DE SINNER i, 527; *PG* 30: 105c; SVS 47: 220). A portion of this passage is translated below on p. 25-26.

¹⁶ *Rom* 2.10, 199-259 HB / 2.14.19-21 PGS.

in Origen's writings. In the commentary on Matthew Origen appeals to Ps 115:1 (among other scriptural verses) to argue that faith must precede understanding and understanding speech about God.¹⁷ Fragment II claims that the psalmist says that faith is necessary for teaching and humility is the mark of the teacher; this same interpretation is found in an expanded form in Origen-Jerome's tractate.¹⁸ Basil does not mention teachers in the context of interpreting Ps 115:1, but does note that the first principles of any discipline need to be imparted to students without questioning them. In general terms, however, Basil says much the same as Origen about Ps 115:1, but his contrast is between types of Christian theologians rather than the psalmist and philosophers. Yet at the same time Basil polemically depicts theologians searching for the truth in the improper way as nothing more than contentious philosophers. Basil's claim, however, that theology is a deductive science appears to be an original contribution; nothing like this is found in the Origenian material.

The connection that Basil draws between Ps 114:9 and Ps 115:1 may also be borrowed from Origen. In the tractate on Psalm 115, Origen-Jerome, observing that Psalms 114 and 115 are parts of the same psalm in the Hebrew bible, interprets Ps 115:1 in light of Ps 114:9. The psalmist, claims Origen-Jerome, believed that he would be *pleasing to the Lord in the land of the living* (Ps 114:9) and therefore he *spoke* (Ps 115:1), saying, *I am very humbled* (Ps 115:1).¹⁹ Unlike Basil, Origen-Jerome does not exploit this connection to support the claim about the necessity of faith before speaking about God. Though it is likely that Basil has derived his knowledge about the connection between Ps 114:9 and Ps 115:1 from Origen, he has deployed the connection quite differently.

Basil's interpretation of Ps 115:1 may also contain a rare rejection of Origen's exegesis. Fragment III purports to be a definition of faith connected with Origen's interpretation of Ps 115:1: "Faith is the rational assent of a self-determining soul" (Πίστις ἐστὶ ψυχῆς αὐτεξουσίου λογικῆ συγκατάθεσις). This definition, which is accepted as genuine by some scholars, is certainly consistent with Origen's multifaceted understanding of faith.²⁰ In *Ps115* 1 Basil too sees faith as a kind of assent, but one not

¹⁷ *Matt* 16.9 (GCS 40: 502).

¹⁸ *Tract* 64-78 (CCSL 78: 242).

¹⁹ *Tract* 1-15 (CCSL 78: 240). In the tractate Origen-Jerome takes the second sentence of Ps 115:1 as reported speech, whereas in the Romans commentary Origen (like Basil) as part of the narrative. This makes one suspect that Jerome has modified Origen somewhat in *Tract* 1-15.

²⁰ See P. W. MARTENS, *Origen and Scripture: The Contours of the Exegetical Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 101-106.

based on reason.²¹ If Fragment III is genuine and it is a passage that Basil knew, it may well be the case that he is reacting against Origen's definition. But since Rondeau has attributed this fragment to Evagrius, we cannot be certain that Basil is rejecting Origen in this case.²²

[Ps 115:2] *I said in my bewilderment: "Every human being speaks falsely."*²³ Basil's basic interpretation of this verse can be summed up using his own statement that anyone "who is not helped by faith but enters into discussion according to his own lights, who trusts in human preparations when it comes to comprehending the truth, speaks falsely, seeing that he has fallen very far from the truth."²⁴ Thus he understands this verse as stating a consequence of the search for truth without faith. But Basil is also intrigued by the words *in my bewilderment*. Why did the psalmist speak *in bewilderment*, he wonders? Basil offers two possibilities.²⁵ Either David, whom the ancients understood to be the psalmist, was bewildered because he realized that among human beings the truth could not be found without the help of God, or the bewilderment refers to the madness David feigned in the presence of Achish (see 1 Sam 21.12-15). Then, changing subjects, Basil denies the claim of some unnamed sophists that the statement *every human being speaks falsely* is susceptible to the Liar paradox.²⁶ In ancient philosophy, the Liar paradox used a particular kind of self-referential statement to demonstrate that contradiction results when it is analyzed on the principle of bivalence. In its typical form the Liar statement is, "I am lying," or even better, "This sentence is false." If such a statement is true, then it turns out to be actually false. But if such a statement is false, then it must be true. And so forth. The truth-value of the Liar statement cannot be determined if bivalence is assumed. Basil is keen to deny that Psalm 115:2 is self-contradictory. He formulates the Liar paradox based on Psalm 115:2 to make the claims of the sophists clear. His refutation of their claim depends upon knowing the moral status of the speaker of the seemingly contradictory statement. He claims, chiefly on the basis of Psalm 81:6-7, that David, the speaker of Ps 115:2, is not a "human being" (that

²¹ His understanding of faith in *Moralia* 80.22 echoes that in *Ps115*.

²² See n. 6 above.

²³ My translation. Psalm 115:2 LXX (ἐγὼ εἶπα ἐν τῇ ἐκστάσει μου Πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ψεύσταις) is typically and more literally translated, *I said in my alarm, "Every man is a liar."* In addition to incorporating gender inclusiveness, my translation aims to bring out the verse's connections with the Liar paradox (to be discussed presently); for further elaboration, see M. DELCOGLIANO, "Origen and Basil of Caesarea on the Liar Paradox," *Augustinianum* 51 (2011): 349-366 at 354.

²⁴ *Ps115* 2 (DE SINNER i, 527-528; PG 30: 108a; SVS 47: 220-221).

²⁵ *Ps115* 3 (DE SINNER i, 528; PG 30: 108ab; SVS 47: 221).

²⁶ *Ps115* 3-4 (DE SINNER i, 528-529; PG 30: 108b-109a; SVS 47: 221-222).

is, one “still in the grip of the human passions”) but rather a “god” (that is, a morally perfect human being “who has already transcended his carnal passions”), thereby eliminating the possibility of self-reference in the verse and thus self-contradiction.

Basil's interpretation of Ps 115:2 is very similar to Origen's in some respects. In the Romans commentary, Origen maintains that Romans 3:4 is a reformulation of Ps 115:2.²⁷ After discussing Ps 115:1, he suggests that the psalmist uttered *every human being speaks falsely* because of his amazement over the fact that philosophers' books are rhetorically exquisite but lacking in truth (because philosophers search for truth without prior faith).²⁸ This is in line with Basil's basic interpretation of the verse as noted above. Furthermore, Basil's first interpretation of the *in bewilderment* phrase has a precedent in Origen, who understood the psalmist as recognizing that it is God who grants knowledge of the truth to human beings.²⁹ But there are differences between Origen and Basil too. Fragment IV credits the psalmist with recognizing the difference between divine and human teachings and explanations, and in his amazement uttering *every human being speaks falsely*. Fragment V makes the point that, since every human being speaks falsely, any human being who does communicate the truth must have Christ speaking in him. Neither of these fragments, however, corresponds to anything in Basil. In addition, Basil's second interpretation about David's feigned madness seems to be original to Basil. Origen also says that the words *every human being speaks falsely* could refer “either to the one who without faith trusts in the letter of the law or to him who boasts in any old dogmas and writings.”³⁰ But there is no parallel to this interpretation in Basil. In the end, however, there is sufficient overlap in Origen's and Basil's interpretations of Ps 115:2 to warrant positing the influence of the former on the latter, even if not in every detail.

Yet Basil's greatest indebtedness to Origen in relation to this verse is his refutation of the claim that Ps 115:2 is an expression of the Liar paradox. In both the Romans commentary and Origen-Jerome's tractate, Origen discusses Ps 115:2 in terms of the Liar paradox: he formulates the Liar paradox using Ps 115:2, attempts to demonstrate why some think it is self-contradictory, and refutes this claim on an exegetical basis.³¹ Elsewhere I have

²⁷ Rom 2.10, 199-239 HB / 2.14.19 PGS. In the interpretation of Matt 26:33-34 in *Ser* 88 (GCS 38: 201, 21-22), Origen also suggests that Rom 3:4 is connected with Ps 115:2.

²⁸ Rom 2.10, 199-239 HB / 2.14.19 PGS.

²⁹ Rom 2.10, 199-239 HB / 2.14.19 PGS.

³⁰ Rom 2.10, 199-239 HB / 2.14.19 PGS; translated by SCHECK, *Origen: Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, op. cit n. 3, p. 174.

³¹ Rom 2.10, 240-259 HB / 2.14.20-21 PGS; *Tract* 32-63 (CCSL 78: 241-242). Fragment VI also contains a formulation of the Liar paradox that attempts to show its self-con-

discussed at length both Origen's and Basil's formulation of the Liar paradox and their refutation of the claim that Ps 115:2 is susceptible to it, and I have shown that in both cases Basil was deeply influenced by Origen.³² Basil adopts Origen's tactic for refuting the charge that Ps 115:2 was susceptible to the Liar paradox, namely, that since David can be considered a "god" the verse is not self-referential and thus not self-contradictory. In the Romans commentary Origen argues that David can be considered a "god" because it is only to gods that the word of God comes (see John 10:34-35, which itself quotes Ps 81:6). Another attempt to eliminate the self-reference in Ps 115:2 can be found in Origen's commentary on the gospel of John. Here he says that it is difficult for human nature to be purified of false teachings; accordingly, not every human being has stood in the truth. Thus, whoever is no longer a liar, that is, whoever has stood in truth, is no longer a human being, as is said in Ps 81:6.³³ In the tractate Origen-Jerome uses 1 Cor 3:3 and Ps 81:6-7 to identify David as a "god," claiming that "a man of holiness" like David has transcended his carnality and thus is appropriated considered a "god."³⁴ In like manner Basil uses Ps 81:6-7 as the centerpiece of the charge about Ps 115:2 being susceptible to the Liar paradox; his particular approach is most similar to that of Origen-Jerome's tractate, though he only alludes to 1 Cor 3:3. There is no doubt, however, that Basil has borrowed from Origen in his discussion of Ps 115:2 in connection with the Liar paradox.

[Ps 115:3-4] *What shall I return to the Lord for all that he returned to me? The cup of salvation I will take, and upon the name of the Lord I will call.* According to Basil, the question in Ps 115:3 is prompted by the psalmist's awareness of God's innumerable gifts to him.³⁵ These gifts are briefly enumerated: being created from nothing; being endowed with reason and so bearing the image of God; and finally Christ offering himself as a ransom for all human beings. What can one return to the Lord for all these gifts? According to Basil, there is no way the psalmist can repay the Lord except by offering him the entirety of his very own life. Nothing else will suffice, certainly not the sacrifices and offerings prescribed in the law. Realizing this, the psalmist answers his own question in Ps 115:4,

tradition. In *Commentarii in evangelium Joannis* 32.94 Origen offers an unrelated interpretation of Ps 115:2.

³² DELCOGLIANO, "Liar Paradox," *Augustinianum* 51 (2011), 355-364.

³³ *Commentarii in evangelium Joannis* 20.241-242.

³⁴ Fragment VII uniquely uses Job 1:1 together with Ps 81:6-7 to show that the term ἄνθρωπος ("human being") can refer either to an individual person or the state of an individual person; by implication the latter sense is used in Ps 115:2. It is not clear how this would eliminate the self-reference in Ps 115:2.

³⁵ *Ps115* 4 (DE SINNER i, 529-530; PG 30: 109bc; SVS 47: 222-223).

saying that he will take the cup of salvation. For Basil, the cup of salvation represents martyrdom. To support this interpretation of the cup, Basil provides cross-references to Matthew 26:39, where Jesus asks the Father to let the cup pass, and Matthew 20:22, where Jesus asks the disciples if they can drink his cup. And so, the cup signifies the death which Christ underwent for the salvation of the world. Once the significance of the cup is clear, Basil interprets the psalmist in these verses as expressing a desire for martyrdom; thus the faithful Christian realizes that the only way in which he can truly repay the Lord is by offering his very own life in martyrdom.

In several places Origen discusses the meaning of Ps 115:3-4 and his interpretation of these verses is clearly the source of Basil's.³⁶ Like Basil, Origen sees Ps 115:4 as the answer to the question posed in Ps 115:3. In the Romans commentary Origen views the psalmist as wanting to repay the Lord for the knowledge of the truth he has received. In the tractate, Origen-Jerome presents the psalmist as grateful for the honor of pleasing the Lord in the land of the living (see Ps 114:9) and being made a teacher. Fragment VIII considers the motivation for the question to be the psalmist having benefited so greatly from the Lord and being puzzled how to repay him, though no specifics are offered. While Basil's understanding of the gifts the psalmist received from the Lord differs from Origen's, both agree that no repayment suffices except the offering of one's own life in martyrdom.³⁷ In connection with this, however, Origen makes the point that God is self-sufficient and in need of nothing, a detail not repeated by Basil (though he does express a similar idea in his interpretation of Ps 115:8).³⁸ But like Basil, Origen, in several passages, interprets *the cup of salvation* as martyrdom by cross-references to Matthew 26:39 and 20:22.³⁹

[Ps 115:5] *My vows I will pay to the Lord in the sight of all his people.* This verse, whose wording parallels Ps 115:9, was marked with asterisks in the fifth column of Origen's *Hexapla*.⁴⁰ This means that the line was found

³⁶ Rom 2.10, 199-239 HB / 2.14.19 PGS; *Tract* 79-121 (CCSL 78: 242-244); *Mart* 28-29; *Matt* 16.6 (GCS 40: 483-484); *Ser* 92 (GCS 38: 209-210), and Fragment VIII. In *Homiliae in Genesim* 8.8 (GCS 29: 84) Origen offers an unrelated interpretation of Ps 115:3, and in *Homiliae in Jeremiam* 12.2.3 (SC 238: 18) an unrelated interpretation of Ps 115:4.

³⁷ Of course, if Fragment IX is genuine, then there would a strong parallel in their understanding of the gifts received from God; but this is unlikely (see n. 6 above).

³⁸ Rom 2.10, 199-239 HB / 2.14.19 PGS.

³⁹ Rom 2.10, 199-239 HB / 2.14.19 PGS; *Tract* 79-121 (CCSL 78: 242-244); and *Mart* 28-29. In *Matt* 16.6 (GCS 40: 483-484) Origen provides an interpretation of Ps 115:3-6 in connection with his discussion of Matt 20:22, and in *Ser* 92 (GCS 38: 209-210) he briefly discusses Ps 115:3-4 as he interprets Matt 26:39. Fragment X makes the same connection between the cup of salvation and martyrdom but without the cross-references to Matt.

⁴⁰ A. RAHLFS, ed., *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum, Band 10. Psalmi cum Odis*, 3rd ed. (Göttingen:Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), *ad locum*.

in the Hebrew text and in one of the post-Septuagint Greek translations of the Old Testament (those by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion) but not in the Septuagint itself. Basil, however, quotes and briefly discusses Ps 115:5 between his interpretations of Ps 115:3-4 and Ps 115:6.⁴¹ This seems to indicate that his version of Psalm 115 was the “mixed” Septuagint text, that is, the Septuagint with isolated readings from other versions based on Origen’s fifth column that was widely used in the East in antiquity. Only one text of Origen, in which he quotes the fifth verse in the context of an interpretation of Ps 115:3-6, indicates that he knew a version of Psalm 115 that included the fifth verse.⁴² In any event, Basil’s interpretation of Ps 115:5 is quite brief: the psalmist promises to sacrifice his life with the people as his witness. Origen interprets the verse in a similar way: paying one’s vow to the Lord in the presence of all the people means to drink the cup of martyrdom. Nonetheless, the comments on both Origen and Basil on Ps 115:5 are too brief to draw any conclusions about the influence of the former on the latter.

[Ps 115:6] *Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his devout ones.* According to Basil, this verse proves that those who are faithful should not be terrified of death.⁴³ Death is not the end, but the passage to eternal life, yet only for those who live a devout and just life because they find a favorable judgment in presence of the Lord. So we should not mourn the dead; rather, we should mourn when people are born because birth is inseparable from filth and ignominy, as Paul taught (see 1 Cor 15:42-43). The honor conferred by death is also proven by Christian customs. Unlike Jews who considered corpses defiling, Christians revere the relics of martyrs, whose bones confer “some share of the holiness that comes from the grace inherent in the body.”⁴⁴ Here Basil does not cite specific verses of scripture to represent the Jewish position. But in order to contrast Jewish repulsion for corpses with Christian veneration of relics he formulates his own prohibitions by using biblical language; he speaks of not defiling oneself with a dead person (see Lev 21:1; 21:11), not touching a dead body lest one be unclean until the evening (see Lev 11:24; 11:39), and, if one has, the necessity of washing one’s clothes (see Lev 11:40).

⁴¹ Ps115 4 (DE SINNER i, 530; PG 30: 109cd; SVS 47: 223).

⁴² Matt 16.6 (GCS 40: 483). It is also found in Fragment XI. In other contexts where it would have made sense for Origen to discuss Ps 115:5 between Ps 115:3-4 and Ps 115:6, it is omitted: *Tract* and *Fragment I*.

⁴³ Ps115 4 (DE SINNER i, 530-531; PG 30: 109d-112d; SVS 47: 223-225).

⁴⁴ Ps115 4 (DE SINNER i, 531; PG 30: 112c; SVS 47: 224).

Our evidence for Origen's interpretation of this verse is largely dependent on Origen-Jerome's tractate.⁴⁵ Like Basil, Origen-Jerome interprets the verse to be about the martyrs, God's saints, the ones whose death is precious in the Lord's eyes.⁴⁶ He also sees the verse as a refutation of the Jewish idea that the bodies of the dead are unclean. Origen-Jerome does not cite specific biblical passages for the Jewish teaching but does speak of not touching a dead body lest one be unclean until the evening, echoing some of the same biblical verses as Basil (see Lev 11:24; 11:39). Origen-Jerome, however, does not specifically mention the Christian veneration of the relics of the martyrs. Neither does Origen-Jerome recommend mourning when people are born, as Basil did. Nonetheless, Origen's influence on Basil's exegesis of Ps 115:6 is clear, in that both connect the verse with the death of the martyrs and the overturning of Jewish prohibitions.

[Ps 115:7-8] *O Lord, I am your slave; I am your slave and the son of your maidservant. You broke through my bonds. To you I will sacrifice a sacrifice of praise.* In his interpretation of Ps 115:7 Basil says that the psalmist is the slave of the Lord because every creature is a slave of the Creator by nature.⁴⁷ But psalmist is also the slave of the Lord by choice. For as the son of the Lord's maidservant – that is, of Eve – he became a slave of sin when the devil seduced humanity through Eve from enslavement to the Creator to enslavement to sin. When the psalmist says that the Lord broke through his bonds he means that the Lord rescued him from the bonds of sin through Christ's harrowing of hell. And so, by choice the psalmist is returning to his original Lord. Accordingly, the psalmist offers a sacrifice of praise, neither animal sacrifices, nor flour and oil sacrifices, nor incense. For the self-sufficient God does not need material sacrifices. Instead, God demands "confession from a good deposition and true heart," from the altar of the mind.⁴⁸

The evidence for Origen's interpretation of these verses is chiefly Origen-Jerome's tractate, along with a few texts of Origen.⁴⁹ In the tractate

⁴⁵ *Tract* 122-131 (CCSL 78: 244). There is also a brief interpretation at the end of *Mart* 29. In *Rom* 2.10, 199-239 HB / 2.14.19 PGS Origen merely paraphrases the verse without further comment and in *Matt* 16.6 (GCS 40: 483) he quotes the verse twice in short order as he interprets Ps 115:3-6 but does not offer any significant interpretation. In *Contra Celsum* 8.54, however, Origen cites Ps 115:6 as proof that Christians think suffering and death for God is pleasing to God.

⁴⁶ This point is also made in *Mart* 29.

⁴⁷ *Ps115* 5 (DE SINNER i, 531-532; PG 30: 112d-113b; SVS 47: 225).

⁴⁸ *Ps115* 5 (DE SINNER i, 531; PG 30: 113b; SVS 47: 225).

⁴⁹ Origen also cites Ps 115:7 in connection with interpreting *Matt* 26:69 in *Ser* 114 (GCS 38: 240, 1-5) and *Matt* fragment 541 (GCS 41: 220), but neither passage provides much interpretation of the verse.

Origen-Jerome contrasts the psalmist's servitude to the Lord with servitude to sin, just as Basil did.⁵⁰ The distinction between servitude by nature and by grace, however, is not found in Origen-Jerome. Furthermore, Origen-Jerome interprets the Lord's breaking of the psalmist's bonds as the martyr's being loosed from his sins through the second baptism of his own death. In Fragment XI it is said that the ancient bonds of sin are broken by God through one's martyrdom. Fragment XII points out that Ps 115:7 says that the bonds are broken, not merely loosed, so that they are rendered ineffective. It adds that the bonds of sin are broken not only through baptism, but also through martyrdom for Christ and the tears of repentance. In his interpretation Basil echoes the idea that the breaking of the bonds refers to release from sin, though he is clear that this is the work of Christ (in the harrowing of hell) and does not attribute it to any human initiative as Origen-Jerome did, such as the death of the martyr. Moreover, Origen-Jerome says that in heaven the martyr offers a sacrifice of praise because the time for Jewish animal sacrifices is past.⁵¹ Fragment XI identifies the martyr's self-sacrifice itself as the sacrifice of praise, which enables him to pay his vows to the Lord in the courts of the Lord's house, in Jerusalem, that is, in heaven (see Ps 115:10). Even if Basil does not situate the sacrifice of praise in heaven, as Origen-Jerome did, both contrast it with the Jewish material sacrifices. In sum, though Basil departs considerably from Origen's interpretation of these verses, the influence of Origen is unmistakable.

[Ps 115:9-10] *My vows I will pay to the Lord in the sight of all his people, in the courts of the Lord's house, in your midst, O Jerusalem.* While Basil quotes Ps 115:9 and gives a paraphrastic interpretation, he only alludes to the last verse of the psalm, quoting a snippet of it. He basically says that the sacrifice of praise should be done publicly with the community, not privately apart from others.⁵² The only evidence for Origen's interpretation of these verses is Fragment XI, which states that a just person pays his vows to the Lord in the heavenly Jerusalem on behalf of every martyr. Nothing else can be reconstructed of Origen's interpretation of Ps 115:10; it appears that Basil's interpretation of the same verse owes nothing to him.

Origen's interpretations of the verses of Psalm 115 are remarkably consistent across his scattered comments on selected verses, Origen-Jerome's tractate, and many of the fragments attributed to him. The relative abundance of evidence and its consistency means that his overall exegesis of the psalm can be reconstructed with a high degree of confidence. What begins as a contrast between the psalmist's and philosophers' search for truth segues

⁵⁰ *Tract* 132-144 (CCSL 78: 244-245).

⁵¹ *Tract* 145-165 (CCSL 78: 245).

⁵² *Ps115* 5 (DE SINNER i, 532; PG 30: 113b-116b; SVS 47: 226).

into an exhortation to martyrdom. Basil's overall understanding of the psalm, as well as the meaning of most of its individual verses, is based upon Origen. His interpretation exhibits the same uneasy combination of themes as does Origen's (even if both make a case for the connection between searching for the truth and martyrdom). The examples cited above demonstrate the extent of Origen's influence on Basil's exegesis of Psalm 115. It is strongest in Ps 115:1-4 and significant in Ps 115:6-9; there is not much evidence for Origen's influence on Basil in the interpretation of Ps 115:5 and 115:9-10, verses which Basil at any rate did not discuss much at all.

And yet in each case of demonstrable borrowing Basil is never a mere copyist. Sometimes Basil takes over an idea of Origen with little change; sometimes he expands upon it or gives it a different emphasis. Note that in several cases Basil appeals to the same scriptural verses as Origen to back up particular interpretations. There can be little doubt, I believe, about Basil having borrowed from Origen. Elsewhere I enumerated seven ways in which Basil uses Origen in another homily, to show that Basil's use of Origen is always critical, selective, and creative.⁵³ Nearly all these seven ways are on display in this homily as well. The difference in this case, however, is that here Basil's borrowings from Origen form the basic structure of the homily, that is, Basil treats the same subjects in the same order as Origen. The reason for this is not hard to determine. Basil's homily is a verse-by-verse exegesis of Psalm 115 and thus its structure is dictated by the exegetical method. Accordingly, in borrowing from Origen's interpretation of Psalm 115 in a verse-by-verse manner Basil has opted to produce a homily that is thoroughly Origenian at its core, with all the thematic discontinuities which that entails. And into this Origenian core he inserted an anti-Eunomian polemic, or rather by developing Origen's anti-philosophical comments he launched a related polemic against Eunomius, further adding to the homily's apparent lack of thematic unity.

Basil's anti-Eunomian Polemic

Why did Basil insert an anti-Eunomian polemic into his Origen-inspired exegesis of Psalm 115? It seems that Basil saw Origen's depiction of the futile methods and arrogance of philosophers as a kind of portrait of Eunomius. In fact, the first half of the homily, which only treats Ps 115:1-2, is dominated by anti-Eunomian themes. These same verses are key for Origen's contrast between philosophers' and the psalmist's search for truth and

⁵³ M. DELCOGLIANO, "Tradition and Polemic in Basil of Caesarea's Homily on the Theophany," *Vigiliae Christianae* 66 (2012), 30-55 at 54-55.

accordingly provided a fertile resource for Basil to articulate his anti-Eunomian criticisms. Yet this first half of the homily also contains passages that are pure Origen and are unrelated to the anti-Eunomian theme. Thus the lack of thematic unity. The last half of the homily discusses Ps 115:3-10 not as extensively as Ps 115:1-2 was treated. Here Basil follows, expands upon, and departs from Origen's interpretations in his own way but the anti-Eunomian theme does not reappear until the end of the homily.

The anti-Eunomian polemic encountered in *On Psalm 115* is for the most part not concerned with the refutation of the theological tenets of Eunomius; rather, the focus of the polemic is mainly his opponent's methodology. Basil's anti-Eunomian polemic is of course principally found in his *Contra Eunomium* (= *Eun*).⁵⁴ It also reappears in several of Basil's homilies, particularly those devoted to Trinitarian topics, but only a few passages in them specifically target Eunomius's methodology; these are more concerned with refuting Eunomius's theological opinions and scriptural exegeses.⁵⁵ Accordingly, the *Contra Eunomium* constitutes the chief *comparandum* with *On Psalm 115*. My method here will be to proceed through *On Psalm 115* sequentially, demonstrating that some passages are in fact directed against Eunomius by adducing parallels, including verbal and scriptural parallels, from other works of Basil that engage in a similar anti-Eunomian polemic.

The opening lines of *On Psalm 115* rehearse a key anti-Eunomian theme: faith in the revelation of the Spirit and believing in simplicity of heart are the surest ways to true knowledge and speech about God, not futile investigations, elaborate demonstrations, and logical hair-splitting:

Let faith be the prerequisite for discussing God: faith, not logical demonstration (ἀπόδειξις). Faith is superior to rational methodologies when it comes to drawing the soul to assent. It is not the logical necessity of deductive proofs that engenders faith, but the activity of the Spirit. *In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, arise and walk!* [Acts

⁵⁴ Edition: B. SESBOUÉ, G.-M. DE DURAND, and L. DOUTRELEAU, *Basile de Césarée, Contre Eunome suivi de Eunome Apologie*, SChr 299 and 305 (Paris: Cerf, 1982-1983). I use the translation of M. DELCOGLIANO and A. RADDE-GALLWITZ, *St. Basil of Caesarea: Against Eunomius*, The Fathers of the Church 122 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2011). For a fuller discussion of Basil's anti-Eunomian rhetoric in *Contra Eunomium*, see DELCOGLIANO and RADDE-GALLWITZ, *St. Basil of Caesarea: Against Eunomius*, 38-46. While Basil's polemic against Eunomius is multifaceted, his objections to his opponent's methodology are connected to and draw upon traditional anti-rhetorical tropes; see DELCOGLIANO and RADDE-GALLWITZ, *St. Basil of Caesarea: Against Eunomius*, 44-45.

⁵⁵ Chiefly *De fide* [CPG 2859], *Contra Sabellianos et Arium et Anomoeos* [CPG 2869], *Adversus eos qui per calumniam dicunt dici a nobis deos tres* [CPG 2914], and *In illud, In principio erat Verbum* [CPG 2860].

3:6]. What followed this command was the work of the Spirit, and those who witnessed this miracle were compelled to admit the divinity of the Only-Begotten. Tell me, what is more compelling for assent, a complicated set of syllogistic premises entailing the logical conclusion, or a clearly seen miracle so great that it surpasses all that is humanly possible? Yet currently such things are not held in high regard. Indeed, what now inspires confidence when discussing God is not the works of the Spirit, but rather elaborate demonstrations which place their hope in the plausibility of the wisdom of the world (ἐντελνοὶ ἀποδείξεις ἐν τῷ πιθανῷ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου σοφίας), not in the powerful and clear revelation of the Spirit. It was through those who believed God in simplicity of heart (ἐν ἀπλότῃτι καρδίᾳ) without engaging in futile investigations that the Spirit gave this revelation for the salvation of the many.⁵⁶

Here Basil insists that faith is superior to rational demonstration when it comes to drawing people to assent to the divinity of the Only-Begotten. He complains that such faith is not currently “held in high regard” – a nod to the contemporary contentious theological landscape, in which Eunomius was no minor figure. Elaborate demonstrations and the plausibility of worldly wisdom are preferred to the clear revelation of the Spirit. Futile investigations are preferred to believing in God in simplicity of heart. Not only this same general theme, but even the same anti-Eunomian language is found in the *Contra Eunomium*. In fact, the opening lines of this treatise contain the same polemic:

If all those upon whom the name of our God and Savior Jesus Christ had been invoked had preferred not to tamper with the truth of the gospel and to content themselves with the tradition of the apostles and the simplicity of the faith (τῇ ἀπλότῃτι τῆς πίστεως), there would be no need for our present treatise. ... [But Eunomius] introduces on the pretext of Christianity the denial of the divinity of the Only-Begotten. With this empty external wisdom he disturbs what is pure and simple in the teaching of the divine Spirit and misleads the innocent through the use of plausible arguments (ἐν πιθανολογίᾳ).⁵⁷

Because Eunomius relies upon plausible arguments (πιθανολογία)⁵⁸ and rejects the simplicity of the faith and the teaching of the Spirit – that is, scripture – he denies the divinity of the Only-Begotten. At stake in *On Psalm 115* as in the *Contra Eunomium* is the divinity of the Only-begotten Son. Other passages in *Contra Eunomium* echo the depictions of Euno-

⁵⁶ *Ps115* 1 (De Sinner i, 525-526; PG 30: 104; SVS 47: 218-219).

⁵⁷ *Eun* 1.1 (SChr 299: 140-142; FOTC 122: 81-82).

⁵⁸ By “plausible arguments” Basil means something like “specious arguments.” Basil’s understanding of plausible arguments is further explicated below on p. 27.

mius in the opening lines of both *On Psalm 115* and *Contra Eunomium*. On several occasions Basil accuses Eunomius of providing faulty and bogus “demonstrations.”⁵⁹ Another passage accuses Eunomius of rejecting the simplicity of the faith.⁶⁰ In one place Basil presents his opponent’s project “as a fictitious exercise such as those assigned to boys in schools of vanity for practice in making a lie plausible (εἰς μελέτην τοῦ ἐν τῷ ψεύσματι πιθανοῦ)” and remarks that “Eunomius acts quite similarly to these people...”⁶¹ Furthermore, in one of his Trinitarian homilies Basil repeats the “plausible arguments” charge. After formulating three propositions that are reminiscent of the slogans attributed to Arius in the original Nicene Creed of 325, thereby suggesting that Eunomius’s Heteroousian theology is nothing more than the Arianism condemned at Nicaea, he adds: “Such statements are uttered by tongues honed sharper than every double-edged sword through the use of plausible arguments.”⁶² And so, the anti-Eunomian intent of the opening lines of *On Psalm 115* clear.

As outlined above, as Basil goes on in *On Psalm 115* discussing the first verse, he explains that theology is like a deductive science whose first principles must be assumed and not questioned. He concludes his argument about theology as a deductive science by saying, “So then, in this way too the mystery of theology requires assent based on unquestioning faith. For he says: *one must believe that God exists* [Heb 11.6], not “one must investigate (ζητῆσαι) what he is,” nor “one must quarrel (ζυγομαχεῖσαι) about what he is.”⁶³ After a couple intervening sentences, Basil adds: “So then, we say these things about faith in a general way because of those who quarrel about words (λογομαχοῦντας) and place their hope in empty expressions.”⁶⁴ These are jabs at Eunomius, whom Basil repeatedly accuses of trying to define the substance of God and quarreling about it. Basil gives an example of such a debate with Eunomius and his followers in one of his letters to Amphilochius of Iconium.⁶⁵ In fact, in the *Contra Eunomium* Basil uses the same verse from Hebrews to make the same point as in *On Psalm 115*:

Therefore, putting aside this idle curiosity about the substance since it is unattainable, we ought to obey the simple advice of the Apostle who said: *One must first believe that God exists and that he rewards those who*

⁵⁹ *Eun* 1.5, 1.26, 1.27, 2.2, 2.10, 2.11, etc.

⁶⁰ *Eun* 1.4 (SChr 299: 162-168; FOTC 122: 88-91).

⁶¹ *Eun* 2.1 (SChr 305: 10; FOTC 122: 131).

⁶² *In illud, In principio erat Verbum* 1 (SVS 47: 251).

⁶³ *Ps115* 1 (DE SINNER i, 526-527; PG 30: 105; SVS 47: 219).

⁶⁴ *Ps115* 2 (DE SINNER i, 527; PG 30: 105; SVS 47: 219).

⁶⁵ *Epistula* 234.1-2.

seek him [Heb 11.6]. For it is not the investigation (ἐξερεύνησις) of what he is but rather the confession that he is which prepares salvation for us.⁶⁶

Here as in *On Psalm 115* Basil accuses Eunomius of idly investigating *what* the substance of God is rather than simply believing *that* God exists based on what scripture says. Basil treats the scriptural testimony about God as the first principles of theology which should not be questioned. Eunomius draws the ire of Basil because he dares to do so. It appears that Basil's very presentation of theology as a deductive science is motivated by anti-Eunomian concerns; it is a method of theology aimed at exposing the invalidity of Eunomius's. In addition, throughout the *Contra Eunomium* Basil also depicts Eunomius as quarrelsome. To cite one example, after pointing out his opponent's contradictory statements Basil remarks that Eunomius "appears to be so utterly foreign to the peace of God ... that he contends (διαμάχεται) not only with others, but even with himself!"⁶⁷ Therefore, Basil's remarks in *On Psalm 115* about assent based on unquestioning faith in contrast to a penchant for theological squabbling are clearly directed against Eunomius.

Another of Basil's complaints about Eunomius in the *Contra Eunomium* is that he claims to have comprehended the substance of God. Basil sees this as nothing but the worst kind of arrogance because of his belief that the divine substance is incomprehensible.⁶⁸ What Eunomius and his followers have done is to have "made the apprehension of God's substance commensurate with themselves (σύμμετρον ἑαυτοῖς θήσονται τῆς οὐσίας τὴν κατανόησιν),"⁶⁹ meaning that they believe that through the powers of their own intellect they can comprehend what scripture has declared to be incomprehensible. The same theme is found in *On Psalm 115*, as Basil is still discussing the first verse of the psalm:

Then [the psalmist] adds how we can achieve the perfection of faith: *But I was very humbled* [Ps 115.1]. He who has not humbled his own mind does not say in imitation of the Apostle: *Brothers, I do not yet consider myself to have comprehended* [Phil 3.13]. Rather, he contrives to comprehend the substance of God, measuring what is incomprehensible by the standard of his own reasoning (τῷ ἰδίῳ λογισμῷ ἐκμετρῶν τὰ ἀνέφικτα) and thinking that God is such as he himself has grasped with his reasoning. And in sum, if anyone makes his own mind the measure of what really exists (ὁ τὸν οἰκεῖον νοῦν μέτρον τῶν ὄντων ποιοῦμενος),

⁶⁶ *Eun* 1.14 (SChr 299: 222; FOTC 122: 113).

⁶⁷ *Eun* 1.26 (SChr 299: 264; FOTC 122: 128).

⁶⁸ *Eun* 1.12, 1.13, and 2.30.

⁶⁹ *Eun* 1.14 (SChr 299: 220; FOTC 122: 112).

he does not realize that it is easier to measure (ἐκμετρήσαι) the entire ocean with a tiny cup than to understand the ineffable majesty of God with the human mind. *Puffed up without reason* [Col. 2.18] and putting on airs through the vanity of his intellect, he is not able to say: *I believed; therefore I spoke*. For he cannot add what follows: *But I was very humbled*. Indeed, he passes his life in self-conceit and arrogance, and he glories in empty words, bereft of the strength that comes from faith.⁷⁰

Here Basil rebukes those who arrogantly claim to have comprehended the substance of God, “measuring” him by the standards of their own reasoning. Employing a memorable analogy, he says that it is easier to measure the entire ocean with a small cup than to understand the majesty of God with the human mind. Accusing Eunomius of intellectual arrogance for claiming to have sure knowledge of the substance of God constitutes a veritable refrain in the *Contra Eunomium* and other works. Here is one example: “... how much arrogance and pride would it take for someone to think he has discovered the very substance of God above all? ... [The Eunomians] are bragging that they have penetrated the very substance of the God of the universe!”⁷¹ In response, Basil constantly exhorts his opponent to epistemological humility. And so, there can be little doubt that in this passage of *On Psalm 115* Basil has Eunomius and his followers in mind.

When Basil moves on to Ps 115:2, he describes, just as Origen did, how certain sophists claimed that this verse was an expression of the Liar Paradox. After formulating the Liar paradox using Ps 115:2 and attempting to show how it is self-refuting, Basil writes, “these are the musings of those who play games with language and glory in how their arguments take twists and turns (ταῖς τῶν λόγων στροφαῖς ἐπαγαλλομένων) before an uneducated audience. The truth, however, is not found in this way.”⁷² He then goes on to deny the claim that Ps 115:2 is susceptible to the Liar paradox, as described above. It is unlikely that Eunomius himself interpreted Ps 115:2 as susceptible to the Liar paradox. Rather, it appears that Basil sees a connection between the philosophical sophistry of the Liar paradox and Eunomius’s methods. In the *Contra Eunomium* Basil depicts Eunomius as a sophist who is more interested in displaying his rhetorical skills than making substantive theological arguments, which amounts to the use of trickery to establish his teaching. In one passage, for example, he lambasts Eunomius for using syllogistic reasoning unnecessarily to prove an obvious point and depicts him as a sophist: “It seems to me that he boasts along

⁷⁰ *Ps115* 2 (De Sinner i, 527; PG 30: 105-108; SVS 47: 220).

⁷¹ *Eun* 1.12 (SChr 299: 212; FOTC 122: 108).

⁷² *Ps115* 3 (De Sinner i, 528; PG 30: 108; SVS 47: 222).

with his followers that he is shrewd and subtle in mind, quick to spot an absurdity and even quicker to demolish it once detected. Hence he takes pride in how his arguments take twists and turns (ἐναβρύνεσθαι τῇ τῶν λόγων στροφῇ), and so puts on a fine show...⁷³ In both *Contra Eunomium* and *On Psalm 115*, then, Basil speaks of Eunomius as a conceited sophist smug over how his arguments take “twists and turns” before an audience.

In his earliest extant homily on Proverbs 1:1-5 (= *Prov*), Basil clarifies what he means by arguments that take twists and turns when he discusses the first section of Proverbs 1:3, *to grasp the twists and turns of arguments* (δέξασθαι στροφὰς λόγων): “An argument that is true and proceeds from a sound mind is simple and straightforward, saying the same things about the same arguments on every occasion. But an intricate and scheming argument of great complexity and stylistic ornateness assumes a myriad of forms and takes countless twists and turns (στρέφεται στροφὰς ἀμυθήτους), transforming itself for the delight of the audience.”⁷⁴ Such complex arguments of great stylistic ornateness seek to persuade that the facts of the matter are other than they really are, as well as to delight the audience. They have the appearance of truthfulness but are actually false. This sort of discourse is, according to Basil, “nothing but twisting and turning, or rather distortion of the truth through argument (στροφή τις ἐστι, μᾶλλον δὲ διαστροφή)”⁷⁵ Basil instead prefers simple and straightforward arguments aimed at clarifying the truth. As Basil’s critiques in this section continue, his target becomes clearer: the advocates of heretical doctrines, who reject “the simplicity of the Spirit’s teaching” and “use the plausible arguments of sophisms (τῇ πιθανολογίᾳ τῶν σοφισμάτων) to overturn the strength of the truth.”⁷⁶ It is highly likely that here Basil is alluding to Eunomius, whose teaching he was surely already aware of when he delivered this homily.⁷⁷ It has already been shown that in his *Contra Eunomium* Basil accuses his opponent of rejecting the simplicity of the faith and using plausible arguments. It is likely, then, that we see in the Proverbs homily the earliest version of the anti-Eunomian rhetoric he developed more fully in the treatise directed against his principal theological opponent. Given the similar constellation of polemical themes and vocabulary in the Proverbs homily and *Contra Eunomium*, there can be little doubt that in his discussion of

⁷³ *Eun* 1.5, 47-52 (SChr 299: 174; FOTC 122: 93).

⁷⁴ *Prov* 7 (DE SINNER ii.144; PG 31.400-401; SVS 47: 62).

⁷⁵ *Prov* 7 (DE SINNER ii.145; PG 31.401; SVS 47: 62).

⁷⁶ *Prov* 7 (DE SINNER ii.145; PG 31.401; SVS 47: 63).

⁷⁷ *Prov* is dated to late 362 or early 363; for the evidence, see DELCOGLIANO, *On Christian Doctrine and Practice*, op. cit., n. 1, p. 51-52. The *Contra Eunomium* is dated to 364-365, two or three years after *Prov*; for the evidence, see DELCOGLIANO and RADDE-GALLWITZ, *St. Basil of Caesarea: Against Eunomius*, op. cit., n. 54, p. 33.

the Liar paradox in *On Psalm 115* Basil has once again managed to slip in a critique of Eunomius while drawing upon Origen's interpretation of Psalm 115.

After the interpretation of Ps 115:2, there is no trace of anti-Eunomian polemic in Basil's exegesis in *On Psalm 115* as he contents himself with borrowing from Origen in his discussion of Ps 115:3-8. Probably because Origen interpreted these verses in relation to martyrdom they did not provide Basil with sufficient material to develop in an anti-Eunomian direction. Hence he sticks to the theme of martyrdom, interspersed with his own unique reflections on related topics like relics. Only in the last paragraph of the homily does Basil resume an anti-Eunomian polemic, in his brief discussion of Ps 115:9-10. In his paraphrastic interpretation of these verses Basil views the psalmist as proclaiming his intention to offer his sacrifice of praise in association with others in the heavenly liturgy, not alone by himself "in a secret place and a hidden corner as if ashamed."⁷⁸ This prompts Basil to directly address his audience in the second-person plural, continuing his paraphrastic interpretation of Ps 115:9-10:

You who have abandoned the church and gather in profane houses, you who are the wretched fragments of the precious body, hear this: vows must be paid in the midst of Jerusalem [see Ps 115:9-10], that is, in the church of God. For according to the worship of old, each person was not allowed to construct his own altar, but a single one was designated for all who chose to sacrifice. But you raise an altar in opposition to the altar of your forefathers and kindle a strange fire upon it. You are not chastened by the ancient pattern, as you are drawn to men of corrupted intellect and join in their madness.⁷⁹

There is admittedly nothing specifically anti-Eunomian about this passage; indeed, there are no direct parallels for it in the *Contra Eunomium* or in other passages against Eunomius.⁸⁰ Basil's words could be directed against heretics in general. But given the well-known dissension that Eunomius caused in the church⁸¹ as well as the parallel ecclesiastical hierarchy estab-

⁷⁸ *Ps 115* 5 (DE SINNER i.532; PG 30.113; SVS 47: 226).

⁷⁹ *Ps 115* 5 (DE SINNER i.532; PG 30.113; SVS 47: 226).

⁸⁰ There is a similar diatribe against those who abandon the church and gather in their own assemblies in Basil's homily *On Psalm 28* 3. Nothing in the context suggests an anti-Eunomian polemic, but it may well be.

⁸¹ One example: Basil's *De iudicio dei* [CPG 2885] is a short treatise that is an exploration of the causes of disharmony in the church that he prefaces to his *Moralia*. The only group he names as contributing to the disunity is the "Anomoeans," that is, Eunomius and his followers.

lished in the 360s by the Heteroousians,⁸² it is not improbable that Basil has Eunomius and his followers in mind in these comments. He couches his criticism of the separatism of the Eunomians in biblical terms. Besides adapting the language of Ps 115:9-10, Basil alludes to the Israelite prohibition of raising altars in opposition to the single altar in Jerusalem designated for the sacrifices of all people. He accuses the Eunomians of establishing one such competing altar and kindling "a strange fire" (πῦρ ἀλλότριον) upon it, again borrowing scriptural language.⁸³ Basil's use of the image of the strange fire in this context may further demonstrate his indebtedness to Origen, who interpreted it as "a meaning and an interpretation that is foreign to God and contrary to truth."⁸⁴ Eunomius has kindled a strange fire, in that his interpretation of scripture is wrong, a point Basil makes repeatedly in *Contra Eunomium*.⁸⁵ In these lines at the conclusion of *On Psalm 115*, then, Basil probably offers a final bit of invective against Eunomius (or at least against heretics in general).

In *On Psalm 115* Basil does not deploy all anti-Eunomian tropes that he could have; he had many others in his arsenal. But the examples enumerated here indicate that certain passages bear all the marks of an unmistakable anti-Eunomian polemic that targets his opponent's methodology. In some cases these unmistakable marks even include parallels in vocabulary and scriptural prooftexts. Accordingly, Basil successfully adapted Origen's anti-philosophical polemics to respond to the theological controversies of his day aroused by his nemesis, Eunomius.

Conclusion

In one sense, the lack of thematic unity in Basil's homily is a result of his borrowing from Origen. In his interpretation of Psalm 115 Origen combined an anti-philosophical polemic with an exhortation to martyrdom. Even though Basil transforms the anti-philosophical theme into an attack on Eunomius, he still perpetuates this uneasy combination. But Basil made matters worse. The anti-Eunomian polemic dominates in the first half of the homily, making the second half where it is largely absent almost seem like a non-sequitur, except for the fact that Basil is interpreting verses of

⁸² See R. P. VAGGIONE, *Eunomius of Cyzicus and the Nicene Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 278-282.

⁸³ See Lev 10:1, 16:1; Num 3:4, 17:2, 26:61.

⁸⁴ Origen, *Homily on Numbers* 9.1.2 (*GCS* 7: 54, 18-23). On this passage, see MARTENS, *Origen and Scripture*, *op. cit.*, n. 20, p. 121-122. The translation is Martens's modification Scheck's.

⁸⁵ For example, *Eun* 2.2-3, where Basil refutes Eunomius's interpretation of Acts 2:36.

the same psalm. And even in the first half of the homily anti-Eunomian polemics are interspersed with instances of interpretations of the psalm without any reference to his opponent. It must be admitted that from a literary point of view the homily on Psalm 115 is not Basil's best effort.

Yet this does not make the homily any less interesting. The problem of the incoherence of the homily has led to the discovery of Basil's borrowing from Origen. In a way quite similar to his homily on the birth of Christ, which interprets the infancy narrative of Matthew, Basil bases his own scriptural exegesis on Origen. In addition, in the homily on the birth of Christ, Basil discusses several contemporary Christological questions, some which were anti-Eunomian, in a manner similar to Basil's incorporation anti-Eunomian themes in the homily on Psalm 115.⁸⁶ These two homilies, then, give us insight into Basil's working methods when producing a homily. Relying primarily upon the exegetical works of Origen, Basil was able to use Origen's insights as the launching pad to address the theological concerns of his day. It is a fine example of the continued relevance of Origen in the last half of the fourth century.

Finally, even though Basil does not mention Eunomius by name, in the homily we find a polemical construction of Eunomius on the part of Basil that complements the presentation of his opponent in other works, especially the *Contra Eunomium*.⁸⁷ What is particularly interesting about the homily is that Basil hardly comments at all about the contents of Eunomius's theology, that is, his specific positions. Rather, his focus is solely on what we would call today theological methodology. Thus, as is seen in the *Contra Eunomium* as well, Basil makes it clear that his debate with Eunomius was as much about the proper way to do theology as it was about the doctrines each of them held.

Summary

One striking feature of Basil of Caesarea's homily *On Psalm 115* is that it lacks the thematic unity found elsewhere in his homiletic corpus, even in his other fourteen homilies on various psalms, in which Basil manages to present a cohesive teaching in spite of his similar use of the verse-by-verse exe-

⁸⁶ For details, see DELCOGLIANO, "Tradition and Polemic in Basil of Caesarea's Homily on the Theophany", *art. cit.* n. 53.

⁸⁷ In accounting for the differences between *Eun* and *Ps115*, too much credit should not be given to the difference in literary genre, as if a homily were an improper venue for discussing the theology of Eunomius. Several homilies of Basil are sustained refutations of his theological opponents; see the list of homilies in n. 53 above. That said, the exegetical focus of *Ps115* could have contributed to its differences with *Eun*.

getical method. This study demonstrates that the frequent changes of subject which characterize this homily are the consequence of Basil drawing upon Origen's disjointed comments upon Psalm 115 and combining them with an anti-Eunomian polemic. Origen's interpretation of Psalm 115 is reconstructed chiefly on the basis of his scattered interpretations of selected verses from the psalm in his works, but also from the exegetical fragments attributed to him in the catena. A third source is used as well, Jerome's *Tractatus* on Psalm 115, which, like all his tractates on the psalms, are widely seen as Latin adaptations of authentic homilies of Origen. In his exegesis of most of the verses of Psalm 115 Basil has borrowed from Origen but not without modifications and additions according to his own lights. In particular, Basil used Origen's anti-philosophical polemic in his interpretation of Psalm 155:1-2 to develop an attack on the theological methodology of his opponent, Eunomius. *On Psalm 115* thus contains a unique polemical construction of Eunomius on the part of Basil that complements the presentation of opponent in other works such as the *Contra Eunomium*. Therefore, this homily is a fine example of Basil deploying his sources from the tradition to meet contemporary challenges.

Mark DELCOGLIANO
University of St. Thomas
<mark.delcogliano@stthomas.edu>

Can These Bones Live¹?

Gregory of Nyssa's Appropriation of Aristotelian Psychology in *On the Soul* and *the Resurrection*

Luis Josué SALÉS

(New York City)

“The hand of the Lord was upon me, and he brought me out by the Spirit of the Lord and set me in the middle of a valley; it was full of bones. He led me back and forth among them, and I saw many bones on the floor of the valley and behold, they were very dry. He asked me, ‘Son of man, can these bones live?’”

Ezekiel 37:1-3

Introduction

It has become a sedimented commonplace among late ancient scholarship that Aristotelian philosophy scarcely functioned as a dialectically constitutive force in the formation of the Greek Christian intellectual identity. Christians like Origen and Gregory of Nyssa have long been read in such a way, with the assumption that their non-Christian inspiration came from Platonic sources – and Platonic sources only. In some rare instances, this presupposition can be found in stated form. Gustave Bardy, for example, claims that: “Origen will adopt more than anything, with regard to Aristotle, an attitude of defiance; he is not, in any case, familiar with his thought and he never regards him as his inspirer.”² This belief about Origen’s relation to the Stagirite is more often tacit, as can be seen in the work of Jacques-François Denis, and others who have built upon it, like Henri Crouzel, Owen Chadwick, and Panayiotis Tzamalikos.³ It is possible

¹ Gregorius Nyssenus, *De anima et resurrectione*, ed. by A. SPIRA and E. MÜHLENBERG, Leiden, 2014 (*GNO* 3.3), p. 103.14-104.1.

² G. BARDY, *Origène et l'Aristotélisme*, Paris, 1932, p. 83.

³ See H. CROUZEL, *Origène*, Paris, 1984, p. 208. See for a more expanded version *Origène et la Philosophie*, Paris, 1962. While Crouzel is correct in pointing out some of the aspects

that this assumption stems from the often overheard dichotomous generalization that the Latin West was “Aristotelian” and the Greek East “Platonic” – these divisions themselves presupposing that “Aristotelian” and “Platonic” philosophies were diametrically opposed to each other – or perhaps from the late-nineteenth century historical-critical polemics that cast early Christianity as a Platonizing distortion of the “pure” message of Jesus Christ and his apostles. Whatever the reason, the belief that Greek-speaking Christians like Origen or those who followed some programs of his theological enterprise, like Gregory of Nyssa, were unfamiliar with Aristotle seems counterintuitive if compared with what the ancients themselves said about this matter.

According to Photios’ collection and review of ancient documents, the *Library*, Origen had studied alongside Plotinos (whose intimate knowledge of Aristotle is on lavish display throughout the bulk of the *Enneads*) under Ammonios Sakkas. According to the Constantinopolitan bishop, Hierokles informs us that Ammonios Sakkas: “... saw well the [perspectives] of each of the two philosophers [i.e., Plato and Aristotle], and having drawn them together under one and the same sense (νοῦς) also transmitted philosophy without conflicts to all those known to him, but especially to the finest of those who had fallen in with him, Plotinos, Origen, and those who came after them.”⁴ It seems difficult to believe that under such tutelage Origen would have had an “Aristotelian gap”, so to speak, in his education. But the foregoing prejudice against Aristotle is not limited to Origen. Most recently in 2013 Hans Boersma studied the doctrine of virtue and its relation to the body in an otherwise outstanding work entitled *Embodiment and Virtue in Gregory of Nyssa: An Anagogical Approach*. The author, however, perplexingly confines the Peripatetic’s relevance for his

of Aristotelian philosophy that Origen rejects, not only does this presuppose that Origen is to that extent familiar with his philosophy, but Crouzel also overlooks rather positive mentions about other Aristotelian doctrines, especially noting that Aristotelianism corresponds to human needs and rationally accepts the value of good things in life more than any other system of philosophy. See *Treatise against Kelsos*, 1.10, ed. by P. M. BORRET, 2005 (SC 132), p. 102.18-104.20.

See also H. CHADWICK, “Origen, Celsus, and the Resurrection of the Body,” *Harvard Theological Review*, 41.2 (1948), p. 83-102, where Chadwick does not mention the possible Aristotelian elements at play in Origen’s defense of the resurrection.

M. J. DENIS, *De la Philosophie d’Origène*, St. Nazaire, 1884, p. 16.

P. TZAMALIKOS, *Origen: Philosophy of History and Eschatology*, Leiden, 2007, p. 339.

⁴ Extant in Photios, *Library*, ed. by R. HENRY, Paris, 1959-1977, 251.461a32-39. For further commentary, see G. KARAMANOLIS, *Plato and Aristotle in Agreement?: Platonists on Aristotle from Antiochus to Porphyry*, Oxford, 2006, p. 193. I side with the view that the Origen referred to herein is none other than the Christian Origen.

study to a passing mention in a single footnote.⁵ As a result, it is often difficult to identify the reason for neglecting Aristotle, since his irrelevance seems to be taken for granted.⁶ And while it is true that Gregory of Nyssa drew extensively on Platonic sources, this borrowing does not entail his tacit rejection of Aristotle's philosophy *tout court*. On the contrary, given his Platonic contemporaries' attitudes to and extensive appropriations of Aristotle, Gregory's engagement with the Platonism of his time would have also included significant – and generally positive – coverage of the Stagirite's work.

The foregoing scholarly assumption is not entirely unprecedented, for it shares a curious parallel with Eunomios, Gregory's career-long theological adversary. We can infer on the basis of one of Gregory's passages in *Against Eunomios* that in their first theological "round", Eunomios proceeded assuming Gregory's complete ignorance of Peripatetic philosophy, only to discover too late into the disputation that the Nyssen's knowledge of Aristotle vastly surpassed his own.⁷ Nevertheless, this parallel raises the question: Why has Gregory of Nyssa struck intellectuals, both contemporary and modern, as unfamiliar with Aristotelian thought? Because the *corpus Nysseni* is far too large to treat comprehensively, this article will focus on a single theme and, largely, a single work in order to provide a manageable in-depth case study that hints at an answer to this question. Thus, this article will detail how Gregory appropriated and transformed Aristotelian psychology in his treatise *On the Soul and the Resurrection*. By way of prolepsis, I will propose here that Gregory's use of Aristotle could be understandably overlooked because he had so thoroughly, perhaps even seamlessly, appropriated and transformed the Aristotelian source material. But conversely, Gregory's doctrine of the soul and his defense of the resurrection derived from it would be unthinkable without Aristotle's philosophy.

This essay will extensively employ the analytical category of "appropriation" in order to illumine the relationship of Gregory of Nyssa to Aristotle, so I must clarify the term. By appropriation I mean the procedure by which something that is not one's own is taken over and modified in order to fit one's own particular concerns. Here, more precisely, it refers to the intellectual effort of a Christian bishop to adapt whatever he found

⁵ H. BOERSMA, *Embodiment and Virtue in Gregory of Nyssa: An Analogical Approach*, Oxford, 2013, p. 172.

⁶ For similar assumptions, see also C. APOSTOLOPOULOS, *Phaedo Christianus: Studien zur Verbindung und Abwägung des Verhältnisses zwischen dem platonischen „Phaidon“ und dem Dialog Gregors von Nyssa „Über die Seele und die Auferstehung.“* Frankfurt am Main, 1986 (with special thanks to Johan Leemans for bringing this reference to my attention).

⁷ Gregorius Nyssenus, *Contra Eunomium Libri*, ed. W. JÄGER, Leiden (GNO 1.2), p. 220.1-5.

useful in the philosophical legacies available to him in order to bolster his religion's case for the bodily resurrection of the dead. Naturally, the vexed question of Christianity's relationship to Hellenism, which has seen a range of answers,⁸ is implicit in our study, but the question does not come up here for its own sake; rather, this essay's center of gravity is to elucidate the Cappadocian's appropriation of Aristotelian philosophy in order to address his own perplexity at one of Christianity's most distinctive teachings. "Appropriation" as an analytical category possesses higher explanatory power for our purposes than other available categories in the field of intellectual history, such as "Abhängigkeit"⁹ or "dépendence"¹⁰ and "influence", all of which are extremely common words in late antique scholarship but which will prove inadequate in accounting for certain historical dynamics that are at the core of our investigation.¹¹ Thus, the concept of appropri-

⁸ Although Guillaume Budé, in his *De transitu Hellenismi ad Christianismum* published in 1535, was the first in modern times to propose something resembling a "Hellenization Theory," it was not until von Harnack championed the concept that it gained substantial traction. See A. von HARNACK, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, vol. 1, Tübingen, 1931, p. 20-21. His theory has been critiqued variously. See, for example, A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche: Von der Apostolischen Zeit bis zum Konzil von Chalcedon (451)*, vol. 1, Freiburg, 1979, *Hellenization Revisited: Shaping a Christian Response within the Greco-Roman World*, ed. by W. HELLEMAN, Washington DC, 1994, and more recently P. GAVRILYUK, *The Suffering of the Impassible God*, Oxford, 2004, particularly his introduction.

⁹ W. ULLMANN, "Der logische und der theologische Sinn des Unendlichkeitsbegriffes in der Gotteslehre Gregors von Nyssa", in *Bijdragen: International Journal for Philosophy and Theology*, 48.2, (1987), p. 150-171.

¹⁰ J. DANIÉLOU, *Platonisme et théologie mystique*, Paris, 1944, p. 229. In the case of Daniélou, sufficient charges have been made against what he himself termed a hypothetically-proposed interpretation as a first plan to permit some orientation (*Platonisme et théologie mystique*, p. 5). Ekkehard Mühlenberg writes about his work: "One cannot extricate oneself from the question concerning Christianity's behavior toward Greek philosophy so comfortably. The structure, which Daniélou acknowledges only as an accidental presupposition, remains nevertheless an essential component of the system." E. MÜHLENBERG, *Die Unendlichkeit Gottes bei Gregor von Nyssa: Gregors Kritik am Gottesbegriff der klassischen Metaphysik*, Göttingen, 1966, p. 25.

¹¹ In time, it would be increasingly unilluminating to speak of "dependence" or "influence" since Christianity came to achieve sufficient internal stability and sophistication to render dependence on the Ancients more nominal than substantial. Initial proof of this can be found by the sixth century in article 1.11.10 of the *Codex Iustinianus*, which imposes rather severe penalties on educators who teach the Classics, whether literature or philosophy, outside the bounds of normative Christian commentary and tradition. Compare N. SINIOS-SOGLOU's comments in "Plato Christianus: The Colonization of Plato and Identity Formation in Late Antiquity", in *Pseudologie: Études sur la fausseté dans la langue et dans la pensée*, ed. by P. HUMMEL, Paris, 2010, p. 145-176, specifically here p. 169. The presupposition for the law, that is, that such a thing as normative Christian boundaries exist, suggests there would have been a readily identifiable corpus or standard of proof for jurisprudential purposes. In this light, we can also make sense of various later Platonists' (e.g., Damaskios, Sim-

ation aims to keep our thinker's shifting context and concerns in sight in order to account for the passage of time and the tectonic shifts of history, while simultaneously ascribing active agency to him within the intellectual space he inhabited.

1. The Philosophers' Place in *On the Soul and the Resurrection*

Although six of the seven direct references Gregory makes to Aristotle in *Against Eunomios* are less than eulogizing, the urge to interpolate their tone or attitude to the Peripatetic into *On the Soul and the Resurrection*, should be resisted. Rather, we will take the dialogue on its own terms in order not to muddle its internal logic by importing foreign elements from other works, especially those that had not yet been written. This move is meant to avoid what John Behr has called the "usual synthetic presentation" of Gregory's anthropology and, we might add, theological thought more broadly.¹² In this case, it is readily apparent that Gregory does not demonstrate strong opposition to Aristotelian tenets, with the exception of the soul's mortality, as careful analysis of his own explanation of his relationship to non-Christian philosophers shows:

"So, going *by* (παρέντες) the Platonic chariot¹³ and the pair of horses yoked to it ... through all of which <images> he [Plato] philosophized the matters concerning the soul in riddle-form; and again such things as the philosopher [i.e., Aristotle] subsequent to the former [i.e., Plato] <philosophized>, who, following phenomena systematically and pains-takingly examining through diligence the subject matter now lying *before* us, declared through these that the soul is mortal; and leaving *behind* all those both prior to these men and those afterward, both those philosophizing in prose and those philosophizing in some rhythm and meter [e.g., Empedokles], we will make the divinely inspired Scripture the determining parameter (σχοπὸν) of the treatise ..." ¹⁴

plikios, Proklos Diadochos) use of "code-phrases" for Christians like οἱ κρατοῦντες, which as Siniosoglou indicates, refers to the Christians' ruling position (probably entailing governmental and, consequently, academic rule); there may also be a bitter *double entendre* behind this term, however, meaning "the appropriators" or, perhaps more literally, "the takers". See N. SINIOSGLOU'S, *Plato and Theodoret: The Christian Appropriation of Platonic Philosophy and the Hellenic Intellectual Resistance*, Cambridge, 2008, p. 46.

¹² J. BEHR, "The Rational Animal: A Rereading of Gregory of Nyssa's *De hominis opificio*," in *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 7.2 (1999), p. 219-247.

¹³ *Phaedrus* 246a.

¹⁴ *De an.et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 33.14-34.5 (emphases mine).

The statement accurately observes that there is no agreement among “the outsider philosophy” (ἡ ἔξω φιλοσοφία), even if it has discoursed “craftily” (τεχνικῶς) on such matters.¹⁵ He identifies their mistake with their erratic speculation concerning the soul (ἡ περὶ ψυχῆς θεωρία), whereas “we” Gregory contrasts, “... using the Holy Scripture for the standard and rule of every doctrine (δόγματος) and necessarily looking to it, accept only that which might be harmonious with the sense of what has been written.”¹⁶ The Cappadocian’s qualification suggests that he will not out of hand dismiss all philosophical teachings.

Gregory, does dismiss both Epicurean and Stoic psychologies rather swiftly, since these two schools were materialists who, it seems, could offer little to his psychological investigation.¹⁷ Curiously, however, in the longer citation above, the Nyssen divides philosophers into those “being gone by” (Plato and Aristotle) and those “left behind” (the rest). In Greek, as in English, the two terms, “going by” (παρέντες) and “leaving behind” (καταλιπόντες) can in some cases convey a roughly synonymous sense of disregarding or overlooking. But Gregory’s use of the terms in close conjunction is peculiar. The prepositional prefixes (παρ- and κατα-) often function as directional indicators, where the former indicates the flanks and the latter the rearguard. Given that the terms are composed of different prepositional prefixes and root verbs, we should consider whether they are as synonymous as they appear on first reading. Both the prepositional prefixes and root verbs manifestly refer to different actions. Whereas καταλιπόντες with or without the preposition indicates leaving something, the same cannot be said about παρέντες, which is a far more ambivalent term. It is possible to understand these two terms as part of a complex methodological metaphor, where both Plato and Aristotle are situated on the side (παρ-) – his proverbial fellow travelers, whereas the other philosophers are indeed given no attention and thus left behind (κατ-).

This suspicion is borne out by the words Gregory uses to refer to Aristotle, and to Aristotle alone. Although the verb “going by” (παρέντες) from Plato’s clause must be the operative participle taking the first term (ᾧσα) in Aristotle’s sentence as a direct object, Gregory separates it from Aristotle’s own clause so far that some manuscripts even added the resumptive particle αὖ as if to bring the verb back to memory; one may attribute this insertion to the fact that the sentence originally meant to veil the “abandonment” of

¹⁵ *De an. et res.*, (GNO 3.3), p. 33.7.

¹⁶ *De an. et res.*, (GNO 3.3), p. 33.10-14.

¹⁷ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 8.12-19.4. For the Epicurean materiality of the soul clearly expressed see *Epistula ad Herodotum*, 63, 67, in *Epicuro: Opere*, ed. by G. ARRIGHETTI, 2nd ed., Turin, 1973.

Aristotle. Whatever the phrase may mean, it has to be reconciled with the fact that Gregory speaks in the same clause of Aristotle as a philosopher "... following phenomena systematically and painstakingly examining through diligence the subject matter now lying before us."¹⁸ These words of praise are not inconsequential, nor is the fact that Aristotle's findings are paired with the subject matter that "lies before" (*προκειμένα*), likely a rhetorical continuation of the directional metaphor previously mentioned. Read in this light, the term *παρέντες* can hardly be taken as unqualified rejection of the Peripatetic. Also, Gregory must have been aware that *παρέντες* can lend itself to a *double entendre*, the second meaning of which is "to admit" or "let in", a meaning which "going by" can roughly convey in English. It remains to be seen whether these suggestions have support throughout the Cappadocian's treatise.

2. On the Soul

The dialogue described in the treatise allegedly took place when Gregory visited his sister Makrina, who was quickly wasting away due to a deadly fever. Ekkehard Mühlenberg has noted that the dialogue was an attempt to write a Christian *Phaedo*,¹⁹ since Sokrates argued in that dialogue that the soul's immortality should remove any reason for grief at one's impending death. Mühlenberg's observation is certainly insightful, since the tenor of both works is to provide some consolation against death,²⁰ because, on Gregory's view, to grieve "... is an emotion belonging to those alone who have no hope" (in the resurrection).²¹ But it might be problematic to interpret the treatise solely within the *consolatio* tradition, since numerous concerns other than the soul's immortality arise in the course of the dialogue.

a. What is the Soul?

When Gregory asks what the soul is, his sister provides two definitions. According to her, the soul is: 1) "... something immaterial and bodiless, in a way congruent with its particular nature operating and being moved, and through the bodily organs indicating its peculiar motions"²² and 2) "... an originated (*γεννητὴ*) substance, a living substance, intellectual, implanting

¹⁸ *De an. et res.*, (GNO 3.3), p. 33.18-34.2.

¹⁹ *Die Unendlichkeit Gottes*, p. 91.

²⁰ Henriette Meissner continued this line with significantly more nuance in her *Rhetorik und Theologie: Der Dialog Gregors von Nyssa De anima et resurrectione*, Frankfurt am Main, 1991, p. 47.

²¹ *De an. et res.*, (GNO 3.3), p. 2.7-8.

²² *De an. et res.*, (GNO 3.3), p. 14.14-16.

in the organic and sensory body a capacity (δύναμιν) for living, and susceptible to sense-perceptions, so long as the nature receptive of these stays together.”²³

On the one hand, the first definition is an implicit rejection of materialist psychologies, like the Stoic and Epicurean. On the other hand, defining the soul as immaterial could be congruent with either a Platonic or Aristotelian view. The second and third clauses, however, could cast some doubt on the Aristotelian provenance of the definition, since Aristotle had gone to notable extremes to deny that the soul moves,²⁴ whereas the soul’s self-movement was a touchstone of Platonic psychology, especially in the *Phaedo*’s argument for the soul’s immortality. According to Aristotle, the soul can only be said to move in two ways, one of which is equivocal, as when we say that the soul grieves, rejoices, is courageous, fears, is angered, or perceives and thinks.²⁵ He adds that to say that the soul is angered is like saying that the soul builds a house or weaves.²⁶ But he is ready to concede that grieving or being angered are movements in some general sense and that we can apply them to the soul, so long as we understand that the application is inexact: “Since it is probably better not to say that the soul pities, or learns, or thinks, but that the human does by means of the soul.”²⁷

The difficulty is only superficial. We must first note that the context is hardly suitable for a lengthy digression into Aristotelian psychokinetics, so the definition should be taken bearing that in mind. Gregory does, however, qualify the soul’s movement as movement “in a way congruent with its particular nature.” In this same passage, he also uses the passive voice for the participle that defines the soul’s motion: the soul does not move – *it is being moved* (κινουμένη). One possible interpretation of this use

²³ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 15.6-9.

²⁴ *De an.* 1.4. 408a29-409b18.

²⁵ *De an.* 1.4. 408b1-4.

²⁶ *De an.* 1.4. 408b13-14.

²⁷ *De an.* 1.4. 408b13-15. He goes on to explain his rationale: “And this is not the case because movement happens in it [the soul], but because it [movement] sometimes proceeds as far as it [the soul] and sometimes from it, for example, in the former, sense-perception proceeds from the sensory organs, in the latter, recollection proceeds from it [the soul] to the movements or resting places in the sensory organs.” *De an.* 1.4. 408b15-18. This model of incoming and outgoing motion has been explained in a remarkable essay by Klaus CORCIUS and Pavel GREGORIC in their essay “Aristotle’s Model of Animal Motion”, in *Phronesis* 58 (2013), p. 52-97 and cannot detain us here. One instance, however, should be offered. Gregory seems to be aware of Aristotle’s theory of sense-perception, especially his explanation of perceiving “accidentally” through a sense something that is not proper to that sense, such as the doctor “hearing” through touch with reference to Makrina’s artery. See *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 14.16-22 and compare to Aristotle, *De an.* 3.1. 425a14-425b4.

of the passive voice is to read it in light of Aristotle's concession that the soul can be said to move "accidentally."²⁸ Insofar as the soul is in the body (in the way that something that cannot be in space can be said to be "in" anything, as Gregory points out)²⁹ and the body moves to a different place, the soul is moved with it accidentally. In order to illuminate this idea, the Peripatetic draws an analogy between the body and the soul and sailors on a ship, who move with the ship when it does.³⁰ It is also peculiar that Gregory describes the soul's "operating" (ἐνεργοῦσά) with Aristotle's distinctive phrase.³¹ Similarly, he says that the soul has "movements" as opposed to itself moving. Gregory's most likely source here is also Aristotle's own analysis of the soul's movements.³²

The second definition similarly displays an appropriated Aristotelian psychology, although perhaps modified by Plotinos. On first inspection, the definition could seem distant from Aristotle because it does not offer his best-known definition of the soul: the actuality (ἐντελέχεια) of the body. This Aristotelian feature had attracted some criticism from Plotinos, although the Platonist's arguments are not properly speaking refutations as much as they are conclusions derived from different first principles, such as the soul's natural immortality and its ability to transmigrate.³³ While Gregory entirely avoids the specific term ἐντελέχεια, not only in this dialogue, but in all of his writings, he nevertheless retains the Aristotelian sense that the soul is the first actuality – or form – of the body, albeit with some qualifications. Perhaps this may be seen most clearly by juxtaposing his text with Aristotle's and Plotinos':

Aristotle (<i>De an.</i> 1.4 412a28-30)	Plotinos (<i>En.</i> 4.7.8 ⁵ .5-6)	Gregory (<i>De an. et res.</i> GNO 3.3, p. 15.6-8)
ψυχὴ ἐστὶν ἐντελέχεια ἡ πρώτη σώματος φυσικοῦ δυνάμει ζωὴν ἔχοντος. τοιοῦτο δέ, ὅ ἂν ᾗ ὁργανι- κόν.	τὴν ψυχὴν φασὶν ἐν τῷ συνθετῷ εἶδους τάξιν ὡς πρὸς ὕλην τὸ σῶμα ἔμ- ψυχον ἔχειν, σῶματος δὲ οὐ παντὸς εἶδος οὐδὲ ᾗ σῶμα, ἀλλὰ φυσικοῦ ὁρ- γανικοῦ δυνάμει ζωὴν ἔχοντος.	ψυχὴ ἐστὶν οὐσία γενη- τῇ, οὐσία ζωῶσα, νοερά, σώ- ματι ὁργανικῶ καὶ αἰσθη- τικῶ, δυνάμει ζωτικῇ ἀντιληπτικῇ δι' ἑαυτῆς ἐνεῖσα.

Words of similar derivation are bolded in order to highlight the common feature across the three texts: the soul is that in virtue of which an organic

²⁸ *De an.* 1.4. 408a31-34.

²⁹ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), 25.1-2.

³⁰ *De an.* 1.3, 406a7-9.

³¹ *Ethica Eudemia* 2.1.13 and 14, 1219b20 and 24.

³² *E.E.* 2.1.24, 1220a29-32.

³³ See *En.* 4.7.8⁵.36-40.

body has life in potentiality. It could seem at first that Gregory has followed Platonic suit and dismissed Aristotle's term ἐντελέχεια, preferring to define the soul with the language of "essence" (οὐσία) instead. But according to Aristotle's definition, the soul is the "first actuality" (ἐντελέχεια ἡ πρώτη), that is, the logical *sine qua non* through which a specific substance even exists. In the lines preceding the citation above, the Peripatetic had defined the soul as: τὴν ψυχὴν οὐσίαν εἶναι ὡς εἶδος σώματος φυσικοῦ δυνάμει ζωὴν ἔχοντος, ("the soul is a *substance* as form of the *natural body* having life in potentiality").³⁴ According to the Stagitire, there are first and second actualities. First actuality is the precondition for the second actuality, which is attained through the realization of the potentialities inhering in a substance, because a first actuality *is* substance, as Aristotle explicitly states: ἡ δ' οὐσία ἐντελέχεια ("and substance is actuality").³⁵ Thus, when Gregory defines the soul as "substance" (οὐσία) he might not, after all, be overlooking or rejecting the idea of ἐντελέχεια. Rather, he has merely resorted to the meaning more directly associated with the soul *qua* first principle.

The second definition also hints at an appropriated Aristotelian psychology when Gregory refers to it as "... susceptible to sense-perceptions, so long as the nature receptive of these stays together." Aristotle had already established that the soul was the center through which sensory perceptions ran and triggered motions in the limbs. He elucidated: "... it [movement] sometimes proceeds as far as it [the soul] and sometimes from it, for example, in the former case, sense-perception proceeds from the sensory organs, in the latter case, recollection proceeds from it [the soul] to the movements or resting places in the sensory organs."³⁶ The Nyssen appears to be referring to this aspect of the soul in his definition, expanding on the first definition's claim that the soul indicates its peculiar motions through the bodily organs. We might provisionally conclude that Gregory had found at least certain aspects of Aristotle's psychology compatible with his endeavors.

b. Soul: Form of the Body

As already indicated, one of the most distinctive features about Aristotle's psychology was to define the soul as the actuality (ἐντελέχεια) of the body.³⁷ The soul of each organism is the first actuality serving as precondition for the realization of its inherent potentialities. The Peripatetic explains: "We

³⁴ *De an.* 2.1, 412a20-21 (Emphases mine).

³⁵ *De an.* 2.1, 412a22. He elucidates this idea further at 2.4, 415b9-29.

³⁶ *De an.* 1.4, 408b15-18.

³⁷ *De an.* 2.1, 412a9-10.

designate 'substance' one given class of beings, and of this substance the one as 'matter', which in itself is not any particular anything, and the other 'shape' or 'form' (εἶδος), according to which a particular something is actually designated, and a third, the thing resulting from these. And matter is potentiality and form actuality."³⁸ "Consequently," Aristotle goes on, "it is necessary for the soul to be the substance as a form of the physical body having life in potentiality. And substance is actuality. Thus, it [i.e., the soul] is the actuality of some such body."³⁹

Corresponding with his hylemorphic theory, the soul is the rational or logical first principle (ἀρχή)⁴⁰ which gives one of three forms of life, vegetative, sensory, or intellectual, to the body of which it is the form (εἶδος). The soul, however, cannot be separated from the body, since the two are (onto)logically and intricately dependent on each other for being what they are. Aristotle resorts to one of his favorite examples to clarify: "Thus also one needs not inquire whether the soul and the body are one any more than, as for instance, whether the wax and the seal are one, nor generally whether what is not matter and the matter of each thing <that is not matter> are one."⁴¹ Only conceptual separation is possible. Thus, psychologies that reflect this intimate relationship of body and soul are most likely of Aristotelian provenance.⁴² A brief comparison to a leading Platonic theorist, Plotinos, should make the contrast to Aristotelian psychology clear.

As already noted, Plotinos criticized Aristotle's view that the soul is the ἐντελέχεια of the body.⁴³ On the contrary, Plotinos expanded on a long line of Platonic philosophy that had identified the soul with the self.⁴⁴ It is able to enter and exit bodies that are generically different at reincarnation and death, making Aristotle's ἐντελέχεια theory impossible.⁴⁵ More-

³⁸ *De an.* 2.1, 412a6-9.

³⁹ *De an.* 2.1, 412a20-22.

⁴⁰ *De an.* 1.1, 402a8.

⁴¹ *De an.* 2.1, 412b6-9.

⁴² It can of course be argued that Origen had already appropriated the idea of the subject subsisting out of inseparable parts, body and soul, and that Gregory can be getting it from his *Commentary on John* (6.7, PG 14 col. 220BC), rather than from Aristotle directly. And this could well be true. In either case, however, it does not discount the fact that the original Christian debt is to Aristotle, who himself had already been appropriated by Origen. Moreover, it would likely be illuminating to push back against sole dependence on Origen or purely Christian sources (perhaps vaguely Methodios of Olympos' *Aglaophon* 1.11, PG 18 col. 280C), since even this "unnecessary multiplication of principles" does not elegantly account for Gregory's more deeply (onto)logical codependence of body and soul, found only in Aristotelian sources.

⁴³ *En.* 4.7.8⁵.

⁴⁴ *En.* 4.7.1.25.

⁴⁵ *En.* 4.7.8⁵.38-40.

over, Plotinos offered some objections to the Aristotelian ἐντελέχεια theory, such as its inability to account for the soul's "being cut and in different parts" in the case of severed limbs.⁴⁶ Rather, Plotinos suggests that: "It, consequently, does not have existence by being the form of something, but is a being (οὐσία!), not acquiring its being from the foundation in the body, but rather already *being* (οὖσα) even prior to such *becoming*."⁴⁷ Gregory's previous definition of the soul as οὐσία does not quite match Plotinos' here, whose emphasis falls on the recognizably Platonic doctrine that the soul "obviously ... really is a being" (δῆλον ... ὅντως οὐσίαν εἶναι).⁴⁸ The Platonist's meaning of "a being" (οὐσία) in this section is obfuscated by the incidence of some sixteen derivatives of the verb "to be" in the definition of the soul, but most likely is meant to give the soul independent hypostatic existence.⁴⁹ As such, his extensive punning probably intends to demonstrate the intimate correlation of souls to Being itself: souls are hypostatic unities, hypostatic beings that reflect Being itself in their unity and existence. But these articulations seem far from Gregory's and Aristotle's.⁵⁰

Gregory's aims, mentioned in passing above, are set on describing three different "stages", as it were, of the body-soul relationship: 1) at conception, 2) in life, and 3) after life. The first stands as a direct rejection of Platonic or Pythagorean preexistence theories. The second implies the (onto) logical simultaneity of body and soul as needing to be of a certain "type" of soul (vegetative, sensory, intellectual), which was a distinctive mark of Aristotle's argument against the soul's preexistence and transmigration.⁵¹ As was the case with Aristotle, Gregory found it necessary to discourse on the predicates of this rational soul by investigating its relationship to the emotions and virtues. The third is a deviation from Aristotle's belief in the soul's mortality by extending psychosomatic union beyond death. What is important to note here is that the three psycho-somatic stages all assume that the soul is the form of the body. Let this assumption remain a given

⁴⁶ *En.* 4.7.8⁵.8-9.

⁴⁷ *En.* 4.7.8⁵.40-43 (emphases mine).

⁴⁸ *En.* 4.7.8⁵.47.

⁴⁹ *En.* 4.7.8⁵.40-50.

⁵⁰ Note especially that, based on his less-than-vigorous attempt to refute Aristotle in 4.7.8⁵, he goes on to define the soul in line with *Phdr.* 245c9 as the "first principle of motion" (ἀρχὴ κινήσεως) in direct contradiction of Aristotle's refutation (*De an.* 1.3, 406b27-407a3) of Plato's narrative in *Timaeus* 34bc concerning the soul and its natural movement as that in virtue of which the body itself moves.

⁵¹ Throughout Aristotle assumes that the body-soul relationship is one of ontological codependence and simultaneity: the one is impossible without the other, since their coexistence belongs through the fourth category (relation/πρὸς τι) to things defined in ontological "simultaneity" (ἄμα). See *Cat* 7, 7a15-20.

until a later section where the evidence that confirms it can be presented more extensively.

c. Transmigration or Psychogenesis?

Gregory of Nyssa appropriated Aristotle's doctrine of the logical simultaneity of body and soul in order to counter transmigration doctrines. The Peripatetic conceived of the soul as a logical principle, not as a separable, self-moved being with the ability to survive the death of the body and pass elsewhere after being separated from it. Aristotle therefore argued that there are three kinds of souls, understood as the constitutive or substantial principles of a particular form of life that have existence so long as they remain a particular being's entelechy.

The soul was teleological for Aristotle. It was the first actuality as the substance wherein inhere potentialities that are actualized relative to the ends determined and limited by the substance.⁵² This psychology contradicted Pythagorean and Platonic variations on transmigration doctrines.⁵³ Thus, Aristotle identified three kinds of souls, the vegetative, the animal, and the rational,⁵⁴ each with its own substance-based telos.⁵⁵ As a result, transmigration for him seemed simply an equivocal idea: "... it would be as if someone were to say that carpentry goes into flutes."⁵⁶ By this phrase the Stagirite indicates that the logical principles that delimit a substance are the reason for what it is and what it can become, but are not the kind of thing that can pass from a body to another.

Gregory uses similar arguments rather extensively⁵⁷ and raises his own set of concerns about transmigration, including the disturbing possibility that one might eat one's own ancestor or friend who has transmigrated into a plant or animal after death.⁵⁸ In this section, the Nyssen manifestly presupposes Aristotle's threefold division of souls into vegetative, sensory, and intellectual.⁵⁹ Although the Christian makes it seem that this tripartite division is clearly contained in the creation narrative of Genesis (where plants come first, animals second, and humans, encompassing the previous two kinds of soul-capacities, as well as their own intellectual capacity,

⁵² *De an.* 2.2, 414a15-21 and 414a25-29.

⁵³ *De an.* 1.3, 407b20-27.

⁵⁴ *De an.* 2.2, 414a15-21.

⁵⁵ *De an.* 2.3, 414a29-33.

⁵⁶ *De an.* 1.3, 407b24-25.

⁵⁷ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 80.8-89.11. See Aristotle, *De an.* 1.3, 407b20-27.

⁵⁸ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 83.15-84.8.

⁵⁹ *De an.* 2.2, 414a15-21.

come last), the textual parallels to the salient passages in Aristotle⁶⁰ are far too close for them to be accidental coincidences. Gregory then asks: “So the question was, since souls have not preexisted bodies, when and how do they come into being?”⁶¹

While he defers an answer about the “how” of the soul’s existence, he posits a recognizable Aristotelian formulation about the body-soul relationship: “There is left only to suppose that the coming into existence (συστάσεως) of body and soul is one and the same.”⁶² He goes on to elucidate their simultaneous development:

“So, just as in the case of sprouting seeds growth advances gradually⁶³ toward perfection, in the same way also in the case of human formation the potentiality of the soul shows through in proportion to (πρὸς) the rational principle (λόγον) pertinent to human size (ποσότητος). First, through the principle of nourishment and growth it is gestated by the internal formative powers. And after these things, it supplies the sensorial gift to those brought into light, and thereafter, like a proverbial fruit still growing from the plant, it gradually displays rational capacity, not all at once, but in growing together with the plant’s sprouting through gradual development ... From these things we grasp the fact that their coming into being is a parallel road in virtue of the compound united from both, neither the one being prior, nor the other subsequent.”⁶⁴

Gregory’s passage echoes his earlier definition that the soul is an originated (γεννητή) substance, not a preexistent being that reincarnates at the proper time⁶⁵; it also restates his thesis that the Genesis account identified botanical, animal, and human life, but also attributed humans with the qualities of plants (nutrition) and animals (sensory perception and motion) since they pass through similar stages as they develop. Finally, the text explicitly states Gregory’s belief that body and soul come into being simultane-

⁶⁰ *De an. et res. (GNO 3.3)*, p. 40.8-42.6. See Aristotle’s *De an.* 2.2, 413a20-33, 413b1-414a4, and 3.3, 427a18-429b10.

⁶¹ *GNO 3.3*, p. 94.16-17.

⁶² λείπεται οὖν μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος ἀρχὴν τῆς συστάσεως οἶεσθαι. *De an. et res. GNO 3.3*, p. 95.8-9.

⁶³ One of the more important variants in the manuscripts and Migne’s text is apparent here. While it seems the majority of witnesses attest to the adverbial phrase κατ’ ὀλίγον, there is an equally valid meaning preserved not just by Migne’s nineteenth century edition, but by the eleventh century Florentinus Laurentianus, where the phrase runs κατὰ λόγον ἢ αὖξῆσις ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον πρόεισι, that is, “advancing toward perfection according to a rational principle”, which indicates more strongly the parallel with the following phrase, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης συστάσεως πρὸς λόγον...

⁶⁴ *De an. et res. (GNO 3.3)*, 96.2-17.

⁶⁵ *De an. et res. (GNO 3.3)*, p. 15.6.

ously and culminate their development with rational thought. With regard to this specific point, a brief allusion to Gregory's *On the Making of the Human* might prove illuminating as a theological parallel to *On the Soul and the Resurrection*. In section 29, Gregory is primarily concerned with demonstrating that the body and soul come into being simultaneously. For him, the contrary, that the soul preexists the body or the body the soul, would indicate some imperfection or weakness in the Creator, who could not make them together.⁶⁶ He concludes, rather, that "it is not true to say that the soul is before the body or that the body is without the soul, but that both <have> one beginning."⁶⁷ Later in the same section, the Nyssen offers a similar analogy as that in *On the Soul and the Resurrection* between plants, animals, and humans, where human development culminates with the manifestation and exercise of reason.⁶⁸ It would appear that Gregory dedicated considerable attention to the psychological consequences of locating rational thought in the human soul, since he had to explain the relationship between reason and "vestiges" of earlier stages of development, like the emotions, to which we now turn.

3. Psychology and Aretology

Gregory addressed the relationship between the rational soul and the emotions by means of a rather heated debate with his sister concerning virtue and vice.

a. Emotion and Virtue

The most extensive engagement with virtue runs from pages 34 to 48 of the dialogue. This section of the dialogue is framed by Makrina's attempt to identify the particularizing property that makes the human soul substantially human in light of her prior statement that nothing should be considered particular to the human soul which is not also particular to the divine nature.⁶⁹ Thus, common properties like spiritedness (*θυμός*) and desire (*ἐπιθυμία*),⁷⁰ which are not seen, in her view, in the divine nature,

⁶⁶ Gregorius Nyssenus, *De hominis opificio*. PG 44 col. 236A.

⁶⁷ *De hom. op.* PG 44 col. 236B.

⁶⁸ *De hom. op.* PG 44 col. 237BCD.

⁶⁹ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 34.5-7.

⁷⁰ It is certainly interesting that she should pick these two faculties which appear prevalently in Plato's writings as constitutive aspects of his psychology, for example, in *Cratylus* 419d8, *Sophista* 228b2, and *Republic* 440b1-2, etc. which were later analyzed and developed by Aristotle in *De an.* 3.10, 432a24-26. See G. PEARSON, *Aristotle on Desire*, Cambridge, 2012, p. 34-39.

must be set aside as foreign to the human substance. Also, since spiritedness and desire appear in animals as well, they cannot be individuating characteristics of human souls.⁷¹ Her brother challenges her, however, stating that these traits cannot be alien to human nature and by inference must be reckoned as part of human nature.⁷² Makrina retorts that they cannot be the particularizing property of human souls, that is, reason, because they combat it rather often; therefore, humans ought to be rid of them as much as possible, as Moses' example demonstrates.⁷³ She argues that because the qualities that appear around the soul due to spiritedness or desire appear in antithetical reciprocity (ἀντιθέτου ἀλλήλοισις), like cowardice and rashness, they cannot be substantive definitions of the soul⁷⁴; on the contrary, they are as warts (μυρμηκίαι) that have grown onto (ἐκφυόμεναι) the soul and are thus unnatural to it.⁷⁵

Following Aristotle's taxonomical logic, Makrina seeks to define the human soul not by reference to what it has in common with other living things, but by reference to what separates it from them. For that reason, she can assert that spiritedness and desire, or cowardice and rashness, do not differentiate humans from animals, since the latter equally possess these characteristics. What is curious about this passage, is that it blends the Aristotelian doctrine of the mean (which Gregory expresses in more detail in the *Life of Moses*)⁷⁶ with the more Stoic idea that *pathos* must be eliminated. According to Aristotle, most virtues have two opposite vices, one of excess, one of deficiency. For example, cowardice is the vice of deficiency and rashness the vice of excess relative to the virtue of courage.⁷⁷ In this Aristotle differed from Plato, who had posited a correspondence of one vice per virtue and his nephew and successor at the Academy, Speusippos who promoted a view similar to the Stoic, which called for impassibility (ἀπάθεια).⁷⁸

⁷¹ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 35.8-11.

⁷² *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 36.4-6.

⁷³ Warren SMITH in *Passion and Paradise: Human and Divine Emotion in the Thought of Gregory of Nyssa* New York, 2004, p. 63 insightfully identifies the underlying Aristotelian taxonomical logic between *genera* and *differentiae* at play in this part of the dialogue.

⁷⁴ Very likely invoking Aristotle's *Cat.* 5, 2b30-38, 3a22-29, and 3a33-3b9.

⁷⁵ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 38.10-14.

⁷⁶ *Ethica Nicomachea.* 2.2.7, 1104a25-27. See Gregorius Nyssenens, *De vita Mosis*, 2.243, ed. by J. DANIELLOU, Paris, 2007 (SC 1, 3rd ed.), p. 272.1-274, 12.

⁷⁷ Aristotle provides some helpful examples in *E.N.* 2.6.2ff, 1107b1 ff.

⁷⁸ *Protagoras* 332c9-11. In line with his belief that Gregory only gave Christian names to Platonic ideas, Harold CHERNISS argues in *The Platonism of Gregory of Nyssa*, New York, 1930, p. 55 that Gregory holds to some form of what would be termed an "identity thesis" of the virtues as Plato seems to have held. Andrew RADDE-GALLWITZ criticizes him on

What happens following is curious for this dialogue, where Gregory usually assumed the position of student and gives Makrina only “nominal pushback” as he plays devil’s advocate. Gregory goes on the offensive and challenges Makrina’s harsh treatment of the emotions by echoing the Stagirite’s words regarding them.⁷⁹ He argues that the emotions have in fact been of great aid to the virtuous: “For Daniel desire was praiseworthy, and Phineas by his spiritedness placated God, and we learned that the beginning of wisdom is fear, and from Paul we heard that the end of godlike grief is salvation.”⁸⁰ He concludes that such things cannot be considered to be blameworthy passions (πάθη), since passions would not bring with them the successful accomplishment of virtue.

In an unprecedented way in the dialogue, Makrina takes a step back and admits her fault in the confusion, modifying her original formulation to claim that the emotions or passions come to be part of the human externally (ἔξωθεν ἐπιγενέσθαι), since they are not part of the divine Archetype.⁸¹ She attributes these accretions to the fact that humans develop through the three stages of nutrition, sense perception, and intellect – as per the Peripatetic’s description.⁸² The external accretions come through what she considers our unfortunate nutritive and sensory stages of life, which give us the impulses of desire and spiritedness, among others. As she continues her thought process, she finally acknowledges that the emotions (πάθη) were given us by God and cannot be purely evil, for he would then be responsible for our transgression.⁸³ Her solution is to propose that they stand on the borderline (μεθόριω) of the soul⁸⁴ and human deliberate choice makes them become tools of virtue or vice.⁸⁵ As such, the emotions “disappear” in a sense, because they are no longer simply “neutral” but are rather imbued with the predicates of a virtue or vice, of which they are a constitutive element, and cannot be considered “simple emotions” any longer.

The tension in the sibling dialogue dissolves when read against Aristotle’s account of the relationship between the emotions and the virtues. Two key aspects of Aristotle’s aretology appear to inform the Cappadocian’s logic. The first is that the untrained emotions can run amok in disastrous ways.⁸⁶

this count in “Gregory of Nyssa on the Reciprocity of the Virtues”, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 58.2 (2007), p. 537-552, on p. 541.

⁷⁹ *E.N.* 2. 3.5, 1104b21-27.

⁸⁰ *De an. et res.* (*GNO* 3.3), p. 38.16-19.

⁸¹ *De an. et res.* (*GNO* 3.3), p. 39.11-16.

⁸² *De an. et res.* (*GNO* 3.3), p. 40.8-17.

⁸³ *De an. et res.* (*GNO* 3.3), p. 42.4-8.

⁸⁴ *De an. et res.* (*GNO* 3.3), p. 39.17.

⁸⁵ *De an. et res.* (*GNO* 3.3), p. 42.8-10.

⁸⁶ *De an. et res.* (*GNO* 3.3), p. 45.7-13 and *E.N.* 1.13.16, 1102b18-22.

So the Cappadocian: “You see,’ she said ‘that there is a certain kind of contention (μάχη) of rational principle (λογισμοῦ) with these [emotions/passions] ...”⁸⁷ Similarly so the Peripatetic: “And something else besides rational principle (λόγον) appears to develop naturally in them [people], which contends (μάχεται) with and resists rational principle (λόγω).”⁸⁸ Both these statements attribute these emotions to the earlier stages of growth, which involve of necessity that which is by nature irrational, as previously indicated. Gregory explains this process by referencing the Biblical parable of the tares (Mt 13:24-30),⁸⁹ where the irrational is allowed to grow with the rational in the hopes that by not uprooting the one, the other likewise will not be lost.

This parable leads to the second and more positive aspect in the two thinkers’ accounts. Aristotle and Gregory posit that the emotions ought not be annihilated for virtue; rather, the emotions must participate in or be ruled by rational principle.⁹⁰ Aristotle’s objection to the unqualified eradication of the emotions alluded to earlier explains why: “But humans become wicked through pleasures and pains, by following or fleeing them [i.e., pleasures and pains], either those they should not, or when they should not, or in the way they should not, or in so many different ways under which such things are defined by logic (λόγου). In consequence, the virtues have been defined as a kind of impassibility or tranquility; but not properly so, for they speak unqualifiedly, since the ‘right or wrong way,’ the ‘when,’ and all the other considerations are not added.”⁹¹ Thus, Aristotle’s complaint is that virtue is not the *tout court* extirpation of the emotions, but their operation in line with the rational principle of a virtuous disposition.

The Peripatetic continues to expand on this idea by positing that the irrational: “Appears to participate of this rational principle (λόγου), as we said; for it obeys rational principle in the self-controlled man – and is probably still more inclined in the case of the temperate and courageous man; for all <emotions> are in harmony with rational principle.”⁹² Similarly, Makrina withdraws⁹³ her earlier, more hostile view toward the emo-

⁸⁷ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 36.7.

⁸⁸ *E.N.* 1.13.15, 1102b17-19. Also see E. KONSTANTINOU, *Die Tugendlehre Gregors von Nyssa im Verhältniss zu der Antik-Philosophischen und Jüdisch-Christlichen Tradition*, Würzburg, 1966, p. 46-48.

⁸⁹ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 44.9-46.21. and *E.N.* 1.13.15, 1102b13-15.

⁹⁰ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 46.6 (δέοντα λόγον) and *E.N.* 2.2.2, 1103a32-33 (ὁρθὸν λόγον).

⁹¹ *E.N.* 2.3.5, 1104b21-27.

⁹² *E.N.* 1.13.17, 1102b25-28.

⁹³ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 39.17-40.3.

tions⁹⁴ in light of her brother's objection.⁹⁵ She concedes, in words reminiscent of Aristotle's above, that: "Consequently, if reason (λόγος), which is in fact characteristic of [our] nature, were to exercise rule over the external accretions ... no given one of these kinds of motions would operate in us in service of vice, but fear would produce obedience, and spiritedness what is courageous, and timidity precaution, and the desiring impulse would procure for us divine and undefiled pleasure."⁹⁶ The general thrust of the full passage, then, seems to indicate that her ultimate concern is not the extinction of the emotions as an end in itself, but their proper operation in line with virtue. To clarify this position, she refers to the parable of the tares and asks rhetorically what ability humans would have for virtue without desire, spiritedness, and the other emotions.⁹⁷ By these words, Makrina has in effect reversed her initial proposition and is thus not so far removed from Aristotle's own.⁹⁸

It seems then that for Gregory emotion *qua* emotion ought not disappear; rather, an emotion is simply a capacity of the soul that is determined to be vicious or virtuous relative to a specific context. The moral quality of an emotion is thus determined by reference to the virtuous or vicious character state from which it arises. Spiritedness, for example, does not in itself exist as anything but a capacity of the soul. But when it is in operation, the conditions under which it occurs determine whether it is a virtue or a vice. When spiritedness occurs at the wrong time, or in the wrong way, or with the wrong intensity, whether of excess or deficiency, it might be termed either cowardice or rashness.⁹⁹ Gregory, in turn, sees in the virtues a reflection of the divine Archetype¹⁰⁰ that simplifies the soul and makes it uniform.¹⁰¹

b. Eschatological Blessedness and the Psychosomatic Consequences of Virtue

When Gregory of Nyssa appropriated Aristotle's psychology, specifically the idea that the soul is the form of the body, and put it in the service of Christian eschatology, he undoubtedly went far beyond anything the philosopher could have ever predicted. For now, we must leave a more

⁹⁴ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 35.18-36.3.

⁹⁵ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 38.16-39.5.

⁹⁶ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 42.13-43.1.

⁹⁷ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 45.13-19.

⁹⁸ *E.N.* 2.5.1-3, 1105b19-1106a3.

⁹⁹ For Aristotle's detailed discussion, see *E.E.* 2.2.3-2.3.5, 1220b7-1221a15.

¹⁰⁰ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 76.10-77.13.

¹⁰¹ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 69.15-22.

detailed discussion of the resurrection to a side and center our attention on the relationship between virtue and the afterlife. According to the Cappadocian, virtue impacts the afterlife insofar as it determines how quickly the dead will participate in the “blessedness hoped for.”¹⁰² In this way he mitigates, to some extent, some of the concerns his universalism has raised, since the moral quality of one’s earthly life does in fact make a difference for the afterlife.¹⁰³

According to the Nyssen, virtue makes no bodily difference in the afterlife; rather, the consequences of virtue have to do with the soul and the soul alone. He explains: “We say these things not as if a certain bodily difference appears in the resurrection among those who have lived according to virtue or vice, such that we consider the latter imperfect in bodily terms, and deem the former perfect.”¹⁰⁴ The blessedness that Gregory envisions seems not far off from the *eudemonia* posited by Aristotle: “And we call human virtue not virtue of the body, but rather virtue of the soul; and moreover we call *eudemonia* an activity of the soul.”¹⁰⁵ While some allowances must be made for the difference in time and religious presuppositions, both thinkers nevertheless wish to situate a person’s blessedness in the soul’s state, not in the bodily constitution. Perhaps the Nyssen’s following illustration makes this point more evident: “... just as in life a slave and a freeman are both similar in body, but the difference between the two concerning pleasure and pain is great, just so I imagine it is necessary to reckon the difference of both goods and ills in the time hereafter.”¹⁰⁶ I take it Gregory’s comparison is meant to highlight that the difference between a freeman and a slave is not their body, but the pain or pleasure they undergo as their stations in life have determined. He is here most likely drawing a common Patristic comparison between the virtuous and freemen and slaves and the vice-ridden. The dispositional states of these people condition their ability to enjoy the divine.

These dispositional states become constitutive aspects of the human person and are thus a matter of some gravity for the Cappadocian, who cautions: “... that the passions stemming from vice that spread through the whole soul are hard to be rid of, permeating it, growing along with it, even becoming one with it.”¹⁰⁷ Due to their intricate relation to the self, he offers a vivid image of what purification from these dispositional states

¹⁰² *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 116.6-7.

¹⁰³ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 121.4-10.

¹⁰⁴ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 122.8-11.

¹⁰⁵ *E.N.* 1.13.6, 1102a16-18.

¹⁰⁶ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 122.11-15.

¹⁰⁷ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 123.9-11.

looks like. He compares a vicious man to someone who has fallen under the rubble of a building demolished by an earthquake and has his limbs transfixated by spits; when his friends pull him from under the debris to save his life, his body is badly torn by the stakes that had kept him pinned down.¹⁰⁸ In this light, even Gregory's widely recognized universalism does not appear to diminish the importance of cultivating virtuous dispositions in this life. In sum, virtues and vices are constitutive psychological dimensions of great eschatological importance. In this way, the soul mediates one's moral qualities between the pre-resurrected life and the post-resurrected life. Nevertheless, we must still consider whether the soul functions as an eschatological mediator in aspects other than virtue or vice, such as the body and the resurrection.

4. On the Soul and the Resurrection

When Makrina and Gregory move to consider the resurrection, she offers the following disclaimer: "Just as at night when those lying awake are stirred up to discussions concerning what the brightness of the sun is like and the grace of a ray merely shining forth renders void the description of the discussion, just so, every reasoning that proceeds by guesswork to grasp the future condition will be proven futile when what we expect happens to us in experience."¹⁰⁹ Even so, the two siblings discuss the topic with considerable rigor and seem to address, in passing, some objections that are reminiscent of Kelsos' and Porphyry's earlier objections to the Christian doctrine of the resurrection.

a. Till Death Do Us Not Part: Death is not the Separation of Body and Soul

Likely the most distinctive Aristotelian feature of Gregory's defense of the resurrection is the belief that death is not, as per the *Phaedo's* definition,¹¹⁰ the separation of body and soul. It is indeed peculiar that nowhere in the treatise Gregory claims that the soul is immortal. There are only four uses of the adjective "immortal" (*ἀθάνατος*) in the treatise and no other derivative form for immortality appears. The first two instances are not references to the soul, but are part of a *reductio* argument for rhetorical purposes that claims that what can be dissolved is not immortal, since the

¹⁰⁸ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 72.3-12.

¹⁰⁹ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 112.7-12.

¹¹⁰ *Phaedo* 64c and 67d.

flesh, too, would be immortal.¹¹¹ The third case is in the conclusion of an invalid argument offered for rhetorical effect, which shows, nevertheless, that the soul cannot be termed either mortal or immortal.¹¹² The final use of the adjective is embedded in an allusion to 1 Corinthians 15:51-53, where the use of “immortal” refers not to the soul, but to the “nature” (φύσις) humans “put on” (ἐνδύσασθαι, 1 Cor. 15:53) or into which they “shall be transformed” (ὑπαμειφθήσεσθαι) according to the Cappadocian’s interpretation.¹¹³ In brief, Gregory seems to take great care not to claim *directly* that the soul is either mortal or immortal.

Only one passage in the dialogue could give the impression that Gregory believes that the soul is immortal. Makrina asks rhetorically whether he is concerned that the soul might dissolve along with the body, to which he responds that by some kind of compulsion one must believe that according to the Scriptures the soul “remains.”¹¹⁴ But this passage is in effect also a refusal to call the soul “immortal” as such, to which the peculiar choice of verb, διαμένειν, attests. Gregory is not unique in this regard. Christians before him, like Origen, had shown similar discomfort at claiming without qualification that the soul is immortal, as this passage from *On First Principles* shows:

“Truly, as we said above, those minds which were made in the beginning were made while they were not, and on this account – that they were not and began to be – they are necessarily changeable and mutable, since whatever capacity (*virtus*) inhered in their substance did not inhere naturally, but was a kindness (*beneficio*) of the Creator. Therefore, what they are is neither intrinsic nor eternal, but given by God. For surely one has not always existed, and anything that has been given can even yet be taken away and recede.”¹¹⁵

The Alexandrian’s refusal to ascribe eternity to the “minds” (used by way of synecdoche for souls) as an abjuration of the soul’s immortality was a theme that would only be expanded and nuanced in following centuries, as Gregory himself seems to be doing here. It is not insignificant that in his single most important treatise on the soul the Nyssen never directly and unqualifiedly attributes immortality to it. It equally seems unsound to look in other texts for Gregory’s “true belief” about the soul’s immortality, since the evidence elsewhere is ambiguous and referencing other works in order

¹¹¹ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 8.3-7.

¹¹² *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 29.9-17.

¹¹³ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 104.1-5.

¹¹⁴ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 5.14-15.

¹¹⁵ Origenes, *De Principiis*, 2.9.2., ed. by H. CROUZEL and M. SIMONETTI, Paris, 1978-1984 (SC 252), p. 354.31-39.

to understand this treatise, while on occasion reasonable, could also incur the risk of missing internal clues in the text that explain why the Cappadocian avoids claiming that the soul is immortal.¹¹⁶ My personal view is that Gregory did not side with either position – that the soul is mortal or immortal – because he meant to express a different idea regarding its nature. If indeed the body and soul are such that the category of relation classes them under things logically simultaneous (ἄμω), then they are not only logically, but ontologically inseparable.¹¹⁷ If so, nothing can come between them without also necessitating the annihilation of the entire human, which was Aristotle's conclusion.¹¹⁸

Naturally, Gregory, in Makrina's voice, rejects the Peripatetic's conclusions along with Plato's:

“Consequently, not even the fact that the elements in the body resolve back to themselves destroys that which [i.e. the soul] bonded them together through the enacting (ἐνεργείας) of life. But rather, just as is the case while the compound of the elements still subsists that each one is imbued with life, since the soul enters equally and similarly every part that constitutes the body ... so also it is not unreasonable to think that when the compound is dissolved and has again run back to its pertinent elements, *that simple and uncompounded nature is present to each of the parts even after the dissolution, not being outside*¹¹⁹ *of what is proper to it.* Rather, what by some ineffable principle has once been united from birth (συμφυσῆσιν) to the compound of the elements, *it also remains forever with that with which it was comingled*, in no way being torn apart from the union from birth (συμφύσις) by which it came into being. For when the compound is dissolved, the uncompounded incurs no risk of being dissolved along with the compounded.”¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ We find that in the *In sanctum pascha* (GNO 9, p. 266.13-18) Gregory appears to consider the soul to be immortal, but then on a facile interpretation of the fifteenth *Homily on the Song of Songs* (GNO 6, p. 361.18-362, 4) he seems to think the soul (even when taking its function as a synecdoche, which it likely is) can die; moreover, in the *De hominis opificio* (PG 44 col. 188B) immortality is explicitly called a “grace” (χάρις) and by inference not an essential attribute, to which one could yet again oppose the *De vita Mosis*, 2.40, (SC 1, 3rd edition, p. 128.1-2), where the “external philosophy’s” view that the soul is immortal is considered a positive contribution. From the foregoing we can likely infer that the contexts, nuances, and objectives of the different texts here mentioned were various and thus need not be “harmonized”, but must be taken within their logical and intentional frame of reference.

¹¹⁷ Separation clearly being understood as different from conceptual analysis.

¹¹⁸ See *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 28.6-21.

¹¹⁹ The omission of this word in (only) Migne's text is not insignificant. See *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 28.16 and note.

¹²⁰ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 28.6-10 and 13-21 (emphases mine).

Gregory's persona immediately challenges these ideas, arguing that the soul would be like a sailor jumping ship who can only hold on to a single piece of cargo to survive. Makrina's retort is that the soul does not have spatial predicates, so it is neither contracted nor dispersed at death.¹²¹ Rather, she claims that the soul is able to remain with the scattered elements of the body even after their dissolution. Perhaps here again Makrina is employing Aristotle's fourth category in order to describe the relationship of body and soul after death.¹²² In this sense, the soul "remains" with the body insofar as it still has a relationship to it by virtue of their ontological simultaneity (*ἄμω*),¹²³ although this interpretation may stretch credibility. Unfortunately, Gregory did not elucidate further what he meant by the fact that the soul "remains".

In any case, the Cappadocian's belief about the soul is different from any other philosophical schools', but it also bears mentioning that it is significantly different from previous Christian articulations. It would seem to follow from the two definitions of the soul at the beginning of the treatise that the soul cannot act without a body that responds to its prompts. Thus, if it is imprecise to hold that the soul "dies" when the bodily elements are dissolved, it is equally imprecise to say that it "lives" in any meaningful sense. And perhaps herein lies one of Gregory's challenges to Christian psychologies, both of his and our present. If the soul can survive death and continue to act once separated from the body, why have a resurrection at all? By such an account, the body becomes merely an afterthought, an unnecessary appendage of a purer and superior nature that suffers no setback at death. But if, on the contrary, death signals the cessation of a person's existence in any real sense, the resurrection's importance can be vindicated. In this regard, we should note that his vivid imagery of post-mortem purification also only takes place after the resurrection.¹²⁴

We are still left with the question, however, about what death is. According to one of Makrina's definitions, death is the change (*μετάστασις*) from the visible to the invisible.¹²⁵ But this definition should not be taken to mean that the soul has ascended to the heavens, leaving the material world behind with a Platonic sigh of relief. She shows great impatience for that

¹²¹ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 23.17-25.3.

¹²² *Cat.* 4, 1b27 and 2a1.

¹²³ *Cat.* 13, 14b25-32. Especially helpful in view of the logical simultaneity of the body and soul are Elias' *Commentary on Aristotle's Categories*, ed. by A. BUSSE, Berlin, 1900 (CAG 18.1), p. 212-213 and Ammonios' *Commentary on Aristotle's Categories*, ed. by A. BUSSE, Berlin, 1895 (CAG 4.4), p. 77-78, where the idea of the mutual ontological constitutivity of correlative elements receives further elucidation.

¹²⁴ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 123.11-12.

¹²⁵ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 30.21-31.9 and 47.11-49.19.

view, or the similar idea that Hades is a “place” into which souls pass. On the contrary, she repeats that the soul does not have a place. Rather, the dissolution of the body’s elements reduces the soul to a “middle state”, so to speak, that is neither living nor dead.

b. Soul: Resurrected Form of the Body

In the third section we explained how the soul functions in a sense as the mediator for humans’ “moral information” in the afterlife. Additionally, Gregory believes that the soul is the means for “the restoration of our nature to its original condition” (ἡ εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἀποκατάστασις).¹²⁶ What is perplexing about the Nyssen’s belief, however, is that the resurrected state *is* the “original condition” of humanity’s nature. Thus, it is possible to take τὸ ἀρχαῖον as the physical reality of a human before the Edenic fall, since the term can refer to something prior to the present, but this priority would have to be logical, not temporal, given that no humans but Adam and Eve ever enjoyed the Edenic state. Another possibility is that the term refers to an ideal version of humankind as contained in God’s mind, what someone like Plotinos¹²⁷ or Maximos the Confessor¹²⁸ would have termed the “*logoi*” of beings, or Dionysios the Areopagite the “divine wills” (θεῖα θελήματα).¹²⁹ The Cappadocian seems to suggest this idea by claiming that the Genesis epithet of the “image and likeness” refers to human nature (φύσις),¹³⁰ while simultaneously identifying the desires of the divine will with hypostatic realities, such as humans.¹³¹ It is likely to the ideal instantiations of the divine principles that humans return through the resurrection.

Paradoxically, this “original state” has not yet come to pass, even if it is the ultimate destiny of every human and the telos in view of which all came into being. Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* might shed light on this paradox. If we interpret the “original state” (τὸ ἀρχαῖον) as the final cause of beings, that is, the end for the sake of which they come into being, it is possible to suggest that the “original state” also functions as the generative principle of the material and formal causes. While these two causes temporally precede the final cause, they are logically posterior. Similarly, Gregory of Nyssa can

¹²⁶ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 112.18-19.

¹²⁷ On the difficulty of individual or general “ideas” in Plotinos see H. J. BLUMENTHAL, *Plotinus’ Psychology: His Doctrines of the Embodied Soul*, The Hague, 1971, p. 112-133.

¹²⁸ The *logoi* pervade the Confessor’s entire corpus, but his clearest expression and defense of the *logoi* doctrine can be found in the seventh *Ambiguum*. See *On Difficulties in the Church Fathers*, ed. by Nicolas CONSTAS, Cambridge, MA, 2014 (DOML 28), p. 94-108.

¹²⁹ *De divinis nominibus*, 5.8, ed. by B. R. SUCHLA, Berlin (PTS 33), p. 188.8-9.

¹³⁰ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 123.15-16.

¹³¹ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 93.13-14.

maintain that the spiritual body of the resurrection is attained temporally after the “natural” (ψυχικόν, 1 Cor 15:46), while nevertheless being logically prior as the end toward which human existence tends.

Perhaps it is this dynamic that accounts for Gregory’s ambiguity about the “body”. On the one hand, the earthly body is a major problem: it suffers, it distracts the intellect from contemplating higher principles, and it eventually dies and decomposes. On the other hand, the body is both constitutive of what it means to be human and the vehicle through which the soul acts – including actions in the resurrected state. It is possible that Gregory’s ambivalence to the body stems not from a juxtaposition of soul or spirit to body, but of earthly body to resurrected body. In other words, the problem with the earthly body is that it is barely a body, a vague reflection of the resurrected bodily reality. This much is clear given that the earthly body is not what becomes reconstituted at the resurrection. Indeed, Gregory expresses horror at the idea.¹³² Rather, in Makrina’s words, he argues that the resurrected body *cannot be* the “irrational nature” or the “garment of skin” that is often (in her view, mistakenly) associated with what the body is. It is precisely the qualities associated with the earthly body that the resurrected body does not have, such as age, disease, growth, death, etc.¹³³ She can therefore conclude her argument by asking rhetorically: “If, therefore, that ⟨garment of skin⟩ will not be around us, how will the ⟨properties⟩ that come from it be left over in us?”¹³⁴

Gregory finds the link between this earthly body and the resurrected body in two principles: the soul and the material elements that make up the body. Any earthly body, according to the Cappadocian, is constituted by material elements. He holds that for the human to be the same human, the resurrected body must be made of the same elements.¹³⁵ Makrina continues this idea further by highlighting that what matters is “whether a human was born into the world” (εἰ ἐγενήθη ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸν κόσμον, citing Jn. 16:21)¹³⁶ and therefore is a material being composed of specific elements. Thus, it will be these material elements, not the earthly body, that will be resurrected. In this sense, the material elements operate as the *principle of physical continuity* between this world and the resurrected, rather than the earthly body as such.¹³⁷

¹³² *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 105.5-17.

¹³³ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 113.15-114.8.

¹³⁴ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), 14.7-8.

¹³⁵ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 55.6-16.

¹³⁶ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), 114.14-16.

¹³⁷ It would also be an anachronistic or conceptual error to argue against Gregory that different human bodies have been made of the same material elements. Aristotle had already explained that matter as such is not *anything* (*De an.* 2.1, 412a8) without form. Matter can-

The soul, on the other hand, functions as the *principle of formal continuity* between this world and the next. Gregory illustrates this idea with a series of analogical examples of the resurrection. The first analogy compares the soul to a painter's art and the bodily elements to pigments of paint. When the artist paints an image, he must combine different colors accurately to represent what is seen in reality. But if these colors were to dissolve and return to their own kind, black to black, gold to gold, white to white, the artist would still know both the image he had portrayed and what and how much of each color was necessary to make the portrait. He would not forget the specific colors he had used, even if they did not exist as such once the pigments returned to their own kind, and he would know how to make them again should need arise.¹³⁸ The second analogy compares the soul to the re-forming principle which at the resurrection "braids the rope of the body" back together, ordering the strands appropriately where they should go.¹³⁹ The third analogy, like the first, is mostly concerned with the soul's ability to recognize the scattered elements of the body for the purpose of reconstituting them. Here she compares bodies to vases and the soul to the vase owners, such that if all the vases were broken together, the owners could still identify the pieces of their broken vases and piece them back together.¹⁴⁰ What these analogies have in common is the idea that the soul is the principle that again draws, weaves, or pieces back together the scattered bodily elements on the basis of a specific pattern or form. By way of comparison, in *On the Making of the Human* Gregory likewise implies that the soul is responsible for the configuration of the body in unambiguously Aristotelian language: "But if you seek the soul-activities (ψυχικὰς ἐνεργείας) in the formation (πλάσσει) of the body, 'pay heed to yourself,' says Moses, and you will read as if in a book the account of the deeds of the soul. For nature itself recounts (διηγείται) to you, more clearly than any discourse, the varied functions of the soul in the body, both in the universal and in the particular structures (διασκευαῖς)."¹⁴¹

Gregory closes with a fourth and significantly more ingenious and complex analogy. It interweaves Aristotelian and Biblical ideas in order to

not univocally be taken to mean molecules or atoms, since matter is also a logical principle hinging in potentiality on form. Thus, any matter that *is* only is what it is inasmuch as it is the matter of that form. Consequently, for Gregory the elements which make something "physical", "tangible", or "visible" might well be the confluence of different logical principles that constitute a body. Such also is the justification for the immaterial divine nature creating the material natures. See *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 93.14-94.16.

¹³⁸ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 53.6-54.24.

¹³⁹ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 56.9-14.

¹⁴⁰ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 56.15-57.20.

¹⁴¹ *De hom. op.* PG 44 col. 237CD.

make a compelling case for the resurrection. In *Metaphysics* 9.8 Aristotle explains that actuality must be logically and substantially prior to potentiality, since the potentialities must presuppose that of which they are potentialities. A seed, per the Peripatetic's example, must first *be* before it can realize the potentialities that inhere in its substance by which it becomes an ear of corn. While it is true that it only achieves its full, or second, actuality in natural consequence of its realization, the seed both contains the logical principle definitive of its realized potential and functions as its ontological precondition. In the case of a vegetative being, like corn, the soul is that "network" of system capacities that define what the seed can become. Similarly, the soul is the form of the human body; it is the organizing and rational principle that gives direction to the organism on the basis of a predetermined natural pattern. Gregory's clearest use of this Aristotelian *locus* comes up in *On the Making of the Human* 29. In this section the Cappadocian unambiguously references Aristotle's example of the grain wherein all the "potentialities" of the plant are contained.¹⁴² He likewise recalls Aristotle's claim that the soul must be adapted to the right kind of body, and invokes the Peripatetic's favorite example, that the seal and the wax must conform to each other.¹⁴³ Similar ideas reemerge in *On the Soul and the Resurrection*.

Gregory links the foregoing Aristotelian ideas with Paul's analogy of the seed (1 Cor. 15:35-55) in order to make his case for the resurrection.¹⁴⁴ In his analogy, the seed can only realize its full potential, that is, its actuality, through death, leaving behind the kernel and then sprouting into the ear of corn. He is quick to add, however, that the ear of corn, which stands for the human body, is neither entirely different, nor entirely the same as the seed.¹⁴⁵ Rather, he explains in a way reminiscent of Aristotle that¹⁴⁶: "...since the ear was not in the beginning from the seed, but the seed from there [i.e. the ear] and thereafter this [i.e. the ear] grows around the seed, the order of the example clearly demonstrates that the whole blessedness that blossoms for us through the resurrection goes back to the grace of the origin (ἀρχὴ ᾧ). For in some way we also are the original (κατ' ἀρχὴν) ears."¹⁴⁷ The analogy is probably less clear than Gregory believes, but the idea seems to be the following. A seed that sprouts and over time blos-

¹⁴² *De hom. op.* PG 44 col. 236AB.

¹⁴³ *De hom. op.* PG 44 col. 237B.

¹⁴⁴ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 116.13-123.2.

¹⁴⁵ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 118.15-16.

¹⁴⁶ *Met.* 9.8.1-10, 1049b4-1050a15, especially 9.8.4-5, 1049b18-28.

¹⁴⁷ *De an. et res.* (GNO 3.3), p. 120.6-11.

soms into a stalk with ears came from another stalk, the original stalk. In order for this seed to blossom, it must first die and only then can it again become the ear of corn. Although one might object that this analogy would entail two different ears (the one from which the seed comes and the one that came from the seed), the analogy successfully illustrates the principle of continuity between the original ear and the ear the seed produces after it dies. Thus, the ear of corn the seed yields reflects the original ear of corn from which the seed came and is inextricably linked to the seed, as humans are to the earthly body. Throughout the analogy, Gregory implicitly assumes that the seed contains a certain form that will again show itself when it flourishes. The same idea applies to the resurrection. The soul will function as the principle that will reunite the material elements out of which a body was made even if the form of the resurrected body is different than what we have known in this life. That need not mean, however, that that body is not ours.

Conclusion

The burden of this essay was to demonstrate how the internal coherence of Gregory of Nyssa's dialogue *On the Soul and the Resurrection* hinges on his appropriation of Aristotle's philosophy. While this essay does not claim that Gregory made exclusive use of Aristotle in this treatise, it has made the case that the Cappadocian's defense of the resurrection would be unthinkable without the Peripatetic. We covered a few aspects in which this was the case.

The first aspect was Gregory's extensive appropriation of Aristotle's doctrine of the virtues and their relationship to the emotions. One of the peculiar moments in this dialogue was Gregory's pushback on Makrina's fundamentally Stoic approach to the emotions. In an unprecedented way in the work, she reversed her opinion and ultimately formulated a different version much closer to Aristotle's doctrine of the virtuous mean. One must wonder whether this exchange, which breaks the otherwise predictable schema of the dialogue, may have reflected a disagreement the siblings had in real life. Perhaps not, but pursuing such an avenue of inquiry may add some texture to our understanding of how Gregory uses his sister in this dialogue. Whatever the case, Gregory was able to address the tension implicit in the fact that the emotions can lead to vice and wickedness, but were also given by God, by calling not for their annihilation (and thus for the annihilation of something divinely given), but for their operation in line with reason. It bears mentioning that his position is, while not unique in the Christian tradition up to his time, certainly not mainstream.

The second is the idea that the soul is the form of the body. The soul thus functions as the principle that organizes the bodily matter and gives it a specific developmental trajectory. As the Nyssen envisions their relationship, body and soul are inseparable. In this he differed from the widespread Platonic doctrine that death is the separation of body and soul; this latter view was not without numerous Christian supporters. One of the consequences of espousing such an intimate relationship between body and soul is that the latter cannot act without the former. While the idea Gregory proposes here increases the need for the resurrection, it also leaves certain questions unanswered. For example, if the dead cannot in any way operate until after the resurrection, what are the implications for the cult of the saints? This is not to say there are no satisfactory answers to these questions, but simply that they open up possibilities for further inquiry.

In this way, I hope to have shown that analyzing and interpreting Gregory's dialogue with an eye for Aristotelian philosophy can lend coherence to his thought but also uncover certain tensions that may otherwise go undetected. Simultaneously, this essay breaks with the bulk of late ancient scholarship and its emphasis on Platonic philosophy as the quintessential discursive other against which Christian identity was negotiated. Rather, the limited findings here offered and the numerous questions that arise therefrom are good indication that the extent to which Aristotelian philosophy shaped Christian intellectual history during late antiquity needs further investigation.

Summary

Late ancient scholarly trends have downplayed or outright ignored the role Aristotelian philosophy played in the formation of the Greek Christian intellectual identity, focusing instead on its Platonic aspects. This essay challenges these trends by arguing that Gregory of Nyssa appropriated and transformed Aristotelian psychology extensively in order to present a rigorous Christian defense of the doctrine of the bodily resurrection from the dead. The argument is largely confined to the dialogue *On the Soul and the Resurrection*, where Gregory presents his most elaborate defense of the resurrection. Specifically, this essay elucidates two main regards where the Cappadocian's adaptation of Peripatetic material is most salient. First, the article explores the relationship between virtue and the emotions, where Gregory defends the notion of the virtuous mean and the constitutive role the emotions play in becoming virtuous; similarly, how the soul functions as a mediator between one's morality on earth and one's experience of the divine

in the afterlife. Second, the essay demonstrates that according to Gregory death is not – contra Plato – the separation of body and soul; rather, Gregory holds that the soul is the form of the body and can thus function as the principle of the body's reconstitution at the resurrection.

Luis J. SALÉS
Mount Holyoke College
<lsales@mtholyoke.edu>

Deux sermons d'Augustin pour des fêtes de martyrs Édition critique des s. 285 et 306

François DOLBEAU

(Antony, France)

Un sermonnaire copié par les chartreux de Mayence vers 1470-1475 : Mainz, Stadtbibliothek I 9 (= *M*), transmet une série exceptionnelle de 62 textes¹, dont 55 d'Augustin². Lors de sa découverte en 1990, il renfermait 26 sermons entièrement ou partiellement inconnus, dont j'ai procuré l'édition entre 1991 et 1994, avant de les regrouper en un volume³. Le reliquat augustinien, soit 29 pièces, est constitué de sermons authentiques, mais déjà édités en 1990, qui se laissent répartir en deux catégories, selon la collection antique à laquelle ils remontent : Mayence-Lorsch (= *Z*) ou Mayence-Grande-Chartreuse (= *K*)⁴. Les deux tableaux suivants dressent un bilan de ce reliquat, bilan qui renvoie aux autres canaux de transmission⁵ et, le cas

¹ Mainz, Stadtbibliothek I 9, analysé par moi dans *Revue bénédictine*, 106, 1996, p. 5-52 ; réimpr. avec *addenda* dans *Augustin et la prédication en Afrique* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Antiquité 179), Paris, 2005, p. 23-70, 611-614.

² Des sept autres, cinq – correspondant aux numéros 16, 30-33 de mon analyse – portent aussi le nom d'Augustin dans leur rubrique, mais sont apocryphes ; le n° 34, anonyme, recouvre un pseudo-Chrysostome ; le n° 53 reproduit les extraits pris par Florus sur le s. 361, authentique.

³ Augustin d'Hippone, *Vingt-six sermons au peuple d'Afrique*, éd. F. Dolbeau (Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Antiquité 147), Paris, 1996 (²2009).

⁴ Ces appellations et leur raison d'être sont commentées dans l'article cité à la n. 1.

⁵ Siglés *B* = Collection de Bobbio, *C* = *De bono coniugali*, *D* = *De diuersis rebus*, *Eug.* = Eugippe, *F* = Coll. de Lyon, *h* = homéliaires divers, *I* = Colbertine, *N* = Campanienne, *P* = *De paenitentia*, *S* = Sessorienne, *p* = *Sancti catholici Patres*, *V* = *De uerbis domini*, *V** = *V* augmenté, *X* = Coll. de Bruxelles, *W* = Coll. de Wolfenbüttel, *Y* = Coll. de Cluny. Les collections sont décrites par P.-P. VERBRAKEN, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin* (Instrumenta patristica 12), Steenbrugis-Hagae comitis, 1976, p. 197-231 ; les sigles *h*, *p*, *V** renvoient respectivement à l'incipitaire de R. GRÉGOIRE, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux* (Biblioteca degli « Studi Medievali » XII), Spoleto, 1980 ; à J.-P. BOUHOT, « L'homélaire des *Sancti catholici Patres*. Reconstitution de sa forme originale », *Revue des études augustiniennes*, 21, 1975, p. 145-196, et à G. PARTOENS, « Une version augmentée de la collection médiévale de sermons augustinien *De uerbis Domini et Apostoli* », *Recherches augustiniennes et patristiques*, 35, 2007, p. 189-237.

échéant, aux éditions postérieures à 1990, c'est-à-dire effectuées avec l'aide de *M*.

Collection de Mayence-Lorsch (*Z*)

n ^{os}	Sermons	canaux de transmission	éditions tenant compte de <i>M</i>
<i>M</i> 1	352	<i>C D X</i>	F. Dolbeau, en préparation
<i>M</i> 2	<i>util. ieun.</i>	<i>B</i> (incomplet) – ed. 1506	G. Partoens, <i>Sacris Erudiri</i> , 51, 2012, 181-194
<i>M</i> 3	86	<i>B</i> (en appendice) <i>V</i> *	F. Dolbeau, <i>CCSL</i> 41Ab, à paraître
<i>M</i> 4	350	<i>Eug.</i> , <i>p</i> – ed. 1470-1471	—
<i>M</i> 6	380	<i>I h p</i>	Id., <i>REAug</i> , 61, 2015, 256-270
<i>M</i> 8	288	<i>P p</i>	—
<i>M</i> 10	361	<i>F p</i> – ed. circa 1470	—
<i>M</i> 11	362	ed. circa 1470	—
<i>M</i> 14	126	ed. circa 1470	—
<i>M</i> 56	139	<i>V</i>	Id., in <i>Augustin philosophe</i> ⁶ , 2012, 421-429
<i>M</i> 57	117	<i>V</i>	Id., <i>Revue Bénédictine</i> , 124, 2014, 227-253
<i>M</i> 58	51	<i>p</i>	Id., <i>CCSL</i> 41 Aa, 2008, 9-50

Collection de Mayence-Grande-Chartreuse (*K*)

n ^{os}	Sermons	canaux de transmission	éditions tenant compte de <i>M</i>
<i>M</i> 17	145	ed. 1586	Id., <i>Augustiniana</i> , 66, 2016, 55-62
<i>M</i> 18	150	<i>C V*</i> <i>X</i>	J. Elfassi, <i>REAug</i> , 45, 1999, 39-49
—	—	—	H. R. Drobner, <i>Patrologia</i> 26 ⁷ , 2012, 162-186
<i>M</i> 19	285	<i>h p</i> – ed. 1586	édité ci-dessous
<i>M</i> 20	266	<i>N</i> – ed. 1586	L. Mechlinsky, <i>Der modus</i> ⁸ , 2004, 98-104
<i>M</i> 22	7	ed. 1506 ⁹ , 1586	—
<i>M</i> 23	28	<i>S</i> – ed. 1586	H. R. Drobner, <i>Patrologia</i> 35 ¹⁰ , 2016, 1026-32
<i>M</i> 25	<i>Wilm.</i> 20	<i>V*</i> <i>Y</i>	—
<i>M</i> 26	133	ed. 1586	F. Dolbeau, <i>Augustiniana</i> , 66, 2016, 44-52

⁶ *Augustin philosophe et prédicateur. Hommage à Goulven Madec*, éd. I. Bochet (Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Antiquité 195), Paris, 2012.

⁷ *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zur Apostelgeschichte (Sermones 148-150)*, Frankfurt-Berlin-Bern, etc., 2012.

⁸ *Der modus proferendi in Augustins sermones ad populum*, Paderborn, 2004. Édition de travail, qui tient compte de *M*, mais non de la collection Campanienne.

⁹ L'édition princeps, celle d'Amerbach, n'a pas été mentionnée par C. LAMBOT, dans *CCSL* 41, 1961. Le sermon s'est aussi transmis dans plusieurs recueils qui l'associent au s. 150.

¹⁰ *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zu den Psalmen II (Sermones 22-34)*, Frankfurt-Berlin-Bruxelles, etc., 2016.

M 28	89	ed. 1586	Id., <i>Augustiniana</i> , 66, 2016, 34-41
M 29	177	<i>W</i> – ed. 1586	Id., <i>CCSL</i> 41Bb, 2016, 567-582
M 35	293	<i>I N W b p</i>	Id., <i>Augustinianum</i> , à paraître
M 36	299	lectionnaire de Corbie ¹¹	Id., <i>Augustinianum</i> , à paraître
M 37a	302	<i>I W b p</i>	B. Pieri, <i>Sermo CCCII</i> ¹² , Bologna, 1998, 46-78
M 37b	<i>Guelf.25</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , 78-80
M 38	160	<i>V*</i> – ed. 1586	F. Dolbeau, <i>CCSL</i> 41Bb, 2016, 107-116
M 39	<i>Guelf.29</i>	<i>V W b</i>	—
M 43	<i>Guelf.30</i>	<i>W</i>	—
M 49	306	<i>b p</i>	édité ci-dessous

Comme *Z* et *K* sont deux collections remontant sans intermédiaire à l'Antiquité, le fait qu'un sermon soit présent dans *M* suffit à justifier la confection d'une nouvelle édition critique. Dans la colonne intitulée : canaux de transmission, il m'était impossible de recenser tous les témoins repérés : j'ai dû me contenter d'indiquer les chefs de file, dont dépendent presque toujours les témoins extravagants. Cela suffit à montrer que la transmission est tenue en général, et parfois limitée à des éditions anciennes reposant sur des exemplaires perdus. En tout état de cause, le témoignage de *Z* ou de *K* est indépendant de celui des autres témoins et capital pour l'établissement des textes.

Dans la présente étude, j'éditerai deux sermons *de sanctis*, les numéros 285 et 306, l'un et l'autre transmis à la fois par *K*, l'homélaire des *Sancti catholici Patres* (*p*) et divers recueils isolés. Année après année, Augustin devait prêcher en l'honneur des mêmes martyrs et, contraint de se répéter, laissait parfois entrevoir une certaine lassitude, qui transparaît ici sous les expressions *assidue commoneri* (s. 285, 1) et *assidua commonitio* (s. 306, 10). Il s'efforçait donc de varier ses allocutions en abordant d'autres thèmes que le martyre, thèmes que l'auteur des rubriques de *K* a cherché à définir par les mots *De cantico canticorum* et *De uita beata*. La meilleure analyse – et la plus récente – de ces textes est celle de Pierre-Marie Hombert¹³, qui a proposé de les dater, le premier de 405-412 (« sans exclure les années 413-

¹¹ Décrit par R. ÉTAIX, *Homéliaires patristiques latins* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Moyen-Âge et Temps modernes 29), Paris, 1994, p. 209-256, spéc. p. 241. Ce recueil du XII^e s. transmet aussi le s. 293.

¹² *Aurelii Augustini Sermo CCCII. Testo, traduzione e commento* (Testi e manuali per l'insegnamento universitario del latino 55), Bologna, 1998. Édition de travail, qui n'a pas exploité *M* autant qu'il l'aurait fallu.

¹³ P.-M. HOMBERT, *Nouvelles recherches de chronologie augustiniennne* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Antiquité 163), Paris, 2000, p. 281-288 (s. 285), 507-515 (s. 306). Pour ces deux textes, l'étude postérieure de J. ANOZ, « Cronología de la producción agustiniana », *Augustinus*, 47, 2002, p. 229-312, dépend du livre d'Hombert.

415 »), le second de 415-420. Nous essaierons, à la fin de chaque présentation, d'apprécier la force de ses arguments.

I. Le sermon 285 sur le Cantique des Cantiques

1. Données liturgiques

Augustin ne mentionne expressément aucune lecture liturgique¹⁴. Rien ne prouve donc que le s. 285, plutôt court pour une pièce transmise par une collection antique¹⁵, ait été prêché lors d'une messe. Dans la seconde partie, l'orateur commente un long verset du Cantique des Cantiques (1, 7 [8 LXX]), en le découpant en plusieurs parties. La façon dont ce texte est introduit surprend et suggère que l'auditoire devait l'avoir entendu auparavant :

Contra hoc enim quod Petro dicitur : *Pasce oues meas*, dicitur in Canticis canticorum : *Nisi cognoueris temetipsam, o pulchra inter mulieres*.

Le verset est en effet coupé de telle sorte que les mots cités, à eux seuls, ne justifient pas l'affirmation d'Augustin (« contra hoc... »), qui s'explique par le rapprochement avec un membre de phrase ultérieur : *Pasce haedos tuos*. Ou la suite du verset a ici disparu en raison d'un accident de transmission, ou l'orateur se repose sur la mémoire de ses auditeurs, parce qu'il sait qu'ils ont déjà entendu la péricope entière. Cependant, un tel indice est très fragile, d'autant que le Cantique des Cantiques, dans l'Afrique de cette époque, ne fournissait guère de lectures liturgiques¹⁶.

La fête du jour, comme cela est dit au début du § 4¹⁷, est celle des saints carthaginois Castus et Aemilius, martyrisés sous Septime Sévère, nommés dans le *De lapsis* de Cyprien et commémorés le 22 mai au calendrier de Carthage (CPL 2030)¹⁸. Augustin, après avoir évoqué le reniement de Pierre, rappelle leur défection initiale, lors d'une première audience, et leur

¹⁴ Cf. M. MARGONI-KÖGLER, *Die Perikopen im Gottesdienst bei Augustinus. Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der liturgischen Schriftlesung in der frühen Kirche* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte 810), Wien, 2010, p. 154 n. 436.

¹⁵ Cf. F. DOLBEAU, « Longueur et transmission des sermons d'Augustin au peuple : un examen des sermons pour l'Épiphanie et *De sanctis* », *Revue bénédictine*, 127, 2017, p. 5-27.

¹⁶ Le seul cas repéré grâce à la prédication d'Augustin serait Ct 4, 16 dans le s. 273 pour l'évêque martyr Fructueux ; encore ce cas est-il douteux : cf. MARGONI-KÖGLER, *Perikopen* (cit. n. 14), p. 150 n. 425. Sur les citations augustiniennes du Cantique des Cantiques, voir A. GENOVESE, *S. Agostino e il Cantico dei Cantici. Tra esegesi e teologia* (Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 80), Roma, 2002, p. 70-72 (sermons), 196-201 (ensemble de l'œuvre).

¹⁷ « ... Casto et Aemilio, quorum diem hodie celebramus ».

¹⁸ Cf. C. LAMBOT, « Les sermons de saint Augustin pour les fêtes de martyrs », *Analecta Bollandiana*, 67, 1949, p. 249-266 ; réimpr. *Revue bénédictine*, 79, 1969, p. 82-97, spéc. p. 91.

triomphe postérieur sur le démon. L'auditoire, là encore, est censé connaître le déroulement de leur martyre, sans que cela implique forcément une lecture de leur passion durant la même assemblée liturgique. À propos des saints Castus et Aemilius, Victor Saxer a noté qu'Augustin ne donnait, par rapport à Cyprien, aucune information supplémentaire¹⁹, ce qui jette un doute sur l'existence même d'une Passion à son époque.

En finale, ici comme dans le s. 306, les copistes ont préservé les premiers mots de la prière par laquelle Augustin concluait ses allocutions : *Conuersi ad dominum*²⁰... C'est le signe qu'un nombre réduit de maillons sépare le manuscrit de Mayence de l'archétype de *K*, mais cela ne suffit pas à prouver que le sermon fut prêché durant une assemblée eucharistique.

2. Argument

Il faut célébrer les martyrs de telle sorte qu'on se plaise à marcher à leur suite, grâce à la force obtenue de Dieu (§ 1). Ce n'est pas la peine subie qui fait un martyr, mais la cause de celle-ci : tel est l'avertissement à répéter et à méditer sans relâche, la leçon à tirer de la Passion du Christ, crucifié entre deux larrons, dont l'un fut damné et l'autre sauvé (§ 2). Pierre, qui désirait suivre en tout les pas du Christ, renia ce dernier, parce qu'il avait présumé de ses forces. Mais instruit ainsi de sa faiblesse et s'étant repenti, il obtint le courage d'affronter la passion que lui avait annoncée le Seigneur (§ 3). Castus et Aemilius, les martyrs du jour, ont sans doute présumé d'eux-mêmes, puisqu'ils ont, dans un premier assaut, cédé au diable, avant de se ressaisir et d'en triompher. Souhaitons les imiter dans leur victoire ; que leur défaite nous apprenne l'humilité, partout recommandée par notre maître qui en fit l'instrument du salut. Souvenons-nous d'éviter l'excès de confiance en nous-mêmes (§ 4). On prie pour les autres fidèles défunts, mais non pour les martyrs. En effet, par leur passion, ceux-ci ont atteint la perfection au point de devenir nos avocats, en tant que membres d'un corps dont la tête est le Christ. Lui est l'avocat par excellence, comme il est le seul vrai berger de l'unique troupeau, même si Pierre, Paul et d'autres méritent aussi d'être appelés « bergers ». Mais Pierre est un berger qui doit faire paître non ses brebis, mais celles du Christ (§ 5). À la parole du Christ : « Pais mes brebis » (Jean 21, 17), s'oppose un passage du Cantique des Cantiques (Ct 1, 7 [8 LXX]), où l'épouse s'entend dire par l'époux : « Ô la plus belle des

¹⁹ V. SAXER, *Morts, martyrs, reliques en Afrique chrétienne aux premiers siècles* (Théologie historique 55), Paris, 1980, p. 208.

²⁰ Cf. M. KLÖCKENER, « Conuersi ad dominum », dans *Augustinus-Lexikon*, 1, fasc. 7/8, Basel, 1994, col. 1280-1282 ; F. DOLBEAU, « L'oraison "Conuersi ad Dominum" : un bilan provisoire des recensions existantes », *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 41, 1999, p. 295-321 ; réimpr. avec addenda dans *Augustin et la prédication en Afrique* (cit. n. 1), p. 127-154.

femmes, si tu ne te connais toi-même, sors sur les pas des troupeaux » – non du troupeau – « et pais tes chevrettes » – non mes brebis –, « auprès des tentes des bergers » – au pluriel. Ceux qui sortent sont les hérétiques, qui ne se connaissent pas eux-mêmes ; ils disent donner du leur ce qui vient de Dieu et veulent faire paître leurs propres troupeaux ; ils se vantent du châtiment subi, alors que leur cause est mauvaise (§ 6). Honorons les martyrs dans la tente du berger, au singulier, sans confondre constance et entêtement. Qui veut imiter les vrais martyrs, doit choisir et tenir une cause bonne et juste (§ 7).

3. Circonstances de lieu et de temps

Parmi les sermons d'Augustin conservés, un seul célèbre les martyrs Castus et Aemilius. Ceux-ci étaient carthaginois, et aucune trace de leur culte ne subsiste dans le reste de l'Afrique²¹, ce qui suggère une localisation du s. 285 à Carthage²². À cela s'ajoute l'appartenance à la collection de Mayence-Grande-Chartreuse²³, et aussi le fait que le sermon fut prêché un 22 mai, car, de fin avril à fin juin, Augustin séjournait souvent à Carthage à l'occasion de réunions conciliaires²⁴. Mais ces indices restent fragiles, en l'absence de confirmation interne.

La datation d'un sermon augustinien dans l'absolu est une opération délicate, plus difficile que ne le laissent penser les répertoires actuels. Le s. 285 polémique indiscutablement contre les Donatistes, bien que ceux-ci ne soient pas nommés, et cela en des termes qui suggéraient à Paul Monceaux les années 405-410²⁵. Adalbero Kunzelmann y relevait en plus des formules qu'il jugeait dirigées contre les Pélagiens, par exemple : « Odit Deus praesumptores de uiribus suis » (§ 3), d'où une datation abaissée jusque vers

²¹ Cf. Y. DUVAL, *Loca sanctorum Africae. Le culte des martyrs en Afrique du IV^e au VII^e siècle* (Collection de l'École française de Rome 58), Rome, 1982, t. 2, p. 726.

²² Cette problématique vaut aussi pour le s. Dolbeau 13, tiré de *K* (en l'honneur du diacre Catulinus), et pour deux sermons perdus, mentionnés chez Possidius, *Indic.* X⁶. 139 et 186 (pour les saints Agileus et Salvius).

²³ *K* renferme plusieurs allocutions sûrement prêchées à Carthage (s. 150, 293, *Guelf.* 30, *Wilmart* 20) ou du moins hors d'Hippone (s. 89, 133, *Dolbeau* 10).

²⁴ Les conciles étaient convoqués à une date postérieure au dimanche *in albis*, afin de laisser aux évêques, après l'instruction des nouveaux baptisés, le temps nécessaire pour rejoindre la capitale de la Proconsulaire et y préparer la réunion. Le concile de Carthage de 397 ouvrit le 26 juin ; ceux de 399 et 401, les 27 avril et 15 juin ; celui de 404, à partir du 14 juin ; ceux de 407, 409 et 410, les 13, 15 et 14 juin ; ceux de 418 et 419, les 1^{er} et 25 mai : cf. O. PERLER – J.-L. MAIER, *Les voyages de saint Augustin*, Paris, 1969, *passim*.

²⁵ P. MONCEAUX, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, t. 7, Paris, 1923 (réimpr. Bruxelles, 1966), p. 289.

416²⁶. Prolongeant une enquête de Donatien de Bruyne²⁷, Cyrille Lambot estimait, lui, que la Collection de Mayence-Grande-Chartreuse représentait une seule campagne de prédication, localisable à Carthage entre l'Ascension et août 397²⁸; mais après la découverte du sermonnaire de Mayence, un examen critique et intégral de *K* a montré qu'une telle position était intenable, et qu'au moins certaines de ses pièces devaient être situées plus tard dans la carrière d'Augustin. Fort de cette observation, Pierre-Marie Hombert est revenu grosso modo à la position de Monceaux, mais sans rejeter l'hypothèse d'allusions antipélagiennes, ce qui l'amène à proposer la fourchette 405-412, éventuellement élargie jusqu'en 415²⁹.

Son argumentation, beaucoup plus fouillée que celle de ses prédécesseurs, mérite un examen attentif. Le *terminus post quem* de 405 s'appuie sur l'analyse du contenu antidonatiste : d'abord la sentence, fréquente chez Augustin, « Martyrem Dei non facit poena, sed causa » (§ 2), mise en relation avec les lois antidonatistes de 405 ; puis, son illustration par la destinée différente des deux larrons crucifiés avec le Christ (§ 2) ; enfin, la distribution chronologique de diverses citations bibliques (Cantique des Cantiques 1, 7 [8 LXX] ; Jean 21, 17 ; I Jean 2, 19 ; Jude 19). Le *terminus post quem non* de 412 (ou à la rigueur 415) tient au fait qu'à partir de 411/412 le conflit donatiste perd de son actualité, et que le problème de la grâce commence à se poser.

Une telle démonstration, qui paraît solide au premier abord, repose en fait sur un postulat et une façon biaisée d'exploiter le matériel biblique. Le postulat est que la sentence « Martyrem Dei non facit poena, sed causa » n'a jamais pu être employée par Augustin avant 405, comme si la revendication par les Donatistes d'être l'Église des martyrs ne remontait pas aux répressions de 316-321 (sous Léonce et Ursace) et de 343-345 (sous Paul et Macaire). À cela on peut certes objecter que la formule n'apparaît dans les traités augustinien qu'à partir du *Contra Cresconium*, vers 406 ; mais l'on transforme alors la première occurrence datée en première occurrence tout court, et l'on oublie que sont perdus deux des trois ouvrages antido-

²⁶ A. KUNZELMANN, « Die Chronologie der Sermones des hl. Augustinus », *Miscellanea Agostiniana*, t. 2, Roma, 1931, p. 417-520, spéc. p. 482.

²⁷ D. DE BRUYNE, « La chronologie de quelques sermons de saint Augustin », *Revue bénédictine*, 43, 1931, p. 185-193.

²⁸ C. LAMBOT, « Un "ieiunium quinquagesimae" en Afrique au IV^e siècle et date de quelques sermons de S. Augustin », *ibid.*, 47, 1935, p. 114-124.

²⁹ HOMBERT, *Chronologie* (*op. cit.*, n. 13), p. 288. Auparavant, il n'avait manifesté aucune hésitation à accepter la date de 397 : *Id.*, *Gloria gratiae. Se glorifier en Dieu, principe et fin de la théologie augustinienne de la grâce* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Antiquité 148), Paris, 1996, p. 140, 307, 452.

natistes antérieurs à 400³⁰. Dans le troisième, le bref *Psalmus contra partem Donati* (CPL 330), Augustin mentionne cinq fois le nom de Macaire, en tant que persécuteur par excellence, notamment dans le vers : « Quid clammatis uos de Machario... ?³¹ ». La vérité est qu'on ignore comment Augustin prêchait contre les Donatistes durant la décennie 391-400, mais l'on doit fermement rejeter la solution de Hombert, consistant à toujours rapporter cette polémique à la décennie suivante³².

Les tableaux chronologiques du matériel biblique sont biaisés de deux manières : d'un côté, ils renferment de nombreux textes déjà datés de façon hypothétique ; de l'autre, leur exploitation se fait selon la loi de la majorité. Ainsi, pour l'exemple des deux larrons du s. 285, 2, les s. 325 et *Morin* 11 sont invoqués sous les années 405-411, une datation empruntée à Kunzelmann et reposant déjà sur la présence de « Martyrem non facit poena, sed causa » ; l'argumentation est donc de type circulaire. En second lieu, dans le matériel relatif à I Jean 2, 19, une attestation datable des années 397-400 est évacuée, parce qu'une majorité de textes « se situe entre 404 et 412 » ; mais si l'on argumente ainsi à grande échelle, les pôles clairement repérés dans la carrière d'Augustin attirent à eux quantité d'autres textes, et l'on finit par obtenir une image très discontinue de la production du saint. Le nombre d'ouvrages qui sont désormais situés par Hombert entre 400 et 405, au regard des années 395-399, est stupéfiant et ne peut s'expliquer que par un vice de méthode³³.

Dès lors, comment faut-il dater le s. 285 ? En renonçant au *terminus post quem* de 405, et en acceptant d'abord une fourchette plus large, qui serait l'époque du conflit ouvert avec les Donatistes, de 393 à 410. Dans cette fourchette, les premières années sont improbables, en raison de l'expression, « assidue commoneri » (§ 1), qui implique déjà un contact assez long de l'orateur avec l'auditoire. D'autre part, Augustin observe que les Donatistes, qualifiés ici d'hérétiques, sont d'eux-mêmes sortis du troupeau du Christ ; il critique aussi leur présomption et leur jactance : présomption à se

³⁰ Le *Contra epistulam Donati heretici liber unus* et le *Contra partem Donati libri duo*, révisés en *Retractationes* I 21 et II 5.

³¹ Qui fait songer à la formulation du s. 285, 6 : « Quid ergo iactas poenam tuam malam... ? ».

³² Voici par ex. ce qui est dit du s. 266 chez HOMBERT, *Chronologie*, p. 291 : « la polémique antidonatiste l'inspire largement... on peut déjà formuler l'hypothèse que le sermon a toutes chances de se situer à l'intérieur des années 400-411 ». Chez I. THOLEN, *Die Donatisten in den Predigten Augustins*, Berlin, 2010, si l'on retire du tableau final les allocutions datées de 397 à la suite de Lambot, les rares sermons anciens sont imputés aux années 393-405, faute de repère sérieux.

³³ Voir les listes fournies par HOMBERT, *Chronologie* (*op. cit.*, n. 13), p. 638-642.

croire seuls habilités à donner ce qui vient en fait de Dieu³⁴; jactance dans le fait d'exalter les châtements subis pour leurs exactions³⁵. Il n'y a nulle main tendue, nul appel à l'unité, ce qui surprend un peu si le texte devait être postérieur à 405³⁶. Le fait que l'orateur use du neutre pluriel *Cantica Canticorum* (§ 6) – non du singulier *Canticum*, comme le responsable du titre – pourrait aussi être invoqué en faveur d'une date relativement haute. Car Armando Genovese a noté qu'Augustin, après avoir à l'origine usé du pluriel, avait graduellement privilégié la forme *Canticum*, devenue quasi exclusive dans la seconde moitié de sa carrière³⁷.

La première attestation datable de Cantique 1, 7 (8 LXX) remonte à fin 403 (*en. Ps.* 66, 4), mais comme rien ne prouve qu'il s'agisse de la première dans l'absolu, il serait périlleux de vouloir préciser davantage.

4. Tradition manuscrite

Tradition Directe

Le texte intégral, qui compte 1506 mots, s'est transmis grâce à une part minime de la tradition : l'édition princeps de 1586 (= *und*), dont tous les éditeurs jusqu'à aujourd'hui ont été tributaires, et un manuscrit exploité ici pour la première fois, à savoir le sermonnaire de Mayence, dans sa composante *K*. L'éditeur parisien de 1586 dépendait d'un manuscrit de la Grande-Chartreuse, maintenant perdu, qui donnait une sélection des sermons présents dans *K* : toute leçon commune à *K* et *und* fournit donc celle de la Collection de Mayence-Grande-Chartreuse ; les leçons divergentes sont à évaluer cas par cas, avec l'aide du reste de la tradition, en accordant une légère préférence au manuscrit, car un éditeur du XVI^e s. était sans doute plus libre à l'égard de son modèle qu'un copiste du XV^e, du fait qu'il devait publier un texte intelligible. L'accord entre *K* et *und*, les seuls témoins de presque la moitié du sermon, est partout important pour l'établissement du texte.

Les autres manuscrits livrent tous une recension tronquée, destinée au commun des martyrs, dans laquelle ont disparu les noms Castus et Aemi-

³⁴ « Si enim se agnoscerent, ibi uiderent non suum, sed Dei esse quod darent : "Ego do : meum est quod do, sanctum est quod do ; et ideo sanctum est, quia ego do" » (§ 6). Un parallèle étroit se lit en *Tractatus in Iohannis euangelium*, 13, 1, datable de 407 (voir l'apparat), mais on aurait tort d'en déduire une proximité temporelle, car des ressemblances analogues sont parfois attestées à des années d'intervalle.

³⁵ « Quid ergo iactas poenam tuam malam, qui non habes causam bonam ? » (§ 6).

³⁶ Mais l'on sait la fragilité d'un argument *a silentio*.

³⁷ *S. Agostino e il cantico* (*op. cit.*, n. 16), p. 164-165. Cette tendance fut peut-être renforcée, après 410, par la lecture de la traduction rufinienne du commentaire d'Origène, qui s'était prononcé en faveur du singulier.

lius – de la rubrique initiale comme du corps du texte –, ainsi que la section commentant un passage du Cantique des Cantiques dans un sens anti-donatiste. Parmi eux, le moins incomplet est aussi le plus ancien : il s'agit d'un homélaire de Vienne, de la fin du VIII^e s. (Wien, ÖNB, lat. 1616 = r^1), provenant de Salzbourg, mais originaire d'Italie du Nord³⁸. Celui-ci a préservé environ 815 mots, correspondant aux lignes 1-70, 81-82, 85-86 et 137-145 de mon édition, c'est-à-dire aux paragraphes 1-3 et 7, plus deux phrases du § 4. Le reste de la tradition a évacué en plus tout vestige du § 4 (c'est-à-dire les lignes 81-82 et 85-86), ce qui ramène le sermon à un total d'environ 780 mots. En dehors de r^1 , les meilleurs représentants de cette recension sont un homélaire du X^e s. en écriture bénéventaine (Madrid, B.N. 194 = r^2)³⁹ et un recueil de lectures homilétiques et hagiographiques du début du XI^e s., copié à l'usage de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon (Paris, BnF, lat. 3801 = r^3)⁴⁰. Ce dernier, qui offrait la particularité d'avoir été transposé au singulier (pour le commun d'un seul martyr), rétablit, après correction, le pluriel qui était de règle pour le commun de plusieurs martyrs. Les manuscrits r^2 et r^3 attestent des innovations communes, par ex. à la ligne 13 l'omission des mots *iustitia enim nostra* présents partout ailleurs, ou à la ligne 15 l'addition de *in fronte* ignorée du reste de la tradition.

La relation entre *K und* et chacun des représentants de r est malaisée à définir : elle ne peut être que très lointaine, car le s. 285 est l'unique sermon de la Collection de Mayence-Grande-Chartreuse à figurer dans ce groupe. Les accords de *K*, de *und* ou de *K und*, avec tel ou tel des manuscrits siglés r sont en général déterminants pour le choix du texte à éditer. On notera que, dans l'apparat, le sigle *und* est souvent inclus dans l'abréviation *edd*,

³⁸ Analysé par C. LAMBOT, « Sermon inédit de saint Augustin pour une fête de martyrs dans un homilaire de type ancien », *Revue bénédictine*, 68, 1958, p. 187-199, et GRÉGOIRE, *Homéliaires liturgiques* (op. cit., n. 5), p. 281-291. Sur son origine, on consultera E. CAU, « Osservazioni sul cod. lat. 1616 (sec. VIII ex.) della Biblioteca Nazionale di Vienna », *Palaeographica Diplomatica et Archivistica. Studi in onore di Giulio Battelli I* (Storia e Letteratura 139), Roma, 1979, p. 85-97.

³⁹ Et donc originaire d'Italie méridionale ou de Sicile. Une analyse soignée de r^2 a été procurée par R. ÉTAIX, « Un homélaire bénéventain du X^e siècle (Madrid, B.N. 194) », *Orpheus*, n. s. 3, 1982, p. 110-132 ; réimpr. dans ID., *Homéliaires patristiques* (op. cit., n. 8), p. 539-561.

⁴⁰ Ce recueil a été décrit par R. ÉTAIX et M.-H. TESNIÈRE, dans *Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, 7, Paris, 1988, p. 201-205. Voir aussi F. DOLBEAU, « Trois sermons latins en l'honneur de la Légion Thébaïne », dans *Mauritius und die Thebäische Legion – Saint Maurice et la Légion Thébaïne*, edd. O. Wermelinger – Ph. Bruggisser – B. Näf – J.-M. Roessli (Paradosis 49), Fribourg, 2005, p. 377-421 ; ID., « La prédication pour les fêtes de reliques », *Ad libros ! Mélanges d'études médiévales offerts à Denise Angers et Joseph-Claude Poulin*, edd. Jean-François Cottier – Martin Gravel – Sébastien Rossignol, Montréal, 2010, p. 139-161.

dans la mesure où les éditeurs ont repris, dans la plupart des cas, le texte de l'édition princeps.

Les autres témoins de la recension brève peuvent être qualifiés de *deteriores* : ce sont les diverses copies de l'homélaire des *Sancti catholici Patres* (= *p*)⁴¹, de la Collection dite tripartite (= *t*)⁴² et du *Collectorium* de Robert de' Bardi (= *b*)⁴³, dont les plus anciennes datent respectivement des XII^e, XIII^e et XIV^e siècles. Elles dépendent toutes d'un modèle proche de *r*³, mais qui ignorait la transposition du texte au singulier et certaines innovations propres à ce témoin par rapport à *r*². Cela est prouvé par divers lieux variants, par ex. aux lignes 26 in regnum] *K r*^{1.2} *und*, regno *r*³ *p t b* – 30 sed et] *K und*, et *r*¹, sed *r*^{2.3} *p t b* – 37 ideo] *K r*¹ *und*, et ideo *r*², *om. r*³ *p t b* – 48-49 fletus] *K r*^{1.2} *und*, ut fletus *r*³ *p t b* – 53-54 sectator] *K r*¹, prae-sumptor *r*² *p t b*, redemptor *r*³, iactabat *und* – 54-55 turbatus] *K r*^{1.2} *und*, turbatur *r*³ *p t b* – 69 deleuerat] *K r*^{1.2}, diluerat *r*³ *p t b*, *def. und* – 142 sed] *K r*² *und*, discerne uero *r*³, discerne *p t b*, *def. r*¹. Ci-dessous, la teneur de *p* est établie d'après cinq manuscrits, ceux que privilégie l'édition en cours du *Corpus Christianorum*, d'après les travaux de Jean-Paul Bouhot ; *p*³, qui appartenait jadis aux Bénédictins de Saint-Thierry près de Reims, avait déjà été exploité par les Mauristes. Les recueils *t* et *b* se révèlent indépendants l'un de l'autre, puisqu'ils remontent à deux rameaux distincts de *p* : voir par ex. 26-27 latro uiolentus] *K r p*^{1.5} *t und*, *om. p*^{2.3.4} *b maur*, ou 28 merito] *K r*^{1.2} *p*^{2.3.4} *b edd*, ideoque *r*³ *p*^{1.5} *t*. Au moins dans le cas du s. 285, le texte de Robert de' Bardi (*b*) remonte à une copie de *p* et non de *t*.

Tradition indirecte

Celle-ci est d'une grande richesse, ce qui témoigne, à haute époque, d'une diffusion et d'un succès considérables du texte. Le sermon était présent à Hippone, comme le prouve cette entrée de Possidius : « De die natalis martyrum Casti et Emili »⁴⁴), dans un contexte identique à celui de *K*. Il circulait également à Carthage, car deux des allocutions imputées à Quodvultdeus : *s. de cataclysmo* (CPL 407) et *s. de cantico nouo* (CPL 405)⁴⁵, en ont repris textuellement de brefs passages, cités dans mon apparat des

⁴¹ Reconstitué par J.-P. BOUHOT (cf. n. 5).

⁴² Décrite par A. WILMART, « La Collection tripartite des sermons de saint Augustin », *Miscellanea Augustiniana CDXXX-MCMXXX*, s. l. (Nijmegen), 1930, p. 418-449.

⁴³ Analysé sous forme de tableau chez G. POZZI, « La "Tabula" di Jean de Fayt al "Collectorium" di Roberto de' Bardi », *Miscellanea Gilles Gérard Meersseman* (Italia sacra 15), Padova, 1970, t. 1, p. 257-311.

⁴⁴ *Indiculus* X⁶. 105 ; éd. A. WILMART, « Operum s. Augustini elenchus... », dans *Miscellanea Agostiniana*, 2, Roma, 1931, p. 200.

⁴⁵ Éd. R. BRAUN, dans CCSL 60, Turnholt, 1976, p. 381-392 (*De cantico nouo*), 409-420 (*De cataclysmo*).

sources et parallèles (lignes 40-43 et 58-59); deux emprunts moins fidèles, venant du même corpus, y ont aussi été mentionnés.

D'autre part, trois sermons tardo-antiques, sans relation entre eux, témoignent d'une diffusion plus large: (Pseudo-)Augustin, *s. Lambot* 15; Fulgence, *s. dubius* 2; Homélaire de Tolède, n° 56. Le premier (= *L*₁₅), tenu à tort comme authentiquement augustinien dans les répertoires actuels (sous le n° 335G), n'est au mieux qu'un centon puisqu'il reproduit, en deux blocs distincts, les lignes 135-144 du *s.* 285⁴⁶. Son unique témoin est un homélaire italien, conservé à Madrid (Biblioteca Nacional 194, f. 271v-272, X^e s.), c'est-à-dire notre manuscrit *r*². Son intérêt tient au fait qu'il renferme une phrase absente de la recension tronquée qui se lit dans *r*², f. 267v-268v. Son modèle était donc différent et dépendait d'une copie moins incomplète.

Le *s. dubius* 2 de Fulgence (= *fu*, CPL 837) n'a guère de chances d'être authentique et sera tenu ici pour étranger à l'évêque de Ruspe⁴⁷; il figure d'ailleurs dans la collection du Pseudo-Fulgence (Saint-Mihiel, Bibl. mun. 20, f. 46v-47v, X^e s.)⁴⁸. Prêché durant le temps pascal, il reprend assez fidèlement les lignes 16-46 du *s.* 285, qui se lisent aussi bien dans les copies tronquées que dans la version intégrale.

L'homélie 56 de Tolède (= *tol*) est attestée par un manuscrit de Silos: London, British Library, Add. 30853, f. 130-132, XI^e-XII^e s.⁴⁹. Cette pièce du commun des saints est un remaniement si infidèle du *s.* 285, lignes 4-44 (suivies d'une courte parénèse), qu'il est impossible d'en fournir en apparat une collation systématique. Seules, ont été retenues ci-dessous les variantes qui appuient telle ou telle leçon de la tradition directe; l'absence dans une entrée du sigle *tol* n'est donc pas significative.

Les textes *fu* et *tol*, vu leur découpage différent et contrairement à ce qu'écrivent Grégoire⁵⁰ et les auteurs qui en dépendent, sont indépendants l'un de l'autre⁵¹, comme le suggèrent notamment ces lieux variants: 9 potens est] *K r und*, potest *p t b tol*, *def. fu* – 43 insultantem] *K r fu und*, de cruce quippe i. *p t b maur*, de crucis quippe tribunal i. *tol*. Le second

⁴⁶ Éd. C. LAMBOT, *Revue bénédictine*, 51, 1939, p. 23-24 (= *PLS* 2, col. 803-805).

⁴⁷ Éd. *PL* 65, col. 741-742.

⁴⁸ Sous divers numéros, selon les témoins: cf. GRÉGOIRE, *Homéliaires liturgiques* (*op. cit.*, n. 5), p. 101 (28, dans le texte imprimé; 7, dans un catalogue de Lorsch), 115 (XXIX, dans le manuscrit de Saint-Mihiel).

⁴⁹ Éd. R. GRÉGOIRE, *Les homéliaires du Moyen Âge*, Roma, 1966, p. 213-214 (= *PLS* 4, 1967-1968).

⁵⁰ Dans *Homéliaires liturgiques* (*op. cit.*, n. 5), p. 305 (où la référence donnée à la *Patrologia latina* est erronée).

⁵¹ Cf. DOLBEAU, *Augustin et la prédication en Afrique* (*op. cit.*, n. 1), p. 40-41.

exemple montre en plus que *fu* reflète un état de la tradition plus ancien que *tol*.

La seule attestation repérée ensuite se lit dans le *Milleloquium veritatis sancti Augustini* de Barthélemy d'Urbino, un florilège composé durant le second quart du XIV^e siècle. Dans l'index final, le compilateur cite l'incipit du s. 285⁵², dont il n'a retenu qu'un extrait, correspondant aux lignes 45-46: « Munera diuina – sensum domini? etc.⁵³ », sans variante digne d'être relevée en apparat.

5. Édition du texte

Principes éditoriaux

Dans la section propre au texte complet, le choix doit se faire entre *K* et *und*, avec peut-être un léger avantage accordé au manuscrit par rapport à l'imprimé de 1586. Quand la recension brève est disponible, l'accord, individuel ou collectif, de *r*¹, *r*², *r*³, avec *K*, *und* ou *K und* est décisif. Les *deteriores* (*p t b*) ne sont mentionnés que pour illustrer la dégradation progressive du texte. La tradition indirecte joue un rôle marginal, même si parfois elle permet de confirmer telle ou telle leçon, par ex. en 22 perdiderat] *K fu tol und*, perdederat *r*¹, perdidit *r*^{2, 3} *p t b*. Dans l'apparat, les variantes suivies d'un astérisque pourraient être correctes, d'après leur teneur et la répartition des témoins.

Conspectus siglorum

a. Tradition directe

K Collection de *Mayence-Grande-Chartreuse* (représentée aussi ci-dessous par *und*) MAINZ, Stadtbibliothek I 9, f. 80-81, vers 1470-1475, *Chartreuse Saint-Michel de Mayence*

r Recueils divers, accord des témoins:

*r*¹ WIEN, ÖNB, lat. 1616, f. 169v-172v (s. VIII^{ex}), *Italie septentrionale* (*Novare?*)

*r*² MADRID, Bibl. Nacional, 194, f. 267v-268v (s. X), *Italie méridionale* (*ou Sicile*)

*r*³ PARIS, BnF, lat. 3801, f. 21v-23 (s. XIⁱⁿ), *Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*

p Homélaire des *Sancti Catholici Patres*, accord des témoins:

⁵² Sous une forme absente des manuscrits ici collationnés: « Sanctorum martyrum non solum magna sed pia est uirtus »; le texte lui-même est répertorié sous « De pluribus martyribus ... sermo duodecimus »; cf. éd. Paris, 1645, cahier final non paginé (f. marqué *o*).

⁵³ Éd. cit., Pars 1, p. 461 (s. v. gratia).

- p*¹ TROYES, Bibl. mun. 188, f. 163v-164v (s. XII²), *Clairvaux*
- p*² TROYES, Bibl. mun. 567, f. 150-151 (s. XII^{ex}), *Saint-Étienne de Troyes*
- p*³ PARIS, BnF, lat. 12409, f. 216v-217v (s. XII^{ex}), *Saint-Thierry de Reims*
- p*⁴ PARIS, BnF, lat. 800, f. 128v-129v (s. XII-XIII), *Chartreuse de Montrieux*
- p*⁵ VATICANO (Città del), Bibl. apost. Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1277, f. 146-147 (s. XII-XIII), *France (Bonnecombe ?)*
- t* Collection *Tripartite*, 3^a pars, accord des témoins :
- t*¹ OXFORD, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 204 (SC 1932), f. 281rv (s. XIII^{ex}), *Nord de la France (?)*
- t*² FIRENZE, Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenziana, Plut. XIII cod. 8, f. 258v-259v (s. XV^{ex}), *Toscane*
- b* *Collectorium* de Robert de' Bardi († 1349), 2^a pars, accord des témoins :
- b*¹ VATICANO (Città del), Bibl. apost. Vaticana, Vat. lat. 479, f. 313v-314 (s. XIV¹), *Paris*
- b*² PARIS, BnF, lat. 2030, f. 386v-387 (a. 1467), *rois aragonais de Naples*
- edd* Accord des éditions :
- und* *Homeliae undecim, nunc primum in lucem editae*, in *D. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi operum tomus X* (Paris, 1586), n° 4, p. 761-763 (marquées par erreur 401-403), dépendant d'un exemplaire de la Collection de Mayence-Grande-Chartreuse distinct de *K*
- [*lov* *S. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi operum t. X ... per theologos Lovanienses* (Cologne, 1616), p. 681-682, d'après *und*, dont furent corrigées des coquilles ; seules ces retouches figurent dans l'apparat]
- maur* *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi operum t. V (...) opera et studio monachorum Ordinis S. Benedicti, e Congregatione S. Mauri* (Paris, 1683), col. 1145-1148, d'après *p*³, *b*² et *lov* ; reproduit en *PL* 38, col. 1293-1297
- cett* Accord des témoins autres que ceux explicitement cités
- b. Tradition indirecte
- poss* Possidius, *Indiculus* X⁶. 105 – titre seul
- L*₁₅ Pseudo-Augustin, s. *Lambot* 15 (335G), éd. C. LAMBOT, *Revue Bénédictine*, 51, 1939, p. 23-24 (= *PLS* 2, col. 803-805) – lignes 135-144
- fu* Pseudo-Fulgence, s. *dubius* 2, éd. *PL* 65, col. 741-742 – lignes 16-46
- tol* Homélaire de Tolède, n° 56, éd. R. GRÉGOIRE, *Les homéliaires du Moyen Âge*, Roma, 1966, p. 213-214 (= *PLS* 4, 1967-1968) – lignes 4-44

SERMO SANCTI AVGVSTINI EPISCOPI
IN NATALI MARTYRVM CASTI ET AEMILII
DE CANTICO CANTICORVM

1. Sanctorum martyrum non magna solum, sed etiam pia uirtus – ipsa est
5 enim utilis uirtus, immo ipsa est uera et sola dicenda uirtus, quae non mili-
tat typho, sed Deo – admonet nos caritati uestrae loqui, eamque admonet
ita sollemnia martyrum celebrare, ut uestigia martyrum sequendo delectet
imitari. Non enim et ipsi, quod fortes exstiterunt, de suo habuerunt. Non
usque ad ipsos fons ille manauit: qui dedit ipsis, potens est dare et nobis,
10 quoniam unum pretium datum est pro omnibus nobis.

6/7 Cf. s. *Frangip.* 3, 1 (345 augm.): « Admonet nos et sollemnitas martyrum, et dominicus dies, hoc loqui caritati uestrae ». 7/8 Cf. s. 302, 1: « martyrum ergo uestigia imitando sectemur, ne sollemnitates eorum inaniter celebremus »; *Dolbeau* 13, 1 (159A): « Sollemnitates sanctorum martyrum exhortationes sunt martyriorum, ut imitari delectet quod celebrare delectat »; 306, 10; 325, 1. 10 Cf. s. *Guelf.* 18 (260D): « simul redempti sumus, unum pretium omnes habemus »; s. 94, 1.

1 sermo sancti augustini episcopi] *K* r^3 , sermo domini a. *und*, item sermo r^1 , item unde supra r^2 , item eiusdem $p t^1$, item sermo eiusdem $t^2 b$, *om. poss maur* 2 in (+ die *maur*) natali martyrum] *K maur*, de die natalis m. *poss*, in natale sanctorum m. r^3 , in natali sanctorum *und*, de martiribus r^1 , de eodem $p t b$, *om. r^2* casti et aemilii (em- *K*, emili *poss*)] *K poss maur*, *add.* martyrum *und*, *om. r p t b* 3 de cantico canticorum] *K*, *om. poss cett* 4/44 sanctorum – humilitate] *rescripsit tol* 4 martyrum] christi m. r^3 etiam pia] *K r edd*, p. etiam $p t b^1$, etiam b^2 uirtus] $r^{1.2}$ *edd*, u. est *K r^3 p t b tol* 4/5 est enim] *r tol edd*, enim est $p t b$, est *K* 5 immo] ymmo *K*, imo *PL* uera et sola] s. et u. $r^{2.3}$ dicen-
da] $r p t b$ *edd*, *om. K tol* 6 typho] r^3 (a.c.) p^2 (a.c.) 3 *maur*, tyfo r^1 , typo $r^{2.3}$ (p.c.) $p^{1.2}$ (p.c.) 4. 5 $t b$ *und*, tipo *K* 6/8 admonet¹ – quod] scit autem caritas uestra quia quod sancti martires r^1 6 nos] *add.* praesens festum r^3 caritati uestrae] *K r^{2.3} edd*, caritas uestra $p t b$, *def. r^1* eamque] $p t^1 b$ *maur*, eam que r^2 , ea qu(a)e *K r^3 t^2 und*, *def. r^1* admonet²] *K*, admonere (amm- r^2) $r^2 und$ (*in textu maur*, admoneant *und* (*in marg.*), admonere (amm-) decet $p t b$, commonere decet r^3 , *def. r^1* 7 martyrum¹] martyris huius p^{*****} r^3 (a.c.) ce-
lebrare – martyrum²] *om. b* martyrum²] eius r^3 (a.c.), eorum r^3 (p.c.) sequendo delectet] *inu. p^3* 8 et] *om. r^3* (p.c.) ipsi] *K r^{2.3}* (p.c.) *edd*, ipse r^3 (a.c.), i. martyres $p t b tol$, *def. r^1* quod fortes ex(s)stiterunt *post* de suo habuerunt *posuerunt p t b tol* fortes exstiterunt] fortis extitit r^3 (a.c.) de suo] non de s. r^1 habuerunt] habuit r^3 (a.c.) 8/9 non² (nec r^1) – manauit (-bit *tol*)] *K r tol edd*, *om. p t b* 8 non²] nec r^1 , n. enim r^2 9 ipsos] *K r^{1.3} (p.c.) ipsum r^3 (a.c.), illos $r^2 tol edd$, *def. p t b* fons] *praem.* tantum r^3 ipsis] *K r^{1.2.3} (p.c.) *tol edd*, ipsi r^3 (a.c.), illis $p t b$ potens est] *K r edd*, potest $p t b tol$ 10 pretium] $r^2 p t tol edd$, pr(a)ecium $r^{1.3}$, principium b , quod *K* nobis] datum est *add. K***

2. Illud ergo praecipue commonendi estis, quod assidue commoneri et semper cogitare debetis, quod martyrem Dei non facit poena, sed causa. Iustitia enim nostra, non cruciatibus, delectatur Deus, nec quaeritur in omnipotentis ueracisque iudicio, quid quisque patiat, sed quare patiat.
- 15 Vt cruce dominica nos signemus, non fecit hoc Domini poena, sed causa. Nam si poena hoc fecisset, hoc et latronum similis poena ualisset. Vnus locus erat trium crucifixorum: in medio Dominus, qui *inter iniquos deputatus est*; duos latrones hinc atque inde posuerunt, sed causam similem non habuerunt. Lateribus pendentis adiungebantur, sed longe separabantur. Illos
- 20 facinora sua, illum crucifixerant nostra. Verumtamen etiam in uno ipsorum satis apparuit quantum ualeret, non cruciatus pendentis, sed pietas confidentis. Acquisiuit latro in dolore quod Petrus perdidit in timore: scelus

12 Formulation très fréquente chez Augustin: cf. *en. Ps.* 34, 2, 13; s. 327, 1; 331, 2; *Cail-lau* II 6, 1 (94A); *Dolbeau* 2, 17 (359B); *Lambot* 2 (335C); 13, 6 (328 augm.); 15, 1 (335G, centon inauthentique); *Morin* 11, 13 (53A); 14, 1 (306A), etc.; W. Lazewski, *La sentenza agostiniana: Martyrem non facit poena sed causa*, Diss. Roma 1987. 14 Cf. *Cresc.* 4, 46, 55: « iam cogeris confiteri non debere quid quisque patiat, sed quare patiat adtendi ». 15/19 Cf. s. 331, 2: « Quando Dominus passus est, tres cruces causa discreuit. Inter duos latrones crucifixus erat: hinc et inde facinorosi confixi, in medio ipse »; *Morin* 11, 13 (53A): « In loco uno tres cruces erant, quando passus est Christus: ipse in medio, hinc atque hinc latrones duo. Attende poenam, nihil similis: tamen unus latronum in cruce inuenit paradisum »; *en. Ps.* 68, 1, 9; *ep.* 93, 7; 185, 7; s. 325, 2; 327, 2; 335, 2; *Lambot* 2 (335C); 13, 6 (328 augm.). 17/18 Is 53, 12 (Mc 15, 28). 18 Cf. Mc 15, 27 (Mt 27, 38; Lc 23, 33; Io 19, 18).

11 ergo] *om.* r^1 , uero r^2 praecipue] *om.* t^2 estis] *add.* fratres r^1 11/12 quod – debetis] et corde retinere r^1 11 assidue] -duae r^2 12 facit] fecit r^1 t^1 (a.c.) 13 iustitia – nostra] *om.* $r^{2,3}$ nostra non] non nostris t^2 non cruciatibus – quaeritur] deus delectatur non cruciatus sed querit r^1 14 ueracisque] *K* $r^{1,2}$ *edd.* u. arbitris r^3 , dei p^4 , *om.* $p^{1,3,5}$ t b *tol* quid] quod r^1 *tol* sed quare patiat] *om.* r^1 15 ut] $r^{1,2}$ *und*, ut ergo *K*, ut enim r^3 p t b *tol* *maur* cruce dominica] *inu.* r^3 dominica (-cam *tol*)] *K* r *tol* *edd.* domini p t b nos] *add.* in fronte $r^{2,3}$ signemus] *K* $r^{1,2,3}$ (a.c.) *edd.* signaremus r^3 (p.c.) p t b *tol* fecit] facit *K* hoc] *K* $r^{1,2}$ *tol* *edd.* *om.* r^3 p t b domini] -nus $p^{3,5}$ 16 hoc²] *K* $r^{1,2}$ *edd.* *om.* r^3 p t b *tol* et] etiam duorum r^3 latronum] -nibus r^2 similis poena] *K* r *edd.* *p.* similiter $p^{1,2}$ (p.c.) t b *tol*, similiter *p.* p^2 (a.c.) 16/46 unus – non possumus] *excerpsit* *fu* 16 post unus *add.* autem *fu* 17 in medio] *K* $r^{1,2}$ *fu* *tol* *edd.* in m. autem r^3 , et in m. p t b dominus] deus r^2 inter] in r^1 (a.c.) 18 duos] duo $r^{1,3}$ (p.c.) hinc] et huic *und*, et hinc *lov* posuerunt] positi fuerunt r^3 (p.c.) causam] causa p^5 similem] *supra lin. scr.* p^4 19 lateribus] latentibus b^1 pendentis] *p.* domini r^3 , pendentibus r^1 , pendentibus *tol* *und* sed longe] et l. causa r^3 19/20 illos – nostra] illos crucifixerunt facinora sua christum crucifixerunt peccata nostra *fu* 20 illum] istum b^2 crucifixerant] -xerunt r^3 *fu* *edd.* nostra] -tram r^1 uerumtamen] uerum *fu* etiam] *K* r^3 *fu* *edd.* *om.* $r^{1,2}$ p t b ipsorum] illorum *und* 21 satis apparuit] *inu.* r^3 ualeret] non u. *K* (a.c.), ualet b^2 22 acquisiuit] adquesiuit r^1 in dolore] *iter.* b^2 perdidit] *K* *fu* *tol* *edd.* perdidit r^1 , perdidit $r^{2,3}$ p t b

- admisit, crucem ascendit; causam mutauit, paradisum comparauit. Meruit
 omnino causam mutare qui non contempsit in Christo similitudinem poe-
 25 nae. Iudaei contempserunt miracula facientem, ille credidit in pendentem.
 Consortem crucis Dominum agnouit et in regnum coelorum latro uiol-
 lentus credendo uim fecit. Tunc in Christum latro credidit, quando fides
 apostolica trepidauit. Merito audire meruit: *Hodie mecum eris in para-*
diso. Hoc quidem sibi ipse non promiserat: magnae quidem se misERICOR-
 30 diae commendabat, sed et sua merita cogitabat. *Domine*, inquit, *memento*
mei, cum ueneris in regnum tuum. Quousque ueniret Dominus in regnum
 suum, ille se in poenis futurum sperabat et saltem in eius aduentu mise-
 ricordiam in se fieri flagitabat. Proinde se latro sua merita cogitans diffe-
 rebat, sed Dominus latroni quod desperauerat offerebat, tamquam diceret:
 35 'Tu petis ut meminerim tui, cum uenero in regnum meum: *Hodie mecum*

25/27 Cf. *Simpl.* 1, 2, 14: « De cruce atque morte eius conterriti etiam discipuli titubarunt, et tamen latro tunc credidit, cum eum non praestantiores uideret in operibus sed consortio crucis aequalem ». 26/27 Cf. Lc 16, 16 (Mt 11, 12). 28/29 Lc 23, 43. 30/31 Lc 23, 42. 30/37 Cf. s. 67, 7: « *Domine, memento mei, cum ueneris in regnum tuum*. Considerabat enim facinora sua, et pro magno habebat, si ei uel in fine parceretur... Misericordia obtulit quod miseria distulit »; *Lambot* 2 (335C): « Scio merita mea... Differebat ille, offerebat iste... Quem speras uenire, numquam desum, et ubique sum, et eo uenio, sed *hodie mecum eris in paradiso* »; *Morin* 11, 13 (53A): « Ille enim se differebat. Quid enim ille dixerat? *Memento mei domine, cum ueneris in regnum tuum*. Noui, inquit, mala mea: certe huc usque crucier, donec uenies... »; imité par Quodvultdeus, s. *de tempore barbarico* 8: « Latro enim sua attendens merita de se ipso diffidebat: sed Dominus, tamquam pius pater, latroni quasi filio quod desperauerat offerebat »; Ps.-Aug., s. *Guelf. app.* 5, 3: « requiem suam ille differebat, Christus offerebat ». 35/36 Lc 23, 43.

23 admisit] commisit r^3 (a.c.), ammisit r^3 (p.c.), amisit p^1 (a.c.), 2 (p.c.), 5 b^1 *tol* meruit] merito *und*
 24 causam mutare] *inu.* r^2 qui] quia* K r^2 25 credit] crededit r^1 , *add.* deum et
 hominem r^3 in pendentem] K r^1 *fu edd*, in cruce p. $r^{2.3}$ p t b 26 dominum] -nus r^3 ,
 deum b^2 t^2 *und* agnouit] cognouit t^2 , *add.* latronem r^3 in regnum] K $r^{1.2}$ *fu und*,
 regno r^3 p t b *maur* 26/27 latro uiolentus] K r $p^{1.5}$ t *fu und*, *om.* $p^{2.4}$ b *maur* 27
 credendo] *in marg. scr.* t^1 christum] K r^3 p^3 *maur*, christo* $r^{1.2}$ $p^{1.2.4.5}$ t b *fu tol und*
 credit] -dedit r^1 28 apostolica] catholica K trepidauit] dubitauit p^3 , titubabit r^1
 merito - meruit] *om.* r^2 merito] ideoque r^3 $p^{1.5}$ t 29 hoc] h. enim *fu* quidem¹] *idem* p^4
 sibi ipse] *inu.* r^2 promiserat] K r *fu edd*, praesumpserat p t b magnae]
praem. qui r^3 (p.c.) 29/30 se misericordiae] *inu.* *fu* 30 sed et] K *fu tol edd*, et r^1 , sed
 $r^{2.3}$ p t b inquit memento] *inu.* p^3 31 cum] K $r^{2.3}$ *fu*, dum r^1 p t b *tol edd* ue-
 niret dominus] *inu.* p t b 32 ille] *om.* *edd* se in poenis] in p. se *edd* futurum]
 f. esse r^2 32/34 et saltem - differebat] *om.* K 32 et] $r^{1.2}$ $p^{1.2.4.5}$ b *fu tol edd*, sed
 r^3 $p^{1.2}$ (p.c.) t , qui p^5 , *def.* K saltem r t^2 b^2 *fu edd*, saltim p t b^1 *tol*, *def.* K aduentu]
 r p^3 b^2 *maur*, aduentum* $p^{1.2.4.5}$ t b^1 *fu tol und*, *def.* K 32/33 misericordiam] per m. *und*
(quod corr. lov) 33 se latro] facere p^5 se²] si r^3 (p.c.), *om.* *fu* 34 sed - diceret] *om.* r^1
 sed] *om.* r^3 diceret] K r^2 b^2 *fu tol edd*, dicens r^3 p t b^1 , *def.* r^1 35 cum] K r *fu tol*
und, dum p t b *maur* uenero] -rim r^1 meum] tuum t^1 (a.c.) *ante hodie add.* amen
 amen dico tibi *edd*, et ego tibi dico *fu* hodie] -diae r^2

- eris in paradiso.* Agnosce cui te commendas, quem credis uenturum: antequam ueniam, ubique sum. Ideo quamuis in inferna descensus, habeo te hodie in paradiso, non alteri commendatum, sed mecum. Ad homines enim mortales et ad ipsos mortuos descendit humilitas mea, de paradiso autem nunquam discedit diuinitas mea.⁷ Ita factae sunt tres cruces, tres causae.
- 40 Vnus latronum Christo insultabat, alter sua mala confessus Christi se misericordiae commendabat. Crux Christi in medio non fuit supplicium, sed tribunal: insultantem damnauit, credentem liberauit. Timete, insultantes; gaudete, credentes: hoc faciet in claritate quod fecit in humilitate.
- 45 3. Munera diuina de profundo Dei iudicio ueniunt: mirari ea possumus, uestigare non possumus. *Quis enim cognouit sensum Domini?* et *Quam inscrutabilia sunt iudicia eius, et inuestigabiles uiae eius!* Sequens per

38/40 Cf. s. *Morin* 11, 13 (53A): «Hodie, inquit, secundum animam ad inferos descendo, sed secundum diuinitatem de paradiso non discedo». 40/43 Passage repris par Quodvultdeus, s. *de cataclysmo* 4: «Ita factae sunt tres cruces, tres causae. Vnus latronum Christo insultabat, alter sua merita confessus Christi se misericordiae commendabat: crux Christi in medio, non fuit supplicium, sed tribunal.» 41/42 Cf. Lc 23, 39-42. 42/43 Cf. *Io. eu. tr.* 31, 11: «Ipsa crux, si adendas, tribunal fuit: in medio enim iudice constituto, unus latro qui credidit liberatus, alter qui insultauit damnatus est»; s. 331, 2: «Tamquam illud lignum tribunal esset, insultantem damnauit, confitentem coronauit. Quid faciet iudicaturus, si hoc potuit iudicatus?»; *Lambot* 2 (335C): «Crux illa tribunal fuit: ... iudicatus pendebat et pendentes iudicabat»; 13, 6 (328 augm.): «Vnum punit, alterum soluit. Crux illa tribunal fuit»; *Morin* 11, 13 (53A): «Lignum illud Christo tribunal fuit. Quid agit iudicaturus, qui haec potuit iudicatus?»; 327, 2; 335, 2; Ps.-Aug., s. *Guelf. app.* 5, 3: «Vnus insultabat, alius credebat: et ipse de cruce tamquam de tribunale inter ambos iudicabat». 45/46 Cf. c. *Faust.* 21, 3: «Quanto melius est ita mirari, quod inuestigare non sufficis». 46 Rm 11, 34. 46/47 Rm 11, 33. 47/48 Cf. I Pt 2, 21; Lc 22, 61-62.

36 *eris*] *om. K* agnosce] *add. inquit dominus latroni* ^{r³ (in marg.)} uenturum] *esse u.* ^{r²}
37 *ubique*] *praem. qui* ^{r³} *ideo*] *K r¹ fu tol edd*, et *i.* ^{r²}, *om. r³ p t b* in inferna] *ad i.*
K, in inferno ^{r²}, in infernum *fu* habeo *K r² p⁴ tol edd*, habeo ^{r¹. 3 p¹ (p.c.). 2. 3. 5 t b fu, p¹ (a.c.)}
non legitur 38 *post hodie add. mecum fu tol* alteri] *aliter* ^{r³} 39 *mortuos*] *-tuus* ^{r¹}
descendit] *disc-* ^{r¹}, *-det* ^{r³} *humilitas*] *humanitas* ^{t²} 39/40 *de paradiso* – *nunquam*] *om. r³*
39 *autem*] *K r¹ fu tol edd, om. r² p t b, def. r³* 40 *discedit*] *r¹ edd, -det* ^{r²}, *descendit* ^{r³ (a.c.)}, *descendit* *K r³ (p.c.)*, *discessit* *p t b fu tol* diuinitas] *deitas* *b* *tres*¹] *supra*
lin. scr. p⁴ 41 *insultabat*] *-tauit* *K* 41/42 *alter* – *commendabat*] *om. K* *se* – *christi*²] *om. b* *se*] *om. r²* 42 *crux*] *et crux und, def. b* *christi*] *domini* ^{r¹}
medio] *-dium* ^{r²} *und* 43 *insultantem*] *K r fu und*, *de cruce quippe i. p t b maur*, *de*
crucis quippe tribunal i. tol *damnauit*] *clamauit* *b* *liberauit*] *coronauit* ^{r¹} 44
faciet] *faciat* ^{r¹. 3}, *fecit* ^{r²}, *faciat christus fu* *post humilitate def. tol* 45 *diuina*] *add.*
quae ^{r³ (p.c.)} *dei*] *om. fu* *iudicio ueniunt*] *inu.* K fu* *ueniunt*] *conueniunt* ^{r²}
46 *uestigare*] *K und, inuestigare** (*inuis-* ^{r¹}) *r p t b fu maur* *non possumus*] *autem non*
ualetur nec explicare fu (qui hic desinit) *et*] *K r¹. 3 edd, om. r² p t b* 47 *et inuestiga-*
biles uiae eius] *om. und* *et*] *om. p⁵* *inuestigabiles*] *inin-* ^{r²} *eius*] *K r² t² b² maur*,
illius ^{r¹}, *ipsius* ^{r³} *p t¹ b¹, def. und*

- omnia uestigia Christi Petrus turbatur, et negat; respicitur, plorat: fletus terget quod timor infecerat. Non fuit illa Petri desertio, sed eruditio.
- 50 Amore quippe Domini interrogatus in corde suo praesumpserat se pro eo etiam moriturum. Viribus suis hoc tribuerat: nisi paulisper a regente desereretur, non sibi demonstraretur. Ausus est dicere: *Animam meam pro te ponam*. Animam suam pro Christo praesumpserat se positurum esse sec-
- 55 tator, pro quo nondum posuerat liberator. Denique cum timore turbatus, sicut Dominus praedixerat, ter negasset eum pro quo promiserat se moriturum, sicut scriptum est, *respexit eum Dominus*. At ille *amare fleuit*. Amara erat negationis recordatio, ut dulcis esset gratia redemptionis. Nisi desertus, non negaret; nisi respectus, non fleret. Odit Deus praesumptores de uiribus suis, et tumorem istum in eis quos diligit tamquam medicus
- 60 secat. Secando quidem infert dolorem, sed firmat postea sanitatem. Itaque resurgens Dominus commendat Petro oues suas, illi negatori; sed negatori,

51/52 Cf. s. *Lambot* 3 (229P): «quando enim negauit petrus, demonstratus est sibi»; 231, 1; *Guelf* 32, 8 (340A). 52/53 Io 13, 37 (Lc 22, 33). 53/56 Cf. s. 147, 1: «Fuit enim prius audax praesumptor, et postea factus est timidus negator. Promiserat se pro domino moriturum, cum prius pro illo esset dominus moriturus. 54/56 Cf. Io 13, 37-38 (Lc 22, 33-34). 56 Lc 22, 61-62. 58/59 Passage repris par Quodvultdeus, s. *de cantico nouo* 8: «Odit deus praesumptores de uiribus suis». 60 Cf. *en. Ps.* 114, 5: «Non enim poenalis, sed salutaris dolor est quem secando medicus facit»; 50, 11. 61/63 Cf. s. *Lambot* 3 (229P): «Ideo dominus ter interrogauit ut deleter trinam negationem trina confessio. Hic est ille Petrus negator et amator; negator infirmitate humana, amator gratia diuina»; Quodvultdeus, s. *de catachysmo* 3: «Petrus ille praesumptor et postea negator, post uero confessor et amator».

48 turbatur] conturbatur *edd* respicitur] et r. ^{p¹ (a.c.)} plorat] *K* r¹, et plorat* r^{2.3} p t b
edd 48/49 fletus] *K* r^{1.2} *edd*, ut fletus r³ p t b 49 terget] *K*, teget r¹, tergit* r² *edd*,
abluat r³, dilueret p t b quod] quos *und* illa] *add.* negatio r³ 50 amore] *K* r^{1.2}
p⁵ t², amorem r³ p^{1.4} t¹ b, amare *edd* domini interrogatus] *K* r^{1.2}, d. interrogans r³, domino
interrogante p t b, dominum interrogatus *edd* se] sed r² se pro] spero r¹ 51 tri-
buerat] *K* r^{1.3} t *edd*, -ebat r² p b 52 non] et n. *und* non sibi demonstraretur] *om.* r¹
ausus est] quod a. r², a. r³ meam] *om.* r³ 53 pro christo] *om.* r¹ pr(a)esumpse-
rat] praesumptor *maur* esse] et se *und*, *om.* r¹ p³ 53/54 sectator] *K* r¹, praesumptor
r² p t b, redemptor r³, iactabat *edd* 54 quo] *scr. in marg.* t² nondum posuerat] *K* r¹
edd, negando n. p. r², negandus p. r³, negandus posuit p t b¹, negandus profuit b² libe-
rator] -tur *und* 54/55 turbatus] *K* r^{1.2} *und*, -tur r³ p t b *maur* 55 dominus] deus t¹
praedixerat] dixerat r² negasset] *K* r², negat *edd*, negauit r³, negans p t b, me negabis ne-
gauit r¹ eum] deum *und* quo] *scr. in marg.* t² 55/56 promiserat se moriturum]
K, se p. m.* r¹ *edd*, se m. p. r^{2.3} p t b 56 eum] *om.* r¹, illum *edd* at] et r¹ amare
fleuit] *K* r^{1.2} *edd*, *inu.* r³ p t b 57 negationis recordatio] *K* r¹ *und*, *inu.* r^{2.3} p t b¹ *maur*,
recordationis b² ut dulcis - redemptionis] *iter.* b¹ redemptionis] -toris r¹ 58
respectus] desp- r¹ deus] *K* r¹ *edd* (quod mutuatus est Quodvultdeus in sermone de cantico
nouo), dominus r^{2.3} p t b 59 tumorem] *K* r^{1.2} p⁴ b *edd*, amorem r³, timorem p^{1.2.3.5} t
quos diligit] d. sed r³ 60 secat] *om.* r¹ secando] *praem.* et r³ infert] infer r¹
firmat postea] *inu.* r² firmat] firma r¹, firmant *und* (quod corr. lov) 61 resurgens] surgens
und commendat] -dans t² negatori] negociatori *K*, amatori r³ sed] s. ideo r¹

- quia praesumptori; postea pastori, quia amatori. Nam quare ter interrogat amantem, nisi ut compungat ter negantem? Proinde fecit postea Petrus gratia Dei quod primo non potuit fiducia sui. Nam posteaquam illi oues, non
 65 Petri, sed suas commendauit, ut non pasceret sibi, sed Domino, annuntiauit ei passionem futuram quam primo perdiderat, quoniam praepropere festinabat: *'Cum senior, inquit, factus fueris, alter te cinget et ducet te quo tu non uis'*. Hoc autem dixit, significans qua morte glorificaturus erat Deum. Factum est; peruenit Petrus ad passionem, qui lacrymis deleuerat negationem.
 70 Quod ei promiserat saluator, non potuit auferre temptator.
4. Tale aliquid factum esse arbitror etiam in his martyribus sanctis Casto et Aemilio quorum diem hodie celebramus. Fortassis et ipsi de suis uiribus antea praesumpserunt et ideo defecerunt. Ostendit eis qui essent ipsi, qui ipse: repressit praesumentes, reuocauit credentes; adiuuit pugnantes, coronauit uincentes. Denique iam de illis gaudebat inimicus in prima congressione; quando cesserunt doloribus, in suis eos partibus computabat, iam

67/68 Io 21, 18-19. 69 Cf. s. 298, 1: « Petrus negationem domini lacrymis lauit ». 72/73 Cf. en. Ps. 75, 16: « Deficientis, si de uobis praesumitis »; 138, 21. 74/75 Probablement une formule liturgique, étant donné sa fréquence dans l'œuvre prêchée: cf. en Ps. 143, 5: « Habes quem inuoces, ut pugnatem adiuuet te et uincentem coronet te »; 149, 9: « Benefacit auersum conuertere, pugnatem adiuuare, uincentem coronare »; s. 312, 6: « ... regere docentem, adiuuare pugnatem, coronare uincentem »; *Frangip.* 2, 9 (339 augm.): « Hinc sint preces nostrae: intus nos adiuuent luctantes et coronent uincentes »; s. 317, 5; 326, 1; *Dolbeau* 4, 1 (*Mai* 19 augm.); *Dolbeau* 26, 12 (198 augm.); *Lambot* 21, 6 (335K); *Wilmart* 12, 7 (61A). 75/79 Cf. Cyprianus, *De lapsis* 13: « Sic hic Casto et Aemilio aliquando dominus ignouit: sic in prima congressione deuictos uictores in secundo proelio reddidit, ut fortiores ignibus fierent qui ignibus ante cessissent, et unde superati essent inde superarent ».

62 quia amatori] iter. b¹ ter] om. und ter interrogat] inu. r² t interrogat] -garet K 63 fecit postea] K, fecit r¹, p. fecit* r^{2.3} p t b, perfecit p. edd 64 primo] K r edd, prius p t b potuit] potui r¹ 65 suas] K r^{1.2} edd, domini r³ p t b annuntiauit] nuntiauit t² 66 ei] et r^{1.3} futuram] suam f. t, suam r² perdiderat] perde- r¹ quoniam] quia r¹ p³, qui t² praepropere] perpropere und (quod corr. lov), pro opere t², prepopere b¹, impropere b² 66/67 festinabat] -nabit t² 67 senior] K r¹ edd, senuerit r², senueris r³ p t b factus fueris] K edd, fueris r¹, om. r^{2.3} p t b ducet te] K, ducet r³, fert r¹, ferit r², feret p t b edd quo] quod r¹ p⁵ tu] om. und 68 glorificaturus erat] K edd, clarificaturus esset* r p t b deum] K r^{1.3} p^{3.4}, dominum r² p^{1.2.5} t b edd 68/69 factum est] add. autem p⁴, fac quod tuum est r¹ 69 peruenit] uenit r³ petrus] christus K qui lacrymis deleuerat negationem] om. und qui] quia r¹ deleuerat] K r^{1.2}, diluerat r³ p t b maur, def. und 70 quod ei] K r^{1.2} p³ b² maur, quam ei und, quia quod r³, quod et p¹ (a.c.). 2. 4 b¹, et quod p¹ (p.c.). 5 t non] quod r¹ 71/80 tale - uicerunt] om. r¹ 71/136 tale - bonam] om. r^{2.3} p t b 71 his] hiis K martyribus sanctis] edd, factis martyribus K 72 aemilio] aemylio und fortassis] K, fortasse* edd 73 qui?] edd, quos K 74 reuocauit] K, et uocauit edd

exultabat, iam suos habebat; sed quantum eis concessum est, Domino miserante! Alii martyres diabolum uicerunt temptantem, isti etiam triumphantem. Itaque, fratres mei, meminerimus quorum celebritatem hodie
 80 celebramus, nec uelimus imitari quod uicti sunt, sed potius quod uicerunt. Ideo magnorum casus non latuerunt, ut timeant qui de se praesumpserunt. Vbique nobis humilitas a magistro bono diligentissime commendatur, quandoquidem et salus nostra in Christo humilitas Christi est: nulla enim nostra salus esset, nisi Christus humilis pro nobis fieri dignatus esset.
 85 Meminerimus de nobis ipsis non esse praefidendum: Deo commendemus quod habemus, ab illo impleamus quod minus habemus.
 5. Martyrum perfecta iustitia est, quoniam in ipsa passione perfecti sunt. Ideo pro illis in ecclesia non oratur. Pro aliis fidelibus defunctis oratur, pro martyribus non oratur. Tam enim perfecti exierunt, ut non sint suscepti
 90 nostri, sed aduocati, neque hoc in se, sed in illo cui capiti perfecta membra cohaeserunt. Ille est enim uere aduocatus unus, qui interpellat pro nobis, sedens ad dexteram Patris; sed aduocatus unus, sicut et pastor unus. Nam oportet, inquit, *me et eas oues adducere quae non sunt de hoc ouili*, ut sit *unus grex et unus pastor*. Si ergo unus Christus pastor, Petrus non pastor?
 95 Immo et Petrus pastor, et Paulus pastor, et ceteri tales sine ulla dubitatione

82/83 Cf. s. *Lambot* 8 (306D): « Commendat Christus suam humilitatem »; *Io. eu. tr.* 25, 11; *en. Ps.* 33, 2, 4, etc. 87/89 Cf. s. 159, 1: « Perfectio tamen in hac uita nonnulla est, ad quam sancti martyres peruenerunt... martyres eo loco recitantur ad altare Dei, ubi non pro ipsis oretur; pro ceteris autem commemoratis defunctis oratur »; 284, 5: « Non pro illis (*sc. martyribus*) orat ecclesia. Nam merito pro aliis defunctis dormientibus orat ecclesia, pro martyribus non orat, sed eorum potius orationibus se commendat »; *Dolbeau* 18, 1 (306E): « Perfecti martyres creduntur de saeculo exisse... inter sacramenta christiana pro martyribus non oramus »; 297, 3. 89/91 Cf. s. *Guelf.* 1, 6 (213 augm.): « Si haberes causam apud aliquem iudicem agendam, et instrueres aduocatum, esses susceptus ab aduocato, ageret causam tuam ... et modo ipse pro nobis orat, ipse pro nobis interpellat; aduocatum eum habemus ». 91 Cf. *I Io* 2, 1. 91/92 Cf. *Rm* 8, 34. 93/94 *Io* 10, 16. 94/96 Cf. *Io. eu. tr.* 47, 3: « Quod pastor est, dedit et membris suis; nam et Petrus pastor, et Paulus pastor, et ceteri apostoli pastores, et boni episcopi pastores »; s. 138, 1. 3. 4: « Pastor ergo bonus Christus. Quid Petrus? Nonne bonus pastor? Nonne et ipse animam pro ouibus posuit? Quid Paulus? Quid ceteri apostoli... Neque enim, ut dixi iam, non erat pastor bonus Petrus, Paulus, apostoli ceteri, et posteriores sancti episcopi... Pastor est ergo, cui pascendas oues credidisti »; s. *Guelf.* 16, 3 (229N).

79 celebritatem] *edd.*, solemnitatem *K* 81/82 ideo – praesumpserunt] *habet* *r*¹ 81 ideo] tamen carissimi *i.* *r*¹ timeant] *timeat* *r*¹ 81/82 praesumpserunt] praesumunt *r*¹ 82/84 ubique – dignatus esset] *om.* *r*¹ 82 a magistro bono] *K*, magistri boni* *edd* 84 pro nobis] *edd.*, *om.** *K* 85/86 meminerimus – habemus] *habet* *r*¹ 85 praefidendum] praesumendum *r*¹ 86 quod¹] si quid boni *r*¹ impleamus] *K und*, quaeramus *r*¹, imploremus *maur* 87/136 martyrum – bonam] *om.* *r*¹ 89 enim] *edd.*, *om.** *K* 93 de] *edd.*, ex *K* 93/94 sit unus – ergo unus] *K*, *om.* *edd* 95 et paulus pastor] *K*, *om.* *edd*

pastores. Nam si non pastor, quomodo ei dicitur: *Pasce oues meas*? Sed tamen uerus pastor qui pascit oues suas. Petro enim dictum est non: *Pasce oues tuas*, sed *meas*. Petrus ergo non in se, sed in corpore pastoris, est pastor. Nam si oues suas pasceret, continuo fierent haedi quos pasceret.

- 100 **6.** Contra hoc enim quod Petro dicitur: *Pasce oues meas*, dicitur in Canticis canticorum: *Nisi cognoueris temetipsam, o pulchra inter mulieres*. Cui dicatur, utique agnoscimus et in illa etiam nos audimus. Ecclesia quippe hoc audit a Christo, sponsa hoc audit a sponso: *Nisi cognoueris*, inquit, *temetipsam, o pulchra inter mulieres, exi tu*. Quam mala uox: *Exi! Ex nobis*, inquit, 105 *exierunt, sed non erant ex nobis*. Huic tristi uoci, quod est *Exi*, contraria est in bono illa uox gratulabilis: *Intra in gaudium Domini tui*. Ergo *nisi cognoueris temetipsam, o pulchra inter mulieres* – o catholica pulchra inter haereses –, *nisi cognoueris temetipsam, o pulchra inter mulieres, exi tu*. ‘Non enim ego te eicio, sed *exi tu*’. *A nobis enim exierunt, qui segregant semetip-* 110 *sos, animales, spiritum non habentes*. Non enim dictum est ‘eieci sunt’, sed *exierunt*. Hoc et in primis peccantibus iustitia diuina seruauit: tamquam enim iam pronos proprio pondere, *dimisit eos de paradiso*, non exclusit. *Nisi ergo cognoueris temetipsam, o pulchra inter mulieres, exi tu*. ‘Non ego te eicio, *exi tu*. Ego te in corpore meo uolo sanari, tu putredinem tuam 115 appetis amputari.’ Hoc illis dictum est, qui praeuidebantur exituri, ut pos-

96/98 Io 21, 17; cf. s. 138, 7: « non dixisti: *Pasce oues tuas*, sed *Pasce oues meas* »; *cath. fr.* 40; *ep.* 108, 17; s. 146, 2, etc.; Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 285-286. **98/99**

Cf. s. *Guelf.* 16, 3 (229N): « Redigitur totus numerus pastorum ad corpus unius pastoris ».

100 Io 21, 17. **101** Ct 1, 7 (8 LXX); cf. A.-M. La Bonnardière, « Le Cantique des Can-

tiques dans l'œuvre de saint Augustin », *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 1, 1955, p. 230; A. Genovese, *S. Agostino e il Cantico* (cit. n. 16), p. 77-78 et 197. **103/104** Ct 1, 7 (8

LXX). **103/111** Cf. *ep.* 93, 9, 29: « *Nisi ergo cognoueris temetipsam, exi tu*; non ego te

eicio, sed *exi tu*, ut dicatur de te: *Ex nobis exierunt, sed non erant ex nobis* »; s. 138, 8: « *Nisi*

ergo talem *cognoueris temetipsam, exi tu*; *exi*. Aliis enim dicturus sum: *Intra in gaudium domi-*

ni tui. Tibi non dicam: *Intra*, sed *Exi*; ut sis inter eos qui *ex nobis exierunt* »; 146, 2: « *Nisi*

cognoueris temetipsam, pulchra inter mulieres, exi tu. Tanquam dicens, non ego te eicio, *exi*

tu »; *Denis* 12, 5 (147A); *Guelf.* 17, 3 (229O); *Weidmann* 11, 5 (295 augm.). **104/105**

I Io 2, 19; cf. Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 286-287. **106** Mt 25, 21. **106/109**

Ct 1, 7 (8 LXX). **109. 111** I Io 2, 19. **109/110** Iud 19; cf. Hombert, *Nouvelles*

recherches, p. 287. **111/112** Gn 3, 23; *Gn. adu. Man.* 2, 34: « Bene dictum est, *dimisit*,

non exclusit, ut ipso peccatorum suorum pondere tanquam in locum sibi congruum uideretur

urgeri ». **113/114. 120. 122** Ct 1, 7 (8 LXX).

96/98 sed tamen – sed meas] *edd, om. K* **100** hoc] *K maur*, quos und dicitur¹ *edd*, dicit *K* **102** dicatur] *K*, dicitur *edd* etiam nos] *K, inu. edd* **103** hoc] *K, om. edd* a] *edd*, ab *K* inquit] *K, om. edd* **104** exi²] *edd*, exi tu* *K* ex] *K*, a *edd* **108** haereses – inter] *edd, om. K* (*per homæoteleuton*) **112** dimisit] *edd*, de-
misit *K* **113** ergo] *edd*, enim *K* **114** te¹] *edd, om.* K* **115/116** possent] *K*,
possint *edd*

sent se agnoscere et cauere mansuri. Quare enim et illi exierunt, nisi quia se non agnouerunt? Si enim se agnoscerent, ibi uiderent non suum, sed Dei esse quod darent. 'Ego do: meum est quod do, sanctum est quod do; et ideo sanctum est, quia ego do.' Non te agnouisti, merito existi. Noluisti enim
 120 audire dicentem: *Nisi cognoueris temetipsam, o pulchra inter mulieres*. Pulchra enim aliquando eras, quando sponsi tui membris inhaerebas. Noluisti ergo audire et appendere quid sit: *Nisi cognoueris temetipsam*, quia utique foedam te inuenit qui de foeda pulchram fecit, qui nigram dealbauit. *Quid enim habes quod non accepisti?* Non ergo aduertis quemadmodum dictum
 125 sit: *Nisi cognoueris temetipsam, exi tu*; et putasti te pascere debere oues tuas, non quomodo dictum est Petro: *Pasce oues meas*. Sed uide quid tibi adiunxerit, quid tibi ista praedixit: *Exi tu in uestigiis gregum*, non gregis, sed *gregum*. Nam ubi pascuntur oues Christi, ibi est *unus grex et unus pastor*. *Exi ergo tu in uestigiis gregum*, diuisibilis, diuisa, conscissa, *exi tu in*
 130 *uestigiis gregum, et pasce haedos tuos*, non sicut Petrus: *oues meas*, sed *haedos tuos; in tabernaculis pastorum*, non in tabernaculo pastoris. Petrus intrat caritate, tu exis animositate. Quia Petrus cognouit semetipsum, ideo fleuit de se praesumentem et inuenire meruit adiuuantem; (quia non cognouisti temetipsam), ideo *exi tu*. Ille *oues meas*, tu *haedos tuos*; ille in tabernaculo pastoris, tu *in tabernaculis pastorum*. Quid ergo iactas poenam tuam
 135 malam, qui non habes causam bonam?

118/119 Cf. *Io. eu. tr.* 13, 11: «Exsistit aliquis haereticus, et dicit: 'Ego do, ego sanctifico, ego iustifico... Ego quod do sanctum est, quia ego do'». **123** «Nigram dealbavit»: cf. *Ct* 1, 5 (6 LXX) et 8, 5 (LXX); «...quae ascendit dealbata...», VL). **123/124** *I Cor* 4, 7. **125** *Ct* 1, 7 (8 LXX). **126. 130** *Io* 21, 17. **127/131** *Ct* 1, 7 (8 LXX); cf. *ep.* 93, 9, 29: «*Exi tu in uestigiis gregum*, non in uestigiis meis, sed *in uestigiis gregum*, nec unius gregis, sed *gregum* diuisorum et errantium. *Et pasce haedos tuos*, non sicut Petrus, cui dicitur: *Pasce oues meas*, sed *pasce haedos tuos in tabernaculis pastorum*, non in tabernaculo pastoris, ubi est unus grex et unus pastor»; s. 138, 8: «*Si autem non cognoueris, exi tu in uestigiis gregum, et pasce haedos tuos in tabernaculis pastorum*. *Exi in uestigiis*, non gregis, sed *gregum*: et *pasce*, non sicut Petrus, *oues meas*, sed *haedos tuos: in tabernaculis*, non pastoris, sed *pastorum*»; 146, 2: «*Exi tu in uestigiis gregum*, non in societate gregis: et *pasce haedos tuos*, non quomodo Petro dictum est, *oues meas*. Petro dicitur, *oues meas*; schismaticis dicitur, *haedos tuos*»; 46, 36-37; *Denis* 12, 5 (147A), *Guelf.* 17, 3 (229O); *Weidmann* 11, 5 (295 augm.). **128/129** *Io* 10, 16 (VL). **134/135** *Ct* 1, 7 (8 LXX). **134** *Io* 21, 17. **135/136** Cf. s. *Dolbeau* 15, 6 (283 augm.): «Vnde te iactabas es peior»; 325, 2.

117 se²] *K*, om. *edd* **118** sanctum est quod do] *K*, om. *edd* (per homæoteleuton) **119** existi] *edd*, exi tu *K* **122** appendere] *edd*, apprehendere *K* **123** qui ... qui] *K*, quia ... quia *edd* nigram] *K*, de nigra *edd* **128** ubi ... ibi] *K*, ibi ... ubi *edd* **132** cognouit] *edd*, cognoscit *K* fleuit] *K*, se f. *edd* **133** post adiuuantem lacunam suspicatus sum (quia non cognouisti temetipsam scripsi exempli causa) **134** exi] *K* maur, exis und **135/144** quid ergo – iustam] *excerpsit* *L*₁₅ **135** quid ergo] ergo ut dicere coeperam quid *L*₁₅ **135/136** poenam tuam malam] *L*₁₅ *edd*, penas tuas *K* **136** post malam *add.* o schismatice *L*₁₅ qui] *K*, quae* *L*₁₅ *edd* habes] -bet *L*₁₅

7. Martyres itaque intus honoremus in tabernaculo pastoris, in membris
pastoris, habentes gratiam, non audaciam; pietatem, non temeritatem; con-
stantiam, non pertinaciam; collectionem, non dispersionem. Proinde si uul-
tis martyres ueros imitari, causam uobis eligite, ut dicatis Domino: *Iudica*
140 *me, Domine, et discerne causam meam de gente non sancta. Discerne*, non
poenam meam – nam habet hanc et gens non sancta –, sed *causam meam*,
quam non habet nisi gens sancta. Causam ergo uobis eligite, causam bonam
et iustam tenete, et in adiutorio Domini nullam poenam timeate. Conuersi
145 ad Dominum, etc.

140/142 Ps 42, 1. 140/144 Cf. s. 306, 2: « Sit nobis electa causa, ne nobis noceat poena »; *Dolbeau* 15, 7 (283 augm.): « Elige causam, ne horreas poenam... Et cum elegeris causam, et ipsam Deo commenda et dic illi: *Iudica me...* »; s. 325, 2; 327, 1; 335, 2; *Lambot* 2 (335C); 13, 4 (328 augm.).

137 martyres] *hic denuo incipiunt r p t b* 137/138 itaque – pastoris²] sanctos honorando et uenerando inmitemur *r*¹ 137 itaque] *add.* cuius festa celebramus sicuti peculiarem patronum *r*^{3 (a.c.)}, quorum f. c. s. peculiares patronos *r*^{3 (p.c.)} intus honoremus] *cett L₁₅, inu. p*^{4 (a.c.)} 137/138 in¹ – pastoris²] in ecclesia catholica *L₁₅* 137 tabernaculo] -culum *b*, *def. L₁₅* 138 habentes] *cett L₁₅, -tis und* 138/139 pietatem – pertinaciam] *om. r*³ 139 pertinaciam] -nentiam *r*¹ collectionem – dispersionem] *om. r*¹ dispersionem] *cett L₁₅, diuisionem edd* 139/140 post uultis *add.* fratres *L₁₅* 140 martyres] *om. r*² ueros] *K r*^{1. 3} *L₁₅ edd*, uero *r*², uere *p*^{1. 2. 3. 4 (p.c.) 5} *t b*, dei *p*^{4 (a.c.)} eligite] ele- *r*¹ dicatis] dicat unusquisque uestrum *r*³ domino] *K edd*, deo* *r p t b L₁₅* 141 domine] *K L₁₅ edd*, deus *r p t b* de] *a L₁₅ edd* non¹] *om. r*³ 141/143 discerne – eligite] *om. r*¹ 141 discerne non] *K r*² *L₁₅ edd, inu.* *r*³ *p t b, def. r*¹ 142 poenam] causam *r*^{3 (a.c.)} nam] *cett L₁₅, non K* habet hanc] *K L₁₅ edd*, hanc *h. r*^{2. 3} *p*^{1. 2. 4. 5} *t b*, hanc debet *p*³, *def. r*¹ sed] *K r*² *L₁₅ edd*, discerne uero *r*³, discerne *p t b, def. r*¹ 143 quam] *K r*^{3 (p.c.)} *b*² *L₁₅ edd, om. r*^{2. 3 (a.c.)} *p t b*¹, *def. r*¹ causam²] *cett L₁₅, et c. K* 144 in adiutorio – timeate] nullam poenam timebitis in adiutorio illius qui est dominus uirtutum qui uiuit et regnat in secula seculorum amen *r*³ timeate] *K r*^{1. 2} *edd*, timebitis *r*³ *p*^{1-4. 5 (p.c.)} *t b*, tenebitis *p*^{5 (a.c.)} 144/145 conuersi ad dominum etc. (*om. etc. und*)] *K edd, om. r p t b* post etc. *add.* qui uiuit per immortalia secula seculorum amen *K*, explicit *p*⁴, finit *p*^{5 (in marg.)}

II. Le sermon 306 sur la vie heureuse

1. Données liturgiques

Le sermon fut prêché durant une messe, dont deux lectures au moins peuvent être restituées avec certitude⁵⁴. La première avait consisté en Sagesse 3, 1-8 ; et le répons psalmique avait été le Psaume 115, verset 15⁵⁵. Aucune citation évangélique n'est présentée explicitement comme tirée de la pericope du jour ; il faut noter cependant que la plus fréquente provient de l'épisode du jeune homme riche (Matthieu 19, 17)⁵⁶.

Augustin a prononcé cette allocution le jour où l'on commémorait la *Massa candida*⁵⁷, c'est-à-dire le 18 août selon le Martyrologe pseudo-hiéronymien et le calendrier du Sinai (*CPL* 2030a)⁵⁸. Il a souvent prêché en l'honneur de ces martyrs, exécutés au voisinage d'Utique où se trouvait leur basilique⁵⁹, sans jamais manifester qu'il venait d'entendre leur Passion ou qu'il disposait à leur sujet d'informations spéciales⁶⁰. Il prenait également la parole le 21 août, lorsqu'était fêté leur évêque Quadratus⁶¹. On possède ainsi plusieurs ensembles d'allocutions, qui restent liés dans la tradition manuscrite :

Massa candida	Quadratus	transmission	lieu	lectures (18/8)
s. 330 s. <i>Morin</i> 14 s. <i>Lambot</i> 7 ⁶²	<i>Denis</i> 18 <i>Morin</i> 15 <i>Lambot</i> 8	coll. Campanienne Milano, Ambr. C 210 inf. Madrid, B.N. 194	Carthage Carthage hors d'Hippone	Mt 16 Mt 5 (?) Apc 14, Ps 115, Lc 21 Ps 115, Sap 3
s. 306	<i>Dolbeau</i> 18 ⁶³	Mainz, Stadtbibl. I 9	?	

⁵⁴ MARGONI-KÖGLER, *Perikopen* (op. cit., n. 14), p. 161 n. 457.

⁵⁵ Cf. § 7 : « sicut audistis in fine lectionis » (suivi de Sagesse 3, 8b) ; § 1 : « sicut audiui-mus et cantando respondimus » (précédant Psaume 115, 15 et un commentaire de Sagesse 3, 2-5). La lecture de Sagesse 3, 1 est indispensable pour connaître le sujet au pluriel du verset suivant.

⁵⁶ Sur la prière conclusive : « Conuersi ad Dominum... », voir *supra* n. 20.

⁵⁷ Citée en rubrique comme aux § 2 et 10, de sorte que ce nom n'a jamais été oublié.

⁵⁸ LAMBOT, « Sermons » (art. cit., n. 18), p. 92 ; SAXER, *Morts* (op. cit., n. 19), p. 214-216. La date est mutilée dans le calendrier de Carthage.

⁵⁹ Celle-ci est mentionnée dans la rubrique d'Aug., *en. Ps.* 144.

⁶⁰ SAXER, *ibid.*, p. 208.

⁶¹ Ce décalage entre les célébrations existe aussi entre l'anniversaire des martyrs de T(h)i-mida Regia et celui de Gallonius, leur chef de file, fixés respectivement les 31 mai et 11 juin : il s'explique par le fait que le jugement d'un responsable de communauté pouvait requérir un supplément d'information et que la condamnation de celui-ci survenait alors au terme d'une audience ultérieure. Les circonstances exactes du martyre de la *Massa candida* sont inconnues.

⁶² Cf. DOLBEAU, *Vingt-six sermons* (cit. n. 3), p. 219-222. L'indication de lieu est garantie par la phrase initiale : « Beatorum martyrum sollemnem diem uoluit nos dominus celebrare uobiscum », qui serait incongrue à Hippone.

⁶³ Cette dernière séquence correspond à Possidius, *Indiculus* 10⁶. 130-131 : « Per natalem martyrum Massae candidae. Per natalem martyris Quadrati ».

D'un tel tableau, plusieurs données se laissent déduire : d'abord, la relation étroite entre les s. 306 et *Dolbeau* 18, prêchés à peu d'intervalle (col. 1-3)⁶⁴; ensuite, une hypothèse, qui sera discutée plus loin, sur le lieu de prédication du s. 306 (col. 4); enfin, un début de fixation du lectionnaire, puisque le Ps 115 apparaît deux fois (col. 5), tandis que la lecture vétérotestamentaire et l'évangile dépendent encore du libre choix du célébrant. Margoni-Kögler a noté que, lorsque fut prêchée à Utique l'*Enarratio in psalmum* 144, dans la basilique de la *Massa candida*, l'évangile était celui du jeune homme riche (Mt 19, 16-30), d'où il a inféré que les citations de la même péricope dans le s. 306 devaient renvoyer à l'évangile du jour⁶⁵. L'argumentation est recevable, car il est quasi certain que l'*Enarratio* fut prononcée un 18 août : ce texte en effet garantit la ville et la basilique (rubrique), la saison d'été (§ 3), l'anniversaire d'un martyr (§ 17), et le terme *massa* y est employé une fois (§ 17), selon une pratique fréquente chez Augustin les 18 et 21 août⁶⁶. Il faut évidemment s'abstenir d'invoquer ici l'identité de péricope évangélique avec le s. 306, afin de ne pas vicier le raisonnement.

2. Argument

« Précieuse est la mort des saints aux yeux du Seigneur » (Psaume 115, 15), tandis qu'elle est « estimée un châtiment aux yeux des sots » (Sagesse 3, 2). Les tourments terrestres ne sont rien en comparaison de la gloire qu'ils anticipent (§ 1). Mais à condition que leur cause soit bonne, car les causes mauvaises restent sans récompense. Candide était la cause de la *Massa candida*, ainsi appelée en raison du nombre des martyrs, qui suivirent ensemble, sans s'écarter du chemin, la voie qui est le Christ (§ 2). Tous les hommes veulent le bonheur, mais chacun y aspire de manière différente. Le but est commun, l'itinéraire discuté. Les uns préfèrent le métier de soldat; d'autres celui d'agriculteur, d'avocat, de juge ou de marchand. Aucune de ces vies ne plaît à tous, alors que tous convoitent une vie heureuse (§ 3). Cherchons donc à définir ce qu'est la vie heureuse, ce dont personne ne dit : « Je n'en veux pas ». Aucun des métiers évoqués ne fait consensus, contrairement au double choix de vivre et de le faire en bonne santé (§ 4). Un jour viendra où justes et impies obtiendront une vie sans fin : les premiers en jouiront dans la douceur, les autres la subiront dans les tourments et désireront en vain qu'elle se termine. Car vivre dans les tourments, est moins une vie qu'une mort éternelle, ce que les Écritures appellent

⁶⁴ Notons aussi que l'exorde du s. *Dolbeau* 18 : « *Adsdua celebratio crebra sit exhortatio* » semble faire écho à la péroration du s. 306 : « *Assidua commonitio nostra ad uos, fratres, ut solemnitates martyrum non uana festiuitate celebremus* ».

⁶⁵ MARGONI-KÖGLER, *Perikopen* (*op. cit.*, n. 14), p. 161.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 559.

« seconde mort ». Celles-ci réservent le mot « vie » à la béatitude des justes, comme le prouvent divers témoignages bibliques où *uita* seul signifie *uita beata*, par exemple Jean 5, 29 ; Psaume 35, 10 (§ 5), ou encore le dialogue de Jésus avec le jeune homme riche, tenaillé par la crainte de la mort (Matthieu 19, 17). Vivre dans les tourments ou avec la menace de mourir n'est pas vivre. La seule vie véritable est la vie heureuse, et la vie heureuse est éternelle ; celle qui n'est pas éternelle n'est pas heureuse, et l'éternité dans le châtement n'est pas vie (§ 6). Vivre en bonne santé – ce qui faisait consensus – ne suffit pas, car subsiste la crainte de la mort. Ce qu'il faut désirer c'est vivre en bonne santé perpétuellement, dans un royaume qui n'aura pas de fin, avec le Seigneur des martyrs pour l'éternité (§ 7). Là, personne ne trompe ni n'est trompé ; pas de cette méfiance mauvaise à l'égard d'un frère, d'où naissent la plupart des maux des hommes. Si le Christ a dit d'aimer ses ennemis, c'est pour éviter que l'on finisse par haïr même ses amis (§ 8). Au cas où Dieu dirait : « J'ai supprimé la mort », quelle joie ce serait ! Mais les hommes demanderaient en plus de se voir mutuellement le cœur. Outre la vie, ils souhaiteraient la vérité. Car personne ne veut mourir ni être trompé. Mener ici une vie sans mensonge conduit à la vie où il n'est plus de tromperie (§ 9). Tous veulent donc la vie et la vérité. Mais par où passer ? Par le Christ qui est voie, vérité et vie. Voilà ce que les martyrs ont aimé. Célébrons la *Massa candida* avec une conscience candide, et suivons leurs pas, sans craindre la dureté du chemin. Comment pourrait-il être dur ce chemin qu'ont déjà foulés le Christ, les apôtres et tant de saints et de saintes de tous âges ? Il faut honorer les martyrs, non par de vaines réjouissances, mais en imitant leur foi (§ 10).

3. Circonstances de lieu et de temps

Dès l'époque d'Augustin, certains cultes s'étaient étendus à toute l'Afrique et avaient même franchi la mer. Mais avant que les translations de reliques ne se multiplient, beaucoup de martyrs locaux n'étaient vénérés que dans leur basilique et aux alentours. Ainsi, rien n'indique que la *Massa candida*, exécutée près d'Utique, ait jamais été commémorée à Hippone⁶⁷. Comme on l'a rappelé plus haut, le *s. Lambot* 7 fut prêché hors du diocèse d'Augustin, les *s.* 330 et *Morin* 14 le furent à Carthage ; quant à l'*Enarratio in psalmum* 144, sa rubrique mentionne expressément la ville d'Utique. De ces données, on peut inférer que le *s.* 306 fut prononcé hors d'Hippone, mais

⁶⁷ Un seul document atteste une diffusion du culte de la *Massa candida* hors de Carthage et d'Utique ; il s'agit d'une inscription de Calama (Guelma), qui date seulement de l'époque byzantine : cf. DUVAL, *Loca sanctorum Africae* (op. cit., n. 21), t. 1, p. 176-178 n.° 85 ; t. 2, p. 700-702.

qu'il est permis d'hésiter entre Carthage et Utique⁶⁸. Toutefois, la reconstruction des voyages d'Augustin en Proconsulaire comme la transmission du texte à l'intérieur de la Collection de Mayence-Grande-Chartreuse⁶⁹ inciteraient à privilégier l'hypothèse de Carthage.

A. Kunzelmann n'avait proposé aucune date pour le s. 306. Perler et Maier estimaient que ce texte, d'après son sujet « traité de façon assez philosophique » et une allusion finale aux débordements associés aux fêtes de martyrs, remontait « vraisemblablement à la première moitié de l'épiscopat d'Augustin⁷⁰ ». La structure de *K* établit désormais un lien avec le s. *Dolbeau* 18, que j'ai cru pouvoir dater d'avant 411, dans la mesure où Augustin y fait encore de Paul l'auteur de l'Épître aux Hébreux⁷¹; j'ai relevé, d'autre part, des parallèles très étroits entre le s. 306 et les *Confessions*⁷². Depuis, Hombert a repris l'enquête sur nouveaux frais et montré, non sans raison, la fragilité de mes arguments: pour lui, les deux sermons sont datables des années 415-420⁷³. Son argumentation repose, comme d'habitude, sur des relevés de citations bibliques (Matthieu 19, 17; Jean 5, 28-29, pour le s. 306), mais aussi sur la mention de la « seconde mort » (présente de part et d'autre), et sur l'identification de la vie heureuse avec la vie éternelle (spécifique du s. 306). P. J. Couvée, dont la dissertation portait sur ce thème⁷⁴, situait aussi le s. 306 – qu'il rapprochait du s. 150⁷⁵ – parmi les œuvres tardives d'Augustin. Ce que montrent les tableaux chronologiques de Hombert, c'est que l'association de *uita, beata et aeterna* existe dès 394 (*De diuersis quaestionibus* 35, 2) et le motif de la *secunda mors* dès 390 (*De uera religione* 27, 50; 52, 101). Le fait que ces deux thèmes deviennent plus fréquents après 411 n'impose pas de situer aussi tard les s. 306 et *Dolbeau*

⁶⁸ PERLER-MAIER, *Voyages* (op. cit., n. 24), p. 411-412.

⁶⁹ Cf. *supra* n. 23.

⁷⁰ Cf. n. 68.

⁷¹ DOLBEAU, *Vingt-six sermons* (op. cit., n. 3), p. 208. Cet argument était emprunté à A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, « L'Épître aux Hébreux dans l'œuvre de saint Augustin », *Revue des études augustiniennes* 3, 1957, p. 137-162. Avant moi, personne n'avait suggéré que le s. 306 pouvait dater de 397, car Lambot avait, à tort, identifié avec *Indic. X*⁶. 130 non ce texte, mais le s. 330, lui aussi pour la *Massa candida*.

⁷² DOLBEAU, *Vingt-six sermons* (op. cit., n. 3), p. 188-189.

⁷³ HOMBERT, *Chronologie* (op. cit., n. 13), p. 507-515 (s. 306), 517-525 (s. *Dolbeau* 18). Le *terminus ante quem* de 420 correspond à la rédaction de l'*Indiculus*, dans sa strate la plus ancienne où figurent déjà les deux textes.

⁷⁴ *Vita beata en Vita aeterna. Een onderzoek naar de ontwikkeling van het begrip "Vita beata" naast en tegenover "Vita aeterna", bij Lactantius, Ambrosius en Augustinus, onder invloed der romeinse Stoa*, Baarn, 1947, spéc. p. 254 et 257. Sur ce thème, voir aussi l'ouvrage de J. CLAIR, *Discerning the Good in the Letters and Sermons of Augustine*, Oxford, 2016, qui situe la problématique augustiniennne dans la tradition antique, mais sans traiter plus spécialement du s. 306.

⁷⁵ Dont on sait désormais qu'il appartient aussi à *K*.

18, d'autant que des raisonnements analogues ont déjà justifié la datation en 416 du *s.* 150, qui figure en deux de ces tableaux.

Les parallèles du *s.* 306 avec les *Confessions* n'ont sans doute pas la portée que je leur attribuais. Mais la méthode suivie par Hombert est, elle aussi, imparfaite et amène, comme je l'ai expliqué ailleurs⁷⁶, à retarder de façon quasi systématique la date des œuvres d'Augustin. Et cela, notamment pour deux raisons que l'auteur lui-même expose lucidement en avant-propos : « On tiendrait vite pour improbable qu'une citation biblique puisse dater, par exemple de 400, si cette même citation n'est jamais attestée de manière certaine avant 402 ou 405. Cependant, il faut bien qu'Augustin cite ce texte une première fois ! » – « Il arrive qu'une œuvre soit de manière certaine de l'année 400, tout en offrant une citation scripturaire dont 95% des emplois figurent entre 415 et 425 ». On aurait souhaité que ces avertissements fussent davantage pris en compte dans les discussions ultérieures.

Le *s.* 306 doit-il être placé dans la première ou dans la seconde moitié de l'épiscopat ? Certes, l'expression utilisée en finale : « *sollemnis et assidua commonitio nostra ad uos, fratres* », ne permet pas de le situer au tout début de la prédication d'Augustin ; mais rien n'oblige, à mon avis, de le dissocier du bloc central de *K*, qui remonte à une période antérieure à 400⁷⁷.

4. Tradition manuscrite

Tradition directe

Contrairement au *s.* 285, le texte du *s.* 306 n'est tronqué dans aucun de ses canaux de transmission. Son édition princeps figure au tome 10 de l'édition des Lovanistes (Anvers, 1576), en tant que *De diuersis* 112. L'un des responsables du volume, Jean Vlimmerius, chanoine régulier de saint Augustin résidant à Saint-Martin de Louvain, avait déjà publié en 1564 une première série *De diuersis* comptant 43 inédits ; ensuite, il en retrouva d'autres – dont notre *s.* 306 – qu'il classa sous les numéros *De diuersis* 44-123. Dans sa préface générale, en 1577, Joannes Molanus évoque ainsi la préparation du tome 10⁷⁸ :

Decimum denique tomum Regularibus Martinianis emendandum dedimus et perficiendum : in quem tomum iam pridem apud eos Martinus

⁷⁶ Sant'Agostino, *Discorsi nuovi XXXV/2* (Nuova Biblioteca Agostiniana, parte III), Roma, 2002, p. 845-848 et 863 (pour la date du *s.* Dolbeau 18).

⁷⁷ Cf. F. DOLBEAU, « Quatre sermons prêchés par Augustin au début de son épiscopat », *Augustiniana*, 66, 2016, p. 7-62 (il s'agit des *s.* 89, 133, 145 et Dolbeau 10).

⁷⁸ *Opera D. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi et doctoris praecipui tomis decem comprehensa* per Theologos Louanienses, Antverpiae, 1577, cahier initial non paginé, relié devant le t. 1, daté de 1576.

Lipsius Bruxellensis, eiusque discipuli Joannes Costerius, et Joannes Vlimmerius Louanienses magni laboris impensam egerant. Ex his etiam Joannes Vlimmerius uarios in hanc editionem contulit a se repertos Augustini Sermones; multos etiam antea non editos, ex Cambronae codicibus studiose transcripsit.

De façon générale, les nouveaux sermons édités en 1576 étaient donc tirés de l'abbaye cistercienne de Cambron, et plus spécialement d'un exemplaire de l'homélaire des *Sancti catholici Patres* (= *p*), comme l'a montré Cyrille Lambot⁷⁹. Cela s'appliquait-il au cas particulier du *s.* 306/*De diuersis* 112? Les manuscrits augustinien de Cambron ont été dispersés, et aucun exemplaire du *s.* 306 n'est actuellement conservé en Belgique. Mais la collation de nos témoins prouve que Vlimmerius disposait pour le *s.* *De diuersis* 112 d'un modèle analogue à Paris, Bibl. Mazarine 615, XV^e s. (= *r*³)⁸⁰. Celui-ci n'est pas un représentant *stricto sensu* de *p*, mais un recueil sélectif, qui fournit la série suivante :

contenu de <i>r</i> ³	<i>De diuersis</i> de Vlimmerius	numérotation mauriste
<i>De festo apostolorum Petri et Pauli</i> (3 s.)	106	= 296 (<i>p</i> 256)
	107	= 297 (<i>p</i> 257)
	108	= 295 (<i>p</i> 258)
<i>De Machabeis</i> (2 s.)	109	= 300 (<i>p</i> 275)
	110	= 301 (<i>p</i> 276)
<i>De Massa candida</i>	112	= 306 (<i>p</i> 289)
<i>De sancto Laurentio</i>	111	= 302 (<i>p</i> 282)
<i>De sancto Cypriano</i> (4 s.)	113	= 310 (<i>p</i> 296)
	114	= 313 (<i>p</i> 299)
	115	= 311 (<i>p</i> 298)
	116	= 312 (<i>p</i> 300)
	118 (texte interpolé)	≠ 325 (<i>p</i> 343)
<i>De martyribus</i> (2 s.)	119	= 64 rec. ε (≠ <i>p</i> 317 rec. δ)

Comme l'indique la colonne de droite, ces textes figurent aussi dans *p*, mais selon une séquence discontinue et, au moins dans le cas des *s.* 64 et 325, dans des recensions différentes. On déduira de mon tableau à la fois que *r*³ dérive de *p* et qu'il explique la série *De diuersis* 106-119 de Vlimmerius, moins le n° 117. L'origine de Mazarine 615 est inconnue, mais il est licite de supposer qu'il s'agit du modèle même du Lovaniste, comme d'autres

⁷⁹ C. LAMBOT, « Jean Vlimmerius éditeur de sermons de S. Augustin », *Annales de la Société royale d'archéologie de Bruxelles*, 50, 1961, p. 144-149; réimpr. dans *Revue bénédictine*, 79, 1969, p. 185-192.

⁸⁰ Voir par ex. aux lignes 13 disponetur] dispositi *r*³ *lov* – 49 multa mercantur] *om.* *r*³ *lov* – 103 in illa] nulla *r*³ *lov*. Le rapport entre Vlimmerius et *r*³, à propos du *s.* Lambot 12 (64 augmenté), a déjà été reconnu par les éditeurs de CCSL 41Aa, Turnhout, 2008, p. 350-351.

livres de Cambron sont entrés, à partir de la Révolution, dans l'ancienne Bibliothèque de Mazarin⁸¹.

Le s. 306 était-il transcrit, comme le s. 285, dans le manuscrit perdu de la Grande-Chartreuse ayant servi à l'édition de 1586? Dans la mesure où il était imprimé depuis dix ans, il ne pouvait retenir l'attention d'un chercheur d'inédits : répondre à la question posée est donc impossible. La conséquence d'un tel état de chose est que le sermonnaire de Mayence permet seul d'accéder à la version présente dans la collection de Mayence-Grande-Chartreuse. Dans les lieux variants où *K* s'oppose au reste de la tradition, la situation est donc très inconfortable. Chaque cas doit être pesé à l'aide de la critique interne et des usages d'Augustin, le rôle du philologue étant alors de décider si *K* fournit le texte original d'une collection-fossile ou, en raison de sa date tardive, une innovation banalisante introduite par un copiste médiéval. Mais comment trancher par exemple entre les deux versions de 106 comportas] *K*, comparas *cett*, ou celles de 216/217 tam multi calcarunt (*sc. uiam*)] *K*, multi ambulando lenierunt (*linierunt edd*) *cett*?

En dehors de *K*, les témoins majeurs – et de beaucoup plus anciens – ont été siglés *r*¹ et *r*². Le premier est l'homélaire dit d'Agimond, du nom du scribe qui le copia au début du VIII^e s., à l'usage d'une basilique de Rome (Vaticano [Città del], Vat. lat. 3836)⁸²; le second est un homélaire du XI^e s. de l'abbaye du Mont-Cassin (Monte Cassino, XII), connu pour ses raretés tardo-antiques et augustiniennes (s. 320-324; *Frangipane* VII; *Caillaud-Saint-Yves* I 47, I 57; *Weidmann* 6-7 et 10 [204B-C, 272C]; etc.)⁸³, un recueil qui remonte, au moins partiellement, à des sources africaines. On a noté depuis longtemps que *r*² était apparenté à *r*¹: selon les relevés de Grégoire, l'homélaire cassinien ne comporte pas moins de 43 pièces qui figurent aussi dans Vat. lat. 3836, et ce total s'élève à environ 70, si l'on tient compte aussi du premier tome de l'homélaire d'Agimond. Mais *r*² ne peut être un descendant de *r*¹, car il s'accorde parfois avec *K* contre ce dernier : par ex. en 39 et ideo sic uiuat quia inde se beatum putat] *K* *r*², *om. cett* (dont *r*¹) – 57 sicut nullus dicit beatam uitam nolo] *K* *r*², *om. cett* (dont *r*¹). De façon générale, l'accord *K* *r*² contre *r*¹ est d'ailleurs plus fréquent que *K* *r*¹ contre *r*².

Il est malaisé de définir la relation exacte entre *K* d'une part, *r*¹ et *r*² d'autre part. Outre le s. 306, les trois recueils possèdent en commun les s. 293 et 302; et *r*¹ atteste en plus une recension interpolée du s. 104, c'est-à-dire de la forme brève du s. *Guelf*. 29 présent dans *K*. Les homéliaires d'Agimond

⁸¹ Notamment les manuscrits cotés Mazarine 150, 888, 1013 et 1338.

⁸² Analysé par GRÉGOIRE, *Homéliaires liturgiques* (*op. cit.*, n. 5), p. 343-392, et numérisé sur le site de la Bibliothèque Vaticane.

⁸³ Décrit notamment dans la *Bibliotheca Casinensis*, t. 1, 1873, p. 164-178.

et du Mont-Cassin pourraient donc dépendre d'un modèle ayant eu accès à une sélection de pièces extraites de la collection de Mayence-Grande-Chartreuse. En tout état de cause, les accords $K r^{1,2}$, $K r^1$ et $K r^2$ garantissent presque partout la leçon originelle de notre tradition. Les exceptions sont rares⁸⁴ et concernent surtout l'accord $K r^2$: elles pourraient s'expliquer par des erreurs de l'archétype, rectifiées ensuite par tel ou tel copiste.

Comme dans le s. 285, l'homélaire des *Sancti catholici Patres* (*p*), la Collection tripartite (*t*) et le *Collectorium* de Robert de Bardi (*b*) sont à la fois *recentiores* et *deteriores*. Ainsi qu'on l'a vu précédemment, il faut ici leur adjoindre r^3 , qui dépend d'un exemplaire de *p*, à la façon de *t* et de *b*. Par rapport à K et r^2 , *p* présente, en 39 et 57, les mêmes lacunes que r^1 , citées plus haut ; p^3 explique certaines particularités du texte des Mauristes⁸⁵ et se rapproche parfois de r^3 , comme en 17, 96 et 113 ; l'association privilégiée $p^{1,5} t$ se retrouve en 21, 64, 114 et 191, et $p^1 t$ en 43 et 193/196 ; p^4 est ici indisponible. Faute de variantes en nombre suffisant, l'apparement de *b* est moins clair : deux lieux variants, en 13 et 181, inciteraient cependant à le situer du côté de $p^3 r^3$. Aucun de ces *deteriores* n'aide vraiment à établir le texte d'Augustin ; mais certaines particularités des éditions lovaniste et mauriste sont expliquées par la collation de r^3 et p^3 .

En novembre 2015, la firme Zisska & Lacher de Zurich a vendu un manuscrit de la seconde moitié du IX^e s., d'origine piémontaise, renfermant une recension abrégée des *Excerpta* d'Eugippe⁸⁶. Selon son catalogue de vente n° 65, accessible sur la toile, ce texte était suivi d'un appendice de cinq pièces débutant par une copie du s. 306, aux f. 191-194v. Grâce à un réseau d'amis codicologues, j'ai appris que le volume avait été acheté pour le *Museum of the Bible*, en cours de constitution à Washington, DC, et qu'il se trouvait en dépôt permanent à München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, sous la cote Clm 30317. À ma demande, reçue avec bienveillance, la numérisation du volume a été accélérée. Hélas, après vérification, j'ai constaté que le sermon en question, intitulé « Omelia sancti Aurelii Augustini episcopi in nat. Masse candida de euangelio qui uult post me uenire » correspondait au s. 330, et non au s. 306⁸⁷. J'ai cru utile de signaler cette confusion entre les deux pièces, afin d'éviter à autrui une recherche vaine.

⁸⁴ Voir l'apparat aux lignes 21, 44-45, 54, 61, 97, 193, 194, 196-197. Du reste, dans plusieurs de ces passages, le choix du texte à retenir n'est pas obvie.

⁸⁵ Cf. par exemple 116-117 tantum] tantummodo p^3 maur – 192 falli] falli uelit p^3 maur.

⁸⁶ Sur lequel on consultera M. M. GORMAN, « The Manuscript Tradition of Eugippius' *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini* [II] », *Revue bénédictine*, 92, 1982, p. 229-265, spéc. p. 259-261. Le manuscrit appartenait alors à une collection privée : Teufen, Sammlung Irma Rutishauser, s. n.

⁸⁷ Le futur éditeur du s. 330 devra tenir compte de cette copie, qui comble une lacune du texte des Mauristes, au même titre que le *Casinensis* 17 signalé par G. MORIN, *Miscellanea*

Tradition indirecte

Le s. 306 était présent à Hippone, comme le prouve cette entrée de Possidius: « Per natalem martyrum Massae Candidae⁸⁸ », dans un contexte identique à celui de *K*. Il circulait aussi à Carthage, car une adaptation des lignes 210-217 se lit chez Quodvultdeus, s. *de quattuor uirtutibus caritatis* 14, 5-6⁸⁹, mais sous une forme inexploitable sur le plan textuel. Beaucoup plus tard, le texte fut largement exploité dans le *Milleloquium* de Barthélemy d'Urbino († 1349), qui en reproduisit l'incipit dans son répertoire final⁹⁰ et huit extraits différents pour un total de 867 mots sur 2341.

Voici les références de ces extraits, d'après l'édition de Paris, 1645: s.v. *malitia* (II 53): « Malitia in latino .../... quod patiuntur homines » (s. 306, lignes 5-9); s.v. *malum* (II 56): « Mala iniuste .../... filios dei fieri » (l. 19-24); s.v. *suspicio* (II 490-491): « Erimus in regno .../... red-detur aeternitatis » (l. 160-197); s.v. *vita aeterna* (II 572-573, 5 extraits): « Omnis homo qualiscumque sit .../... propter hoc unum uelit » (l. 33-35); « Diuersis cupiditatibus .../... et non habent omnes » (l. 35-52, 57-58); « Quaeramus quae sit .../... omnium ad uitam et sanitatem » (l. 55, 62-71); « Cum ergo est homo uiuus.../... non est uiuere » (l. 71-75, 80-90); « Illa uita in tormentis .../... si aeterna in poenis, nec uita (l. 124-126, 135-136).

J'ai montré ailleurs que Barthélemy avait sûrement disposé d'un représentant de la Collection tripartite⁹¹. Ses extraits renferment si peu de variantes significatives qu'il m'a paru inutile de les relever dans l'apparat. Leur intérêt réside dans le fait qu'ils ont ensuite permis d'accéder aisément à une portion très substantielle du s. 306⁹².

5. Édition du texte

Principes éditoriaux

À quelques exceptions près, dues peut-être à des erreurs d'archétype, les accords *K r*^{1.2}, *K r*¹ ou *K r*² permettent de restituer le texte d'Augustin avec une certaine sécurité. En revanche, les oppositions entre *K* et *r*^{1.2} laissent

Agostiniana, 1, Roma, 1930, p. 666.

⁸⁸ *Indiculus* X⁶. 130, éd. Wilmart, p. 202.

⁸⁹ Éd. R. BRAUN, *CCSL* 60, p. 377.

⁹⁰ Sous l'entrée « De pluribus martyribus ... sermo nonus », éd. Paris, 1645, cahier final non paginé (f. marqué ò).

⁹¹ Cf. F. DOLBEAU, « Le sermon 380 d'Augustin sur la relation entre Jean-Baptiste et le Christ », *Revue des études augustiniennes et patristiques*, 61, 2015, p. 239-271, spéc. p. 254.

⁹² Par exemple, Simon de Crémone, des Ermites de saint Augustin, débute un sermon pour la Trinité par les mots suivants: « Lux doctorum et pater noster Augustinus sermone 9 de martyribus qui dicitur de Massa candida sic inquit: *Omnis homo qualiscumque sit...* » (cf. Innsbruck, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tirol, cod. 939, f. 140v, a. 1430).

démuni le philologue, qui doit se fonder alors sur la critique interne et l'*usus Augustini*. Les *deteriores* (*p t b r*³) ne sont mentionnés que pour illustrer la dégradation progressive du texte. La tradition indirecte ne joue aucun rôle. Dans l'apparat, les variantes suivies d'un astérisque pourraient être correctes, d'après leur teneur et la répartition des témoins: ce sont souvent des cas d'opposition entre la collection de Mayence-Grande-Chartreuse et l'ensemble ou la très grande majorité des autres manuscrits.

Conspectus siglorum

a. Tradition directe

K Collection de *Mayence-Grande-Chartreuse* MAINZ, Stadtbibliothek I 9, f. 148v-152, vers 1470-1475, *Chartreuse Saint-Michel de Mayence*

r Recueils divers, accord des témoins:

*r*¹ VATICANO (Città del), Bibl. apost. Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3836, f. 16-22v (s. VIIIⁱⁿ), *Rome*

*r*² MONTECASSINO, Archivio dell'Abbazia, XII, p. 253-257 (s. XI), *Mont-Cassin*

*r*³ PARIS, Bibl. Mazarine, 615, f. 90-93 (s. XV), *origine inconnue (Cambron ?)*

p Homélaire des *Sancti Catholici Patres*, accord des témoins:

*p*¹ TROYES, Bibl. mun. 188, f. 143v-146v (s. XII²), *Clairvaux*

*p*² TROYES, Bibl. mun. 567, f. 105-109 (s. XII^{ex}), *Saint-Étienne de Troyes*

*p*³ PARIS, BnF, lat. 12409, f. 195-198 (s. XII^{ex}), *Saint-Thierry de Reims*

[*p*⁴ PARIS, BnF, lat. 800, ne transmet pas le s. 306]

*p*⁵ VATICANO (Città del), Bibl. apost. Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1277, f. 106-109 (s. XII-XIII), *France (Bonnecombe ?)*

t Collection *Tripartite*, 3^a pars, accord des témoins:

*t*¹ OXFORD, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 204 (SC 1932), f. 273-274v (s. XIII^{ex}), *Nord de la France (?)*

*t*² FIRENZE, Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenziana, Plut. XIII cod. 8, f. 241v-245 (s. XV^{ex}), *Toscane*

b *Collectorium* de Robert de' Bardi († 1349), 2^a pars, accord des témoins:

*b*¹ VATICANO (Città del), Bibl. apost. Vaticana, Vat. lat. 479, f. 100v-102v (s. XIV¹), *Paris*

*b*² PARIS, BnF, lat. 2030, f. 104-106 (a. 1467), *rois aragonais de Naples*

edd Accord des éditions:

lov *S. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi operum t. X ... per theologos Lovanienses* (Anvers, 1576), p. 589-591, d'après *r*³ ou un recueil très proche.

maur *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi operum t. V (...) opera et studio monachorum Ordinis S. Benedicti, e Congregatione S. Mauri* (Paris, 1683), col. 1238-1243, d'après *p*³, *b*² et *lov*; reproduit en *PL* 38, col. 1400-1405.

cett Accord des témoins autres que ceux explicitement cités.

b. Tradition indirecte

poss Possidius, *Indiculus* X⁶. 130 – titre seul

SERMO SANCTI AVGVSTINI DE VITA BEATA IN NATALI MARTYRVN MASSAE CANDIDAE

1. [I] Sicut audiuius et cantando respondimus: *Pretiosa mors sanctorum Domini, sed in conspectu eius, non in conspectu insipientium. Visi sunt enim*
 5 *oculis insipientium mori, et aestimata est malitia exitus eorum.* Malitia in latino sermone non eam significationem habere solet quam habet in ea lingua qua scriptura locuta est. Malitia enim dici solet in latina lingua qua mali sunt homines; in illa autem lingua malitia dicitur etiam malum quod patiuntur homines. Malitia ergo isto loco poena intellegitur. Hoc itaque
 10 dixit: *Visi sunt oculis insipientium mori, et aestimata est poena exitus eorum. Illi autem sunt in pace. Et si coram hominibus tormenta passi sunt* – haec est malitia –, *spes, inquit, eorum immortalitate plena est. Et in paucis uexati, in multis bene disponentur. Non enim sunt condignae passionibus huius temporis ad futuram gloriam quae reuelabitur in nobis.* Sed donec reueletur,
 15 abscondita est; et quoniam abscondita est, ideo *uisi sunt oculis insipientium mori.* Sed numquid, quia abscondita est, etiam Deo abscondita est, apud quem abscondita est? Ideo *pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum*

3 Cf. *en. Ps.* 46, 1: « in hoc psalmo quem cantatum audiuius, cui cantando respondimus »; 119, 1. 3/4 *Ps* 115, 15. 4/5 *Sap* 3, 2. 9 Cf. *qu.* 2, 143: « Malitiam hic poenam intellegi uoluit, sicuti est: *Et aestimata est malitia exitus illorum* ». 10/13 *Sap* 3, 2-5. 13/14 *Rm* 8, 18. 15/16 *Sap* 3, 2. 17/18 *Ps* 115, 15.

1 sermo sancti augustini] *K* $r^{1.2} p^2 b$, sermo s. a. episcopi $p^{1.5}$, sermo beati a. r^3 , sermo beati a. episcopi $p^3 t^1$, sermo domini a. *lov*, sermo eiusdem t^2 , *om. poss maur* de uita beata] *K, om. cett* 2 in natali martyrum] *K maur*, in n. sanctorum m. r^2 , per natalem m. *poss*, de festiuitate m. p^3 , de sanctis martyribus *lov, om. r^{1.3} p^{1.2.5} t b* massae candidae] r^2 *poss maur*, casse et candide *K*, de massa candida $r^{1.3} p^{1.2.5} t$, de massa candida id est de martyrum multitudine candida *b*, qui dicuntur massa candida p^3 , qui massa candida uocantur *lov* 3 pretiosa] p. est r^3 *edd* 4 domini] in conspectu d. p^5 sed] *om. p^3* in conspectu²] *om. p^5* sunt] *add. oculis sunt r^{3(a.c.)}* 4/5 enim oculis] *inu. p^{5(a.c.)}* 5 oculis] oculi t^2 eorum] *K r^2 b^2*, illorum *cett* 6 significationem] -ne r^2 habet] h. et *K* ea] eam r^1 7 dici solet in latina lingua] in latina lingua dici solet p^3 *(p.c.) maur* qua] quam r^2 8 in] *K, om. cett* lingua malitia] *inu. p^{1(a.c.)}* dicitur etiam] *inu. K* 9 patiuntur] compatiuntur *b* 10 dixit] dicit *b* sunt] *scr. supra lin. r^3* post mori *scr. illi K^{(a.c.)}* eorum] *K r^{1.2}*, illorum *cett* 12 inquit eorum] *K r^3 lov, inu.* cett* immortalitate] immortalite r^1 paucis] -ci p^3 13 disponentur] -positi $r^3 b$ *lov* sunt condignae] *K r^{3(a.c.)}*, *inu. cett* 14 reuelabitur] -latur r^2 15 et quoniam abscondita est] *om. r^2 b* 16 quia] etiam *K* est¹] *om. K* etiam deo abscondita est] *iter. p^{5(a.c.)}* 17 abscondita] *K r^{1.2} p^{1.2.5} t b*, pretiosa $r^3 p^3$ *edd* in] est in $r^3 p^5$ *edd*

eius. Huic igitur abscondito sacramento oculos fidei debemus, ut quod non uidemus credamus et mala iniuste perpessi fortiter toleremus.

- 20 **2. [II]** Sit nobis electa causa, ne nobis noceat poena. Nam mala causa nullum habet praemium, sed iustum tormentum. Non est igitur in hominis potestate quo exitu hanc uitam finiat, sed est in hominis potestate quomodo uiuat, ut securus uitam finiat. Neque hoc in potestate esset, nisi *dedisset* Dominus *potestatem filios Dei fieri*. Sed quibus? *Credientibus in nomine*
 25 *eius*. Haec est prima martyrum causa, haec est candida martyrum causa. Si causa candida, et Massa candida. Massa enim dicta est de numeri multitudine, candida de causae fulgore. Tam multi comites non timuerunt latrones. Sed etiamsi singuli ambularent, muniti essent aduersus latrocinium, quia ipsa uia fuerat munimentum. *Iuxta semitam*, inquit, *scandala posuerunt*
 30 *mihi*. Ideo qui non declinat de uia, non cadit in scandalum. Habemus autem summam et fidelem pollicitationem Domini dei nostri dicentis: *Ego sum uia et ueritas et uita*.

- 3.** Omnis autem homo, qualiscumque sit, beatus uult esse. Hoc nemo est qui non uelit, atque ita uelit ut prae ceteris uelit, immo, quaecumque uult,
 35 cetera propter hoc unum uelit. **[III]** Diuersis cupiditatibus homines rapiun-

20 Cf. s. 285, 7: « Causam ergo uobis eligite, causam bonam et iustam tenete, et in adiutorio Domini nullam poenam time »; *Dolbeau* 15, 7 (283 augm.): « Elige causam, ne horreas poenam »; s. 325, 2; 327, 1; *Lambot* 2 (335C); 13, 4 (328 augm.); *Morin* 14 (306A). 23/25 Io 1, 12. 26/27 Cf. *en. Ps.* 49, 9: « Adtendite martyrum numerositatem: sola in proximo quae dicitur Massa candida, plus habet quam centum quinquaginta tres martyres ». 29/30 *Ps* 139, 6. 30 Cf. *en. Ps.* 139, 9: « noli recedere a semitis, et non irrues in scandala ». 31/32 Io 14, 6. 33/34 Cf. Hortensius, fr. 58-59b Grilli; *conf.* 10, 21, 31: « Beati prorsus omnes esse uolumus »; *en. Ps.* 32, 2, 15: « Omnes enim beati esse uolunt »; s. 53, 1: « nemo quippe inueniri potest, qui beatus esse nolit »; 150, 4: « Vitam beatam uelle ... omnium hominum esse arbitror »; 231, 4: « Scio, omnes uultis beate uiuere »; *Mai* 12, 2; *ciu.* 11, 26; etc. 35/36. 43/49 Cf. *en. Ps.* 72, 32: « Videamus homines cupiditatum diuersitate laniari; eligant alii militiam, alii aduocationem, alii diuersas uariasque doctrinas, alii negotiationem, alii agriculturam »; 62, 12; 136, 3; *lib. arb.* 2, 25.

18 igitur] ergo $t^2 b$ 19 credamus] -dimus b^1 toleremus] -ramus $r^1 p^2$ (a.c.) 20 nobis] p^2 iter. K 21 habet praemium] *inu.* $p^{1.5} t$ praemium] proemium r^1 iustum tormentum] bis t. K r^2 , iustormentum r^1 est] *om.* b^2 23 potestate] *add.* quomodo uiuat p^5 22/23 sed - finiat] *scr. in marg.* r^3 23 securus uitam finiat] u. s. f. p^3 maur, securus f. u. t^2 potestate] hominis p^* K (cf. 21/22), p. hominis $p^1 t^1$, hominis potestatem t^2 24 dominus] *om.* K sed] si b^2 24/25 credentibus in nomine eius] in n. eius c. p^5 25 eius] ipsius K prima] *iter.* K (a.c.) est] *om.* t^2 causa] K, causa massa p^5 , massa *cett* 26 enim] *om.* K 27 candida de] candide r^2 de] *scr. supra lin.* p^1 non] ubi b^2 29 uia] uita t^2 semitam] -ta r^2 scandala] -lum* K t (cf. 30) 30 mihi] *om.* K de] a r^3 *edd* post cadit *add.* de uia* K 31 summam] et s. r^3 *edd* et] *om.* K 31 dei nostri] K $r^{1.2}$, nostri iesu christi *cett* 32 uia] uita p^2 (a.c.), *scr. supra lin.* r^3 et] *om.* r^2 et uita] *om.* K 34 qu(a)ecumque] K $r^{1.2}$, quicumque *cett* 34/35 uult cetera] *inu.* r^3 *lov* 35 uelit] uult K (a.c.) homines] -nis p^1 (a.c.)

- tur, et alius cupit hoc, alius illud. Diuersa sunt genera uiuendi in genere humano, et in multitudine generum uiuendi alius aliud elegit et capessit: nemo est tamen, quocumque genere uitae electo, qui non beatam uitam cupiat, et ideo sic uiuat quia inde se beatum putat. Beata ergo uita omnium
 40 est communis possessio; sed qua ueniatur ad eam, qua tendatur, quo itinere retento perueniatur, inde controuersia est. Ac per hoc, si quaeramus beatam uitam in terris, nescio utrum inuenire possimus, non quia malum est quod quaerimus, sed quia non in loco suo quaerimus. Alius dicit: 'Beati qui militant'. Negat alius et dicit: 'Beati, sed qui agrum colunt'. Et hoc negat
 45 alius et dicit: 'Beati qui in foro populari claritate uersantur, causasque defendunt, uitam mortemque hominum lingua moderantur'. Et hoc alius negat et dicit: 'Beati, sed qui iudicant, qui potestatem habent audiendi et discernendi'. Negat hoc alius et dicit: 'Beati qui nauigant, multas regiones discunt, multa mercantur, multa lucra colligunt'. Videtis, carissimi, in omni
 50 ista multitudine generum uiuendi non placere unum omnibus, et tamen beata uita placet omnibus. Quid est hoc, ut, cum omnibus non placeat quaecumque uita, omnibus placeat beata uita?
4. [IV] Ergo definiamus, si possumus, beatam uitam, de qua omnes respondeant: 'Hoc uolo'. Quia ergo nemo est qui, interrogatus utrum beatam
 55 uitam uelit, dicat: 'Nolo' – quaerimus autem quae sit ipsa beata uita –, tale

36/39 Cf. *conf.* 10, 21, 31: « num forte quoniam alius hinc, alius inde gaudet? Ita se omnes beatos esse uelle consonant, quemadmodum consonarent, si hoc interrogarentur, se uelle gaudere, atque ipsum gaudium uitam beatam uocant. Quod etsi alius hinc alius illinc adsequitur, unum est tamen quo peruenire omnes nituntur, ut gaudeant ». 53/57 Cf. *conf.* 10, 20, 29: « Nonne ipsa est beata uita, quam omnes uolunt, et omnino qui nolit nemo est? ... Nota est igitur omnibus, qui una uoce si interrogari possent, utrum beati esse uellent, sine ulla dubitatione uelle responderent ».

36 alius¹] aliis p^1 (a.c.) alius²] et a. r^3 lov, aliud p^3 sunt genera] inu. r^3 edd 36/37
 in genere – uiuendi] *scr. supra lin.* r^2 , om. b 37 elegit] $K r^2$ maur, eligit $r^{1.3}$ p t b lov
 capessit] adprehendit c. r^1 , capescit $p^1 t b^2$ 39 cupiat] -pian r^2 (a.c.) et ideo (om. i. K)
 sic uiuat (uiuit K) quia inde se beatum putat] $K r^2$, om. cett 40 qua] quia p^5 , quasi t^1 (a.c. ut
 uid.) ueniatur] uenitur p^1 (a.c.) 2. 3. 5 b 41 retento] $K r^{1.2}$, tento (tanto b) cett inde]
 in lov ac] hac r^2 42 possimus] -sumus $r^{1.3}$ b² lov, add. in terris p^5 (a.c.) 43 non in
 loco suo] $K r p^{2.5}$ b edd, non in suo loco $p^1 t$, loco suo non p^3 dicit] dixit* $K r^{1.2}$ 44
 negat¹] n. et t^2 44/45 beati – dicit] om. K t^2 45 populari] pupulari r^1 46 ho-
 minum] hominumque r^3 47 sed] om. K lov, sunt t^2 48 discernendi] decernendi r^2
 49 multa mercantur] m. merentur r^2 (a.c.), m. uincuntur b, om. r^3 edd lucra colligunt] K
 $r^{1.2}$, inu. cett (colliguntur l. b) 50 et] sed t 51 uita placet omnibus] p. o. u. r^3 (a.c.)
 52 placeat beata] placet b. p^2 (a.c.) t^2 , placet bona b 53 definiamus] $K r^{1.2}$ edd, diffi- r^3 p t b
 possumus] -simus K 53/54 respondeant] -dimus b^2 54/55 quia ergo – nolo] om. b
 54 ergo] enim* $K r^2$ nemo] om. K interrogatus] cum interrogetur K beatam]
 bonam t^2 55 dicat] qui d. uitam K (a.c.), qui d. K (p.c.) quaerimus] -ramus t^2 quae
 sit ipsa] quid ipsa sit b, querite ipsa r^2 ipsa] *scr. supra lin.* r^3 ipsa beata uita] i. sit
 b. uita b, b. uita i. p^5 , i. uita b. $r^3 t^2$ edd

aliquid definire debemus, cui sensus omnis consentiat, et quod nullus dicat: 'Nolo', sicut nullus dicit: 'Beatam uitam nolo'. Quid est ergo, fratres mei, quid est beata uita quam uolunt omnes et non habent omnes? Quaeramus ergo. Si cui dicatur: 'Vis uiuere?', numquid sic audit quomodo si diceretur: 60 'Vis militare?' In illa enim interrogatione, quod est 'Vis militare?', aliqui mihi dicerent: 'Volo', et forte plures: 'Nolo'. Si autem dicam: 'Vis uiuere?', nemo est, puto, qui dicat: 'Nolo'. Omnes enim natura habent insitum uiuere uelle, mori nolle. Item si dicam: 'Vis sanus esse?', puto nemo est qui dicat: 'Nolo'. Nemo enim uult dolere. Sanitas etiam in diuite pretiosa, certe 65 in paupere sola est. Sed quid prodest opulentia diuiti, si sanitas ibi non sit, quae patrimonium est pauperis? Valde uellet diues lectum argenteum mutare cum pauperis cilicio, si posset cum lecto aegritudo migrare. Ecce ad duo ista consensit mihi omnium sensus: uitam et sanitatem. Numquid omnium sensus consensit ad militiam? Numquid omnium ad agriculturam? 70 Numquid omnium ad aduocationem? Numquid omnium ad nauigationem? Omnium tamen ad uitam et sanitatem. [V] Cum ergo est homo uiuus et sanus, nihilne plus quaerit? Si sapiat, forte nihil debet quaerere. Vbi enim est perfecta uita et perfecta sanitas, si quaeritur amplius, quid erit nisi uitiosa cupiditas?

57/62 Cf. *conf.* 10, 21, 31: « Quid est hoc? Quod si quaeratur a duobus, utrum militare uelint, fieri possit, ut alter eorum uelle se, alter nolle respondeat: si autem ab eis quaeratur, utrum esse beati uelint, uterque se statim sine ulla dubitatione dicat optare, nec ob aliud uelit ille militare, nec ob aliud iste nolit, nisi ut beati sint? ». 64/66 Cf. s. 255, 3: « Quando istam (sc. sanitatem) non habet, quidquid habet quid prodest diuiti? ». 65/66 Proverbial: cf. s. 41, 4: « Sanitatem corporis, quod est patrimonium pauperis »; *Dolbeau* 23, 5 (374 augm.): « Sanitas corporis, quod est patrimonium pauperis »; *Lambot* 4 (359A): « Pauperis enim patrimonium sanitas est »; *en. Ps.* 51, 14; 76, 2.

56 definire] *K* ^{r^{1.2}} *edd.*, diffi- ^{r³} *p t b* cui] cum ^{b²} sensus] sensui ^{r²} consentiat] -sensiat *K*, -sentiatis ^{r²}, consensiasenciat ^{b¹} quod] unde* *K* 57 sicut nullus – nolo] *K* ^{r²}, *om.* *cett* beatam uitam] *K*, beata uita ^{r²}, *def. cett* est ergo] *inu.* *K*, ergo ^{r³} *edd* 58 quid est] *om.* ^{t²} 59 ergo] *eam* *K* quomodo] *om.* ^{b²} si] sic ^{p⁵} 60 in illa – militare] *om.* ^{r²} interrogatione] -nem ^{r¹} quod] *add.* uel que *supra lin.* ^{p³}, quae ^{t²} uis²] *om.* ^b 61 mihi] inde ^b dicerent] -rint ^{r¹} uolo] nolo ^{t²} nolo] uolo ^{t²} dicam] -camus* *K* ^{r²} uis] si ^{r²} 62 nemo est puto] *p.* ^{n.} est ^{r³} *edd* omnes enim] hi autem omnes ^{r²} 63 dicam] -camus* *K* uis sanus esse] *s. e.* uis* *K* puto] hic ^{p.} ^{r²} 64 dolere] dolorem ^{r²} etiam] enim ^{p^{1.5}} ^t certe] et *c.* K* 65 sola est] *K* ^{r^{1.2}} (*qui scr. sola in marg.*) *inu. cett* prodest] prosit ^{p³} diuiti] -tis* *K* 65/66 ibi non sit] *K* ^{r^{1.2}}, *n. s.* ibi ^{r³} ^{t²} *edd.*, *n. s.* sibi ^p ^{t¹} ^b 66 pauperis] *K* ^{r^{1.2}}, pauperi *cett* 67 mutare cum pauperis] *K* ^{r^{1.2}}, cum pauperis (-pere ^{t²}) mutare *cett* posset cum lecto aegritudo migrare (mutare ^{r²} (*a.c.*))] *K* ^{r^{1.2}}, *p. a.* (*a. p.* ^{r³} *lov*) migrare cum *l. cett* 69 consensit] *om.* ^b militiam] malitiam *K* ^{p¹} numquid – agriculturam] *om.* ^{t²} 70 numquid¹ – aduocationem] *K* (*cf.* 45), *om.* *cett* numquid² – nauigationem] *cett* (*cf.* 48), *om.* *K* 71 tamen] *K* ^{r^{1.2}}, *om.* *cett* et¹] et ad ^{p⁵} ergo est homo] est *h.* ergo homo *K* 72 nihilne] nihil et ^b sapiat] sapit *K*, capiat ^b nihil²] *n.* plus ^{r³} *edd* ubi] christi ^{b¹} 73 si] et si ^{t²} quid] *q.* enim ^{t²} erit] querit ^{r²}

- 75 5. Habebunt uitam in cruciatibus impii. *Veniet enim hora*, sicut euangelium loquitur, *quando omnes qui sunt in monumentis audient uocem eius; et procedent qui bene fecerunt, in resurrectionem uitae; qui male egerunt, in resurrectionem iudicii*. Ergo illi ad praemium, illi ad tormentum, et utrique uiuunt, nec aliquis eorum mori potest. Illi qui uiuunt in praemio amplectuntur dulcissimam uitam; qui autem uiuunt in tormento cupiunt, si fieri posset, finire talem uitam; et nemo eis dat interitum, ut nemo auferat cruciatum. Sed uide scripturam loquentem et discernentem: non est dignata scriptura talem uitam uocare uitam; uitam in cruciatibus, in tormentis, in ignibus sempiternis noluit appellare uitam, ut ipsum nomen uitae laudis sit, non moeroris; ut, ubicumque audis uitam, tormenta non cogites. Nam in tormentis esse semper aeterna mors est, non aliqua uita. Ipsam uocant scripturae mortem secundam, sane post hanc primam quam omnes humanae conditioni debemus. Est mors secunda, et mors uocatur, et nemo ibi moritur. Satiус et melius dixerim: nemo ibi uiuit. In doloribus enim uiuere non est uiuere. Et unde probamus sic locutam scripturam? Ecce unde: ex hoc testimonio quod modo commemorauimus: *Audient enim uocem eius*, inquit; *et procedent qui bene egerunt, in resurrectionem uitae*. Non dixit 'beatae uitae', sed *in resurrectionem uitae*. [VI] Solum uitae nomen trahit beatitudinem. Nisi enim consequentem haberet beatitudinem nomen uitae, non diceretur
- 95 Deo: *Quoniam apud te est fons uitae*. Non enim ibi dictum est: *Quoniam*

75/78 Io 5, 28-29. 86/89 Cf. Apc 2, 11; 20, 6 et 14; 21, 8; *ench.* 23, 92; *c. Iul. imp.* 6, 31; J. C. Plumpe, « Mors secunda », *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck*, t. 1, Gembloux, 1951, p. 387-408; Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 512-513. 91/93 Io 5, 28-29; cf. *en. Ps.* 118, 19, 4: « De resurrectione carnis cum loqueretur: *qui bene fecerunt*, inquit, *in resurrectionem uitae*; neque hic ait, aeternae seu beatae »; *f. et op.* 23, 43; Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 515. 95/96 Ps 35, 10.

75 habebunt] habent *b* cruciatibus] *K*, -tionibus *cett* enim] autem *r*² sicut] ut *b* 76 monumentis] -to *K* 77 fecerunt] egerunt *r*³ *edd* qui²] *K* *r*^{1. 2}, q. uero *cett* male] mala *p*¹ *b* ma. *t* 78 praemium] proemium *r*¹ et] *om.* *t*² 79 illi] *om.* *t*² 81 posset] *K* *r*², potest *r*³ (a.c.), possit *cett* finire talem] *inu.* *r*³ *lov* auferat] eis a.* *K* 82 discernentem] discerne mentem *K* 82/83 dignata scriptura (scrib- *r*¹)] *K* *r*^{1. 2}, d. (dignum *t*²) *cett* 83 uocare] -ri *t*² uitam³] *K* *r*², *om.* *cett* in²] *om.* *K* in³] *om.* *K* 85 audis] -ditis *b*² uitam] -ta *t*¹ 86 semper aeterna] s. aeternam *r*¹, sempiterna *r*² ipsam] ipsum *b* 87 sane post] *K*, post* *cett* 87/88 humanae conditioni (-cioni *r*¹)] humani conditionem *b* 88 est] *K* *r*², et *cett* mors²] m. tertia *r*³ (a.c.) ibi] sibi *K* 89 satius] sanctius *r*², sanius *t*² 91 quod modo] quomodo *r*² enim] *scr. supra lin.* *r*³, *om.* *b* uocem eius inquit] u. eius *K*, inquit u. eius *p*³, u. inquit *t*² 92 beatae uitae] *cett*, in resurrectionem beate uite *K* 94 beatitudinem] *add.* beate uite *K* (a.c.) 95 quoniam] que *r*² (ut uid.) te] *om.* *K* est¹] *om.* *r*¹ enim] *K* *r*², e. et *cett* dictum est] dicitur *t*² quoniam²] que *r*² (ut uid.)

apud te est fons beatae uitae. Non addidit 'beatae'; tantummodo dixit *uitae*, ut tu intellegas 'beatae'. Quare? Quia si miserae, iam nec *uitae*.

6. Ecce aliud testimonium. Iam duo diximus. Dictum est enim: *Qui bene egerunt, ad resurrectionem uitae.* Item dictum est: *Apud te fons uitae.*
 100 Nusquam additum est 'beatae', sed sola intellegitur uita quae beata; quae autem non beata, nec uita. Accipe aliud rursus ex euangelio. Diues ille qui nolebat dimittere quod habebat et de rerum suarum dimissione indignabatur, quas moriendo dimittere cogebatur, credo, in illa rerum magnarum – sed tamen terrenarum – profluentissima copia cum gauderet, interpella-
 105 batur timore mortis, et quasi dicebat ei cor suum: 'Ecce gaudes in bonis, et nescis quando ueniat una febris. Colligis, acquiris, comportas et seruas, et gaudes. *Anima tua hac nocte repetetur a te; haec quae praeparasti, cuius erunt?*' Hac cogitatione, quantum intellegitur, cum uelut quibusdam timoris stimulis saepe compungeretur, accessit ad Dominum et ait illi: *Magister*
 110 *bone, quid faciam, ut uitam aeternam consequar?* Timebat mori, et cogebatur mori. Non erat qua iret, ne periret. Constipatus necessitate moriendi et cupiditate uiuendi, accessit ad Dominum et ait illi: *Magister bone, quid faciam, ut uitam aeternam consequar?* [VII] Audiuit inter cetera, ut hoc potius dicamus quod ad rem praesentem pertinet: *Si uis uenire ad uitam,*
 115 *serua mandata.* Hoc est quod me dixeram probaturum. Nec ille qui inter-

98/99 Io 5, 29. 99 Ps 35, 10. 100/101 Cf. 124/126; ciu. 20, 6: « Ea uita scilicet, quae, quoniam beata est, sola uita dicenda est ». 101/103 Cf. Mt 19, 16-22 (Mc 10, 17-22; Lc 18, 18-23). 103/105 Cf. s. 38, 7: « Ille diues, quem delectabant multum diuitiae suae ... credo quod interpellabatur timore mortis ». 107/108 Lc 12, 20. 109/110. 112/113 Mt 19, 16 (Mc 10, 17; Lc 18, 18). 114/115 Mt 19, 17. 115/117 Mt 19, 16; cf. s. 150, 10: « Vnde interrogante illo diuite dominum: *Quid boni faciam, ut uitam aeternam consequar?* et ipse quidem uitam aeternam non nominabat, nisi beatam ».

96 est] om. r¹ beatae uitae] K r³ p³ edd, inu. r^{1.2} p^{1.2.5} t b addidit] addit t² 97
 si] om.* K r² iam nec] i. non K, nec iam r², i. uero t² (ut uid.) 99 ad] K r^{1.2}, in* cett
 item] iterum t² fons] K r^{1.2}, est f.* cett 100 additum] aditum p¹ (a.c.)⁵ sed]
 om. b² sola] s. enim b² intellegitur] intelligatur* K p¹ t, om. b² beata] b. est
 intelligitur b² 101 aliud rursus] inu. r³ (a.c.) ex] scr. supra lin. p⁵ 102 nolebat]
 noleuat r¹ et] om. b² dimissione] K r^{1.2}, amissione (amm- p¹ (a.c.)³) cett 102/103
 indignabatur] dignabatur r¹ (a.c.) 103 in illa] in illarum t², nulla r³ lov 104 cum] scr.
 supra lin. r³ 104/105 interpellabatur] -pellebatur p¹ t¹ 105 dicebat ei] inu. r³ lov
 gaudes] -dis r² 106 ueniat] -niet* K comportas] K (con-), comparas* cett 107
 gaudes] -dis r² tua] autem t. r², om. b² hac (ac r¹) nocte] K r^{1.2}, om. cett repete-
 tur] K, -tietur r², -titur cett praeparasti] K, parasti cett 108 intellegitur] -geretur r²,
 om. t² 109 stimulis] -lus K (a.c.) compungeretur] coniungeretur b 110 post con-
 sequar scr. audiuit inter cetera K (a.c.) (cf. 113) 112 illi] K, om. cett 113 hoc] om. r³ p³
 edd 114 rem] om. p^{1.5} t

rogauit dixit: *Quid faciam, ut uitam aeternam beatam consequar?* Sed tantum dixit *uitam aeternam*. Nolendo mori, uitam quaesiuit quae non habet finem. Et numquid non, sicut dixi, etiam in tormentis impiorum uita non habet finem? Sed hanc ille non uocabat uitam. Quae esset in doloribus et
 120 in cruciatibus, uitam non esse sciebat, mortem potius appellandam esse nouerat. Ideo uitam aeternam quaerebat, ut, ubi uita auditur, iam de beatitudine non dubitetur. Et Dominus ad illum non dixit: *Si uis uenire ad uitam* beatam, *serua mandata*, sed etiam ipse solam uitam nominauit et ait: *Si uis uenire ad uitam, serua mandata*. Ergo illa uita in tormentis non
 125 est uita; et illa uita sola est, quae beata, nec beata esse potest, nisi fuerit aeterna. Propterea diues ille, sciens se interpellari quotidie timore mortis, uitam aeternam quaerebat. Nam uitam beatam, sicut ei uidebatur, iam habebat. Erat enim sanus et diues, et credo quia sibi dicebat: 'Nihil uolo amplius, si posset esse perpetuum'. Habebat enim quasi amabiles uoluptates,
 130 quia satiabat stultas cupiditates. Proinde Dominus uno eum uitae nomine, si ille intellexit, correxit. Non ait: *Si uis uenire ad uitam* aeternam, quam

119/121 Cf. *ciu.* 13, 2: «In damnatione nouissima quamuis homo sentire non desinat, tamen, quia sensus ipse nec uoluptate suauis nec quiete salubris, sed dolore poenalis est, non inmerito mors est potius appellata quam uita»; *ench.* 23, 92; *trin.* 13, 25. **122/124. 131/134** Mt 19, 17. **124/126. 131/136** Cf. *en. Ps.* 118, 19, 4: «Ipsa enim et sine ullo additamento dicitur uita, nec intellegitur nisi aeterna et beata, tamquam sola dicenda sit uita, in cuius comparatione ista quam ducimus, mors potius sit appellanda quam uita; quale illud est in euangelio: *Si uis uenire ad uitam, serua mandata*. Numquid addidit aeternam, uel beatam?»; s. 84, 1-2: «Non dixit: *Si uis uenire ad uitam* aeternam, sed: *Si uis uenire ad uitam*, eam definiens uitam, quae fuerit aeterna uita... Vita itaque non est, nisi beata. Et uita beata esse non potest, nisi aeterna»; 150, 10: «Quid ait? *Si uis uenire ad uitam*. Non ei dixit beatam, quia misera nec uita dicenda est. Non ei dixit aeternam, quia ubi mortis timor est, nec uita dicenda est. Ergo uita, quae hoc nomine digna est, ut uita dicatur, non est nisi beata; et beata non est, nisi aeterna»; *Io. eu. tr.* 22, 3; s. 346, 1; Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 513-514.

116 dixit] non d. *K* uitam aeternam] *K*, uitam* *r* ^{1. 2. 5} *t* *b* *edd*, habeam uitam *p*³ beatam consequar] *K* ^{1. 2.} *inu.* *r*³ *edd*, beatam *p* *t*, *b.* habeam *b* **116/117** tantum] tantummodo *p*³ *maur* **117** dixit uitam] *K* *r*³ *t*² *lov*, *inu.* *r*^{1. 2} *p* *t*¹ *b* *maur* uitam quaesiuit] *inu.* *r*³ *t*² *edd* **118/119** et numquid – finem] *scr. in marg.* *t*² **118** non¹] *om.* *t*² uita] uitam *K*^(a.c.) **119** habet] -bebit *b* finem] mortem *r*³ ^(a.c.) ille] illa *K*^(ut uid.) uocabat] inuocabat *b*² uitam] finem *t* ^(a.c.) **120** in] *K* *r*², *om.* *cett* **121** nouerat] sciebat *K*^(a.c.) uita] -tam *r*² auditur] additur *t*² iam] *K* *r*^{1. 2.}, *om.* *cett* **121/122** beatitudine] -nem *r*¹ **123** uitam beatam] *inu.* *p*¹ **124** uenire ad uitam] ad uitam uenire *r*¹ post uita *add.* non *K*^(a.c.) **126** diues ille] *inu.* *r*³ *lov* se] *om.* *r*³ *lov* **127** uidebatur] uideuatur *r*¹ **128** sanus et diues] diues et sanus *r*³ *edd* et²] *iter.* *r*³ ^(a.c.) sibi dicebat] *K*, *inu.* *cett* **129** posset *K* *r*^{1. 2} *p*³, possit *cett* enim] *K* *p*³ *maur*, *om.** *r* *p*^{1. 2. 5} *t* *b* *lov* uoluptates] uoluntates *b* **130** satiabat] satiebat *K*, faciebat *t*², saciebat *b*¹, sciebat *b*² stultas] -tus *K*^(a. c.) eum] cum *b* uitae nomine] *K* *r*^{1. 2.}, *inu.* *cett* **131** si ille] si *K* **131/132** si uis – ait] *om.* *K* **131** aeternam] *om.* *b*

- ille quaerebat, quasi iam habens beatam, nec ait: *Si uis uenire ad uitam* beatam, sciens quia, si misera est, nec uita dicenda est, sed ait: *Si uis uenire ad uitam* – ibi est aeterna, ibi beata –, *si uis uenire ad uitam, serua mandata*.
- 135 Ergo uita, quae aeterna, quae et beata, quia, si non aeterna, nec beata; si autem aeterna in poenis, nec uita.
7. [VIII] Quid est, fratres? Cum quaererem utrum uelletis uiuere, omnes respondebatis uelle uos; utrum uelletis sani esse, omnes respondebatis uelle uos. Sed sanitas et uita, si timetur ne finiatur, iam non est uita. Non est
- 140 enim semper uiuere, sed semper timere. Si semper timere, semper cruciari. Si cruciatus sempiternus, ubi uita aeterna? Tenemus certe non esse beatam nisi uitam aeternam, immo non esse beatam nisi uitam, quia, si non aeterna et si non cum sanitate perpetua, procul dubio nec beata nec uita. Inuenimus eam – omnes consentiunt –, inuenimus plane in cogitatione, nondum
- 145 in possessione. Haec est possessio quam omnes quaerunt: nemo est qui non quaerat. Malus sit, bonus sit, ipsam quaerit, sed bonus fidenter, malus impudenter. Quid quaeris bonum, male? Nonne tibi respondet ipsa postulat
- 150 tio tua, quam sis improbus, cum malus quaeris bonum? Nonne rem quaeris alienam? Ergo summum bonum si quaeris, hoc est uitam, bonus esto, ut ad bonum peruenias. *Si uis uenire ad uitam, serua mandata*. Cum autem peruenerimus ad uitam, quid addam aeternam? quid addam beatam? Semel uita, quia ipsa est uita quae et aeterna et beata. Cum uenerimus ad uitam, certum nobis erit in ea nos semper futuros. Nam si erimus ibi et utrum ibi

140/143 Cf. s. 150, 10: « Neque enim uita dicenda est sempiternus immortalisque cruciatus. Ideo dominus non appellans uitam quam habituri sunt impii... eam noluit appellare uitam ».

150 Mt 19, 17. 152 Cf. s. 150, 10: « Hanc appellauit uitam quae beata et aeterna est ».

132 iam] *scr. supra lin. r³* iam habens] non h. iam *b* 132/133 nec ait – beatam] *scr. supra lin. r²* 132/134 beatam² – uitam¹] *om. t²* 133 sciens quia] *inu. t¹* si¹] *om. K* 134 ibi est – uitam²] *scr. supra lin. r²* 135 quae²] *K, om. cett* aeterna²] – nam *r¹* beata²] – tam *r¹* 136 aeterna] – nam *r¹* uita] – tam *r¹* 138 respondebatis¹⁻²] – bitis *t²* 138/139 utrum – uelle uos] *om. r²* 140 si semper timere] si t. semper *K, om. t²* *b²* 141 ubi] ibi *r³* *lov* uita aeterna] – tam – nam *r¹* (*qui post tenemus interpunxit*) 142 nisi uitam aeternam] uitam *K* 143 sanitate] *K r¹* (p.c.) *p¹* (p.c.) *t*, – tatem *r¹* (a.c.), satietate *r³* *p¹* (a.c.) 2. 3. 5 *b edd* beata nec uita] u. nec *b. b²* 144 eam] *K, om. cett* cogitatione] cognitione *t²* nondum] non* *K*, nundum *p⁵* 146 sed] *om. * K*, si *b* 147 impudenter] infidenter *b²* ipsa] *om. t²* 148 malus (–lum *r²*) quaeris bonum] *K r^{1.2}*, q. b. m. *cett* rem] *om. b* 149 ergo] *K*, si ergo* *cett* summum bonum] *K p³* *maur*, bonum summum *r p^{1.2.5}* *t b lov* si quaeris] *K*, quaeris* *cett* uitam] – ta *r²* 151 peruenerimus] – eris *K* beatam] eternam *b. b¹* 151-152 semel uita] *K r^{2.3}* *p t lov* (*subaudi dicitur*), s. uitam *r¹* *maur*, se uel uita *b¹*, *om. b²* 152 est] *om. * K r³* *lov* et¹] *om. * K r²* uenerimus] *r^{1.2}*, ueneris *K*, peruenerimus* *cett* (cf. 151) 153 nobis erit] *inu. t²* futuros] – rus *r²*, uicturos *p³* 153/154 ibi¹ – erimus²] *om. b* 153 ibi²] *scr. supra lin. r²*

semper futuri simus erimus incerti, etiam ibi erit timor; et si erit timor,
 155 cruciatus erit, non carnis, sed, quod peius est, cordis. Vbi autem cruciatus,
 quae beatitudo erit? Erit ergo nobis certum quia semper in illa uita erimus,
 et eam finire non poterimus, quia in ipso regno erimus de quo dictum est:
Et regni eius non erit finis. [IX] Et gloriam sanctorum Dei, quorum *pre-*
tiosa mors in conspectu eius, cum sapientia demonstraret, ait, sicut audistis
 160 in fine lectionis: *Et regnabit eorum Dominus in perpetuum.* Erimus ergo in
 regno magno et sempiterno, et ideo magno et sempiterno, quia iusto.

8. Ibi nemo fallit, nemo fallitur; non est illic ut male suspiceris de fratre
 tuo. Pleraque enim mala generis humani aliunde non oriuntur, nisi de
 suspicionibus falsis. Credis de homine quod oderit te qui forte amat te,
 165 et per prauam et malam suspensionem fis inimicissimus amicissimo. Quid
 faciat, cui non credis, et cor suum tibi demonstrare non uolet? Loquitur
 tibi dicens: 'Amo te'. Sed quia posset tibi hoc dicere et mentiens – ea sunt
 enim uerba mentientis, quae uera dicentis –, non credendo adhuc odisti.
 Ideo securum te facere uoluit ab eo peccato qui tibi dixit: *Dilige et inimi-*
 170 *cos tuos.* Christiane, dilige et inimicos, ne incautus oderis et amicos. Corda
 ergo nostra in hac uita uidere non possumus, *donec ueniat Dominus et illu-*
minet abscondita tenebrarum, et manifestabit cogitationes cordis, et tunc laus
erit unicuique a Deo.

158 Lc 1, 33. 158/159 Ps 115, 15. 160 Sap 3, 8. 162 Cf. *ench.* 5, 17: « Vita,
 ubi nemo fallit, fallitur nemo. Hic autem homines fallunt atque falluntur ». 165/166
 Cf. s. 149, 13: « Quis enim potest cor suum hominibus demonstrare cum facit, ut osten-
 dat qua intentione animi faciat? ». 169/170 Mt 5, 44 (Lc 6, 27). 170/171
 Cf. s. 308, 3: « Corda nostra uidere non possumus ». 171/173 I Cor 4, 5.

154 semper] *om.* r^3 *lov* simus] *sumus* $r^{2,3} p^1 t^1$ *lov* erimus incerti] *K* r^1 , e. imperti r^2 ,
inu. cett 155 quod] *om.* p^5 156 erit] *K* $r^{1,2}$, *om. cett* semper in illa uita]
 in illa u. s. p^3 *maur* 157 et] ut p^1 (a.c.) ipso] *K*, illius *cett* 158 gloriam] -ria *b*
 158/159 pretiosa mors] *K*, p. mors est $r^{1,2} p$ *t*, mors est p. r^3 *edd*, p. est mors *b* 159
 demonstraret] -retur *K* (a.c.), monstraret r^3 (a.c.) ait] ut *K* 159/160 audistis in fine
 lectionis] in f. l. a. r^3 *edd* 160 regnabit] regnauit $r^{1,2}$ eorum dominus] dominus
 illorum* *K* p^5 162 ante ibi *add.* quia *K* ibi nemo fallit] *K*, ne ibi f. r^1 , nemo ibi
 f.* $r^2 p$ t^1 *b*, nemo enim f. ibi t^2 , nemo f. ibi r^3 *edd* nemo²] ne r^1 non est] nonne *b*
 163 pleraque] -rumque *b* enim] *om.* r^3 *lov* mala generis humani] h. g. m.* *K*, m. h.
 g. p^5 (a.c.) aliunde non] *inu.* p^3 (p.c.) *maur* de] *om.* *K* 164 falsis] malis *K*, fratris b^2
 165 prauam] prabam r^1 , *add.* non unde moriantur nisi suspicionibus malis *K* (a.c.) et ma-
 lam] *K* $r^{1,2}$, *om. cett* fis] *cett* *lov* (in marg.), sis *lov* (in textu) amicissimo] inimicissimo p^5 (a.c.)
 166 suum] tuum *b* tibi] sibi p^1 t^1 167 posset] -sit *b* hoc dicere et] d. et h. r^3
lov, h. d. *b* 168 non] ne r^2 (a.c.) 169 eo] hoc* *K* peccato] -tum r^2 qui tibi
 dixit] quid *t.* dixi t^2 dilige] -gite p^1 (a.c.) *edd* et] *om.* r^3 (a.c.) p^3 *edd* 170 tuos]
 uestros *edd* et¹] *om. lov* inimicos] *cett*, amicos *K* post inimicos *add.* tuos r^3 *edd*
 incautus] -tos t^2 , -te *b* et²] *om. K* t^2 amicos] inimicos *b* 171 ergo nostra] enim
 uestra *b* hac] hanc r^1 172 manifestabit] *K* $r^2 p^5$ *b* *maur*, -tauit r^1 , -festet $r^3 p^{1,2,3}$ *t* *lov*
 cogitationes cordis] consilia cordium *b*

9. [X] Ergo si quis nobis modo diceret, immo etsi ille diceret cui procul
 175 dubio crederemus, si propheta diceret, si Deus quomodo uellet diceret et
 per quem uellet diceret: 'Viuite, securi uiuite, omnia uobis abundabunt,
 nemo uestrum morietur, nemo aegrotabit, nemo dolebit; abstuli mortem
 de genere humano, nolo quisquam moriatur', si diceret, quasi securi facti
 exsultaremus et nihil amplius requireremus. Sic nobis uidetur omnino. Si
 180 hoc audiremus, continuo uellemus et hoc nobis addi, ut corda inuicem
 uideremus, ne inuideremus; ut non humana suspicione, sed diuina ueri-
 tate uiueremus; non essem sollicitus de amico meo, non essem sollicitus de
 uicino meo, ne me odisset, ne mihi malum uellet, et ipsa sollicitudine prius
 malum facerem quam paterer. Quaereremus hoc sine dubio, quaereremus
 185 certam beatam uitam et inuicem cognitionem cordium nostrorum. Ergo
 uitae – iam enim intellegitis quam dico uitam, ne saepius commendando
 obtundam potius quam instruam –, ergo uitae uellemus addi ueritatem, ut
 corda inuicem nosceremus, ne nostris suspicionibus falleremur; ut de ipsa
 uita perpetua, quod ab ea non caderemus, certi essemus. Adde uitae ueri-
 190 tatem, et inuenisti beatam uitam. Nemo enim uult mori, quomodo nemo
 uult falli. Da mihi hominem qui falli uelit. Qui fallere uelint, quam multi

186/187 Cf. *en. Ps.* 124, 1: « Repetere nolumus, ne uos obtundamus potius quam instrua-
 mus ».

187/190 Cf. *conf.* 10, 23, 33: « Quaero ab omnibus utrum malint de ueritate
 quam de falsitate gaudere: tam non dubitant dicere de ueritate se malle, quam non dubi-
 tant dicere beatos esse se uelle. Beata quippe uita est gaudium de ueritate ».

190/191 Cf. *s.* 150, 10: « Quid uult enim beatus, quid uult, nisi non falli, non mori, non dolere? ».

190/192 Cf. *c. Faust.* 16, 33: « Falli nemo est qui uelit, fallere autem multi uolunt »; *conf.*
 10, 23, 33: « Multos expertus sum, qui uellent fallere, qui autem falli, neminem »; *doctr. chr.*
 1, 36: « Multos inuenimus, qui mentiri uelint, qui autem falli, neminem »; *s.* 182, 2.

174 nobis modo] *inu.* t^2 , modo r^3 *lov* diceret¹ -rit r^2 immo etsi (si r^2) ille diceret]
K r^2 , *om.* *cett* cui] *om.* b^2 174/175 cui – diceret¹ *om.* r^2 175 deus quomodo]
inu. p^1 (a.c.) s t diceret²] *K*, *om.* *cett* 176 uiuite securi uiuite] *K* (a.c.) $r^{1.2}$, *s.* *u.* *K* (p.c.),
u. *s.* *cett* omnia] *o.* autem r^2 177 aegrotabit] -tauit r^1 dolebit] -leuit r^1 178
 de] ab r^3 , a *lov* 179 requireremus] requiremus t^1 omnino] *om.* r^2 180 hoc]
 haec r^2 t^2 continuo] cuncti *K* 181 ne] *K* $r^{1.2}$ $p^{1.2}$ t , nec r^3 p^3 *b* *edd.*, *om.* p^5 in-
 uideremus] *om.* p^5 181/182 ueritate] uirtute t^2 182 uiueremus] *K* r^1 , -rimus r^2 ,
 uideremus *cett* non¹] *K* $r^{1.2}$, ne *cett* de amico meo] *om.* r^2 non essem solli-
 citus²] *K* r^1 , ne *e.* *s.* r^3 $p^{1.2.5}$ t^1 *b* *lov*, *om.* r^2 p^3 t^2 *maur* 182/183 de uicino meo] *om.* t^2
 184 facerem] -re $r^{1.2}$ quaereremus¹] queremus t^2 *b*, ante quaereremus non interpunxit r^2
 quaereremus²] queremus t^2 *b* 185 certam] sertam r^2 beatam] *K* $r^{1.2}$, *om.* *cett*
 nostrorum] -trum r^2 185/186 ergo uitae] *K*, *om.* *cett* 186 dico] *K*, dicam *cett*
 187 uitae] uenire t^2 addi] ad t^2 188 corda] *K* $r^{1.2}$ (cf. 180), *c.* nostra *cett* ut] ne
b 189 non] *om.* *K* caderemus] crederemus t^2 certi essemus] *om.* r^2 uitae]
 inde *b* 190 inuenisti beatam uitam] *K* r^1 , *inu.* *u.* *b.* r^2 , inuenis *u.* *b.* *cett* 190/191
 mori ... falli] *K* $r^{1.2}$, falli ... mori *cett* 190 nemo²] *K*, non *cett* 191 falli uelit]
inu. p^1 s t

- inueniuntur; qui falli, nemo. Compone tecum. Non uis falli, noli fallere; quod pati non uis, noli facere. Vis uenire ad uitam ubi non fallaris? Age modo uitam ubi non fallas. Vis uenire ad uitam ubi non fallaris? Quis
 195 nolit? Delectat merces: non dedigneris opus cuius est merces. Age modo uitam ubi non fallas, et uenies ad uitam ubi non fallaris. Veraci merces reddetur ueritas, et temporaliter bene uiuenti merces reddetur aeternitas.
10. Ergo omnes hoc uolumus, fratres, uitam et ueritatem. Sed qua uenimus, qua imus? Nam quo ueniamus, etsi nondum possessione retinemus,
 200 iam tamen cogitatione et ratione cernimus et uidemus: ad uitam tendimus et ad ueritatem. Ipse Christus est. Sed quaeris qua ire et uenire? Ipse Christus est et quo is et qua is. Christus est: qua ire quaeris? *Ego sum*, inquit, *uia*; quo ire quaeris? *Et ueritas et uita*. [XI] Ecce quod martyres amauerunt: ideo praesentia et transitoria contempserunt. Nolite mirari fortitudinem:
 205 amor uicit dolorem. Massae ergo candidae sollemnitatem conscientia candida celebremus, et uestigia martyrum sectantes caputque martyrum et nostrum intuentes, si ad tam magnum bonum uenire concupiscimus, iter durum non timeamus. Qui promisit uerax est, qui promisit fidelis est, qui

193 Cf. *Praeceptum aureum*; *en. Ps.* 32, 2, 1, 6: « ne facias alii quod pati non uis »; 84, 12; s. 9, 15; c. *Iul.* 5, 30; etc. **195** Cf. s. 38, 4: « Hoc est opus cui illa merces est. Noli piger esse in opere, cuius mercedem desideras »; *Dolbeau* 23, 3 (374 augm.). **198/199** Cf. s. 141, 1: « Veritatem et uitam omnis homo cupit: sed uiam non omnis homo inuenit »; 150, 10: « Hanc uolumus omnes, ueritatem et uitam; sed ad tam magnam possessionem, ad tam grandem felicitatem qua itur? ». **202/203** *Io* 14, 6; cf. s. 150, 10: « Quae rebas qua ires: *Ego sum uia*. Quae rebas quo ires: *Ego sum ueritas et uita* »; 346, 1. **203/204** Cf. s. 302, 2: « ...Aeternam uitam, quam martyres amauerunt, qui haec temporalia contempserunt ». **206** Cf. s. 302, 1: « Martyrum ergo uestigia imitando sectemur ». **208** Cf. s. 38, 10: « Qui promisit uerax est »; *ep. Io. tr.* 4, 2: « fidelis est autem qui promisit; non te fallit »; *en. Ps.* 148, 1.

192 falli¹] f. uelit *p*³ *maur* tecum] de causa *b* **193** quod – facere] *om. t* uenire] benire *r*¹ uitam] *om. K* fallaris] *falleris *K*^(p.c.) *r*^{1.2}, pateris *K*^(a.c.) **193/196** uis² – fallas] *om. p*¹ *t* **193/194** age – fallaris] *om. b* **194** uenire] benire *r*¹ fallaris] *falleris *K* *r*² **195** merces¹] -cis *r*² est merces] *K* *r*¹ *p*^{2.3.5} *b*, est meris *r*², m. est *r*³ *edd.*, *def. p*¹ *t* **195/196** modo uitam (cf. **194**)] *inu. r*^{1.2} **196** uenies] benies *r*¹ ue-
 raci] u. uite *K* **196/197** reddetur] -ditur *K* *r*², -deretur *b* **197** temporaliter] tunc
 paliter *b*¹, tunc pariter *b*² uiuenti] -tibus *K* merces] *om. b* reddetur] -ditur
K *r*², -deretur *b* **198** uolumus] karissimi *b* **199** nam] non *t*² nondum] nun-
 dum *p*⁵ possessione] -nem *r*² retinemus] *K* *r*^{1.2}, tenemus *cett* **200** cernimus]
K *r*^{1.2}, credimus *cett* **201** ad] *K* *r*^{1.2}, *om. cett* est] uia est *r*³ (*p.c. manu rec.*) **201/202**
 sed quaeris – christus est] *K* *r*², *om. cett per homoeoteleuton* **202** et quo – christus est]
K, *om. cett per homoeoteleuton* **202/203** ego sum – quaeris] *om. b* **203** quo] qua
*t*² ecce] et *b* quod] *K uix legitur* **204** nolite] noli *r*² (*a.c.*) fortitudinem] et
 f. *t*² **205/206** conscientia (-tie *r*²) candida] *K* *r*^{1.2}, *inu.* cett* (cf. **209**) **206** et¹] ut *t*²
 caputque] *add. nostrum r*³ (*a.c.*) **207** intuentes] -tis *r*¹ ad tam magnum] iam ad m. *p*⁵
208 qui² – fidelis est] *om. t*²

promisit fallere non potest. Dicamus ergo ei candida conscientia: *Propter*
 210 *uerba labiorum tuorum ego custodiui uias duras*. Quid times *uias duras* pas-
 sionum et tribulationum? Transiit ipse. Respondes forte: 'Sed ipse'. Tran-
 sierunt et apostoli. Adhuc respondes: 'Sed apostoli'. Accipio; responde.
 Transierunt postea multi uiri; erubescere transierunt et feminae. Senex
 215 uenisti ad passionem? Noli timere mortem, uel quia uicinus es morti. Tran-
 sierunt et iuuenes, qui adhuc uitam sibi sperabant. Iuuenis es? Transierunt
 et pueri; transierunt et puellae. Quomodo adhuc uia aspera est quam tam
 multi calcarunt? Haec est ergo sollemnis et assidua commonitio nostra ad
 uos, fratres, ut sollemnitates martyrum non uana festiuitate celebremus, sed
 220 quos in suis sollemnitatibus honoramus, etiam fide simili imitari non for-
 midemus. Conuersi ad dominum.

209/210 Ps 16, 4. 211/217 Cf. s. Weidmann 11, 8 (295 augm.): « Dura erat (sc. uia): talibus tamque multis transeuntibus lenis facta est. Transiit prior ipse dominus, transierunt apostoli intrepidi, postea martyres, transierunt senes et iuuenes, pueri, mulieres, puellae »; s. Lambot 13, 1 (328 augm.); Quodvultdeus, *De quatuor uirtutibus caritatis* 14: « Christus transiuit, et adhuc aspera est (sc. uia)? ... Sed Christus, inquis, deus et homo; ego autem homo. Tot milia martyrum transierunt; et adhuc tibi aspera est? Transierunt senes, transierunt iuuenes, transierunt pueri, puellae transierunt, uiam quam timebas tritam tibi fecerunt ». 217/220 Cf. s. 285, 1: « ...ita sollemnia martyrum celebrare, ut uestigia martyrum sequendo delectet imitari » (et parallèles *ad locum*).

209 ergo] om. t² 210 uerba] uocem b¹ (in marg.). 2 uias duras¹] inu. K^(a.c.) quid times uias duras] scr. in marg. sup. r² 211 respondes] -deas* K, -dens r² ipse²] ipsi r² 212 et] K, om. cett adhuc] ad hoc r² 213 transierunt¹] add. et apostoli K^(a.c.) multi] et m. r³ (qui et scr. supra lin.) edd erubescere] eruuesce r¹ 214 uel] om. b morti] om. K 214/215 transierunt – sperabant] om. K 215 iuuenes] iuuenes r¹ qui] quia b uitam sibi] inu. r² p², uitam s. uitam p⁵, uitam b iuuenis es] K r², om. r¹, scr. antea post morti cett transierunt²] add. apostoli r³ (a.c.) 216 transierunt et puellae] om. K 216/217 tam multi calcarunt] K, multi ambulando lenierunt* r p t b, m. a. linierunt edd 217 est ergo] inu. r³ edd, est b² sollemnis] -nitas r² et] om. b 218 festiuitate] sollemnitate r³ b² edd 219 quos] K r² edd, quod r¹. 3 p t b honoramus] K, amamus* cett etiam] in t² 219/220 formidemus] formidemus K 220 post formidemus add. per iesum christum dominum nostrum expliciunt sermones sancti augustini de sancta massa candida r¹, per christum dominum nostrum r³, explicit sermo sancti augustini de massa candida b conuersi ad dominum] K lov (qui add. etc.), om. cett

Résumé

Édition critique de deux allocutions d'Augustin pour des fêtes de martyrs : les s. 285 et 306, qui commémorent respectivement les carthaginois Castus et Aemilius, et un groupe de fidèles exécutés près d'Utique sous le nom de Massa candida. Ces deux textes ont une tradition en partie commune, d'une part la collection de Mayence-Grande-Chartreuse (*K*), qui remonte directement à un modèle tardo-antique, d'autre part quelques manuscrits extravagants, dont dépendent trois recueils postérieurs : l'homélaire des *Sancti catholici patres*, la collection Tripartite et le *Collectorium* de Robert de' Bardi. L'accord de *K* avec l'un des autres témoins indique en général la leçon originelle. La datation des deux sermons, étudiée naguère par Pierre-Marie Humbert, reste discutable, mais les hypothèses de ce dernier, après réexamen, paraissent trop tardives.

François DOLBEAU
Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres
<francois@dolbeau.org>

Severian of Gabala, *In ascensionem et in principium Actorum* (CPG 4187)

Introduction and Critical Edition

Richard W. BISHOP & Nathalie RAMBAULT

If for no other reasons, the sermon we edit here would merit scholarly attention on account of its discussion of Christ's post-resurrection appearances, its treatment of the first eleven verses of the book of Acts, and its Christological statements. That the sermon also sheds light on the conflict between John Chrysostom and his nemesis, Severian of Gabala, and constitutes, together with *In ascensionem Domini* (CPG 4236a.7/5028), the most important source for the celebration of Christ's ascension in early fifth-century Constantinople, surely recommend this text to a wider readership.

Although we owe them both a debt of gratitude, the sermon's first editor, Bernard de Montfaucon, and the anonymous scribe on whom he ultimately relied, may be partly to blame for the sermon's relative obscurity. Following one of the three manuscripts he collated, Montfaucon omitted a long portion near the end of the sermon. This omitted portion was not edited until 1978, when Judit Kecskeméti put it in an appendix to her Sorbonne dissertation, which was never published. As a consequence most previous attempts to assess this sermon's significance have been hampered by an incomplete awareness of its contents. Since the work of Kecskeméti, several additional manuscripts have come to light. These facts justify a new edition of the sermon.

1. History of Interpretation

In his preface to our text, Montfaucon judged the sermon to be a cento, compiled from the writings of John Chrysostom, in particular from the latter's lost second homily *In principium Actorum*, and from other writers. Since several portions of the sermon refer to ascending the Mount of Olives, Montfaucon concluded that at least those portions must have originated in Jerusalem. Montfaucon's preface was reprinted, with a few additional lines, in the *editio Parisina altera* of 1837, and from there it found its way into volume 52 of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* (1862) as well

as into Jean-François Bareille's nineteenth-century French translation of Chrysostom's works.¹

It was not until the twentieth century, more than 200 years after its original publication, that Montfaucon's interpretation of the sermon was challenged. Drawing on the delineation and assessment of Severian of Gabala's works by Johannes Zellinger and Guilelmus (Heinrich Wilhelm) Dürks, Benedikt Marx defended the sermon's integrity and attributed it to Severian of Gabala on the basis of stylistic parallels with Severian's then acknowledged works.² Supporting this attribution, Marx recognized that the sermon's discussion of the Mount of Olives referred to an olive-growing region in a suburb of Constantinople, which had been named for the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem and which was, according to the ancient church historian Socrates, the site of the Constantinopolitan celebration of the Ascension feast. In addition, Marx defended the authenticity of a variant reading which places our sermon not on the Feast of the Ascension itself, but two days later, on Saturday. Marx's article was substantial enough to receive its own review. The reviewer, Walther Eltester, should be credited with recognizing that the sermon is an important witness to stational celebrations in early fifth-century Constantinople.³

¹ Montfaucon's judgment about the origin of the sermon is reflected in the title he gave it: *In ascensionem domini nostri Iesu Christi et in principium Actorum II* (B. de MONTFAUCON, *Sancti Patris Nostri Ioannis Chrysostomi archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opera omnia . . .* Paris, 1718-1738, vol. 3 [1721], p. 757-775). The same title appears in both the *editio Parisina altera, emendata et aucta* by T. FIX and L. de SINNER, revised by F. DÜBNER, 13 vols., Paris, 1834-1840, vol. 3 [1837], p. 914-935; and in PG 52, col. 773-792. Bareille, however, simply has: *Homélie sur l'Ascension de Notre-Seigneur* (J.-F. BAREILLE, *Œuvres complètes de S. Jean Chrysostome. Traduction nouvelle*, 21 vols., Paris, 1865-1873, vol. 3 [1867], p. 623-630).

² B. MARX, "Severiana unter den Spuria Chrysostomi bei Montfaucon-Migne", *OCP* 5 (1939), p. 281-367 (here 283-291); G. DÜRKS, *De Severiano Gabalitano. Dissertatio inauguralis*, Kiloniae – Schmidt & Klaunig, 1917; J. ZELLINGER, *Die Genesishomilien des Bischofs Severian von Gabala*, Münster, 1916 (*Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen*, 7/1); idem, *Studien zu Severian von Gabala*, Münster, 1926 (*Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie*, 8). Although Marx was the first to attribute the sermon to Severian, Sebastian Haidacher had already noted a verbal parallel between it and *In illud: Quando ipsi subiciet omnia* (CPG 4761), which he took to be an authentic sermon of Chrysostom's, but which has now been attributed to Severian (S. HAIDACHER, "Drei unedierte Chrysostomus-Texte einer Baseler Handschrift. II", *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 31 [1907], p. 141-171 [here 167]).

³ Socrates's observation (*Hist. Eccl.* 7.26.2) figures below in the discussion of the sermon's location. The variant that Marx defended is 13.12-15 in our text. For the review: W. ELTESTER, (Review of) "Marx, B., Severiana unter den Spuria Chrysostomi bei Montfaucon-Migne", *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 265/11-12 (1944), p. 265-268 (here 268). CPG 4187 is not discussed in the still influential work of J. BALDOVIN, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, Rome, 1987 (OCA, 228). In fact, as S. J. VOICU has recently noted, Severian is not mentioned at all in that work ("Roma e l'ultimo manoscritto del corpus omiletico di Severiano di Gabala", C. CARBONETTI –

Marx's attribution was accepted by Hans Dietrich Altendorf in the latter's unpublished yet influential Tübingen dissertation of 1957. Altendorf adduced an additional parallel with Severian's works and several comparanda from other writers. He also noted the observation of Theodor Zahn that the sermon was employed, without attribution, by Photius, the ninth-century patriarch of Constantinople, in questions 123-129 of the latter's *Amphilochia*.⁴

Altendorf's delineation of Severian's corpus was accorded quasi-canonical status when it was largely adopted by the *CPG*, which assigned our sermon the number 4187. Since the publication of volume II of the *CPG* in 1974, there have been two major advances in scholarship directly pertaining to this sermon. The first is the 1978 dissertation of Kecskeméti, who not only provided the *editio princeps* and a translation of the portion omitted by Montfaucon, but also argued for the portion's authenticity by showing it to be an integral part of the sermon's architecture and by identifying several parallels with Severian's oeuvre. The main part of Kecskeméti's dissertation was the *editio princeps* and translation of the sermon that in the *CPG* is titled *In illud: Genimina viperarum* (Matth. 23, 33; Luc. 3, 7) and which she attributed to Severian on the basis of internal and external evidence. Kecskeméti argued that allusions to *CPG* 4187 in *Genimina viperarum* indicated that the two sermons were delivered in the same year, probably 401 or 402. Finally, because of a passage in the portion of *CPG* 4187 that

S. LUCA – M. SIGNORINI [eds.], in *Roma e il suo territorio nel medioevo. Le fonti scritte fra tradizione e innovazione. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio dell'Associazione italiana dei Paleografi e Diplomatisti* [Roma, 25-29 ottobre 2012], Spoleto, 2015, [Studi e ricerche, 6], p. 73-87; here 78 n. 20).

⁴ H. D. ALTENDORF, *Untersuchungen zu Severian von Gabala*. (diss.) Tübingen, 1957, p. 133-135. The observation of ZAHN comes from his *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, vol. 2, Leipzig, 1899, p. 335. The material from Photius belongs to the indirect tradition, discussed below under Textual History. An Ascension sermon attributed to Photius has been printed by Σ. ΑΡΙΣΤΑΡΧΗΣ, *Λόγοι και ομιλίες τοῦ ἐν Ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Φωτίου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* 2 vols., Constantinople, 1900, vol. 1: p. 200-212. But this "sermon" is simply a reprinting of the material from Photius's *Amphilochia* 123-129. This attempt at recovering the sermons of Photius is critiqued by Cyril MANGO in the introduction to his *The Homilies of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople: English Translation, Introduction, and Commentary*, Cambridge, MA, 1958 (*DOS*, 3). According to Αριστάρχης (p. 200), the library of El Escorial in Spain once held a ms. containing an Ascension sermon attributed to Photius, but the ms. perished in the fire of 1671. There is a sermon *De Ascensione* attributed to Photius in Alexander BARVOETIUS, *Catalogus praecipuorum auctorum ineditorum graece m.ss. qui in bibliotheca Scorialensi asservantur*, p. xxi-xxxviii (here p. xxxi) in Balthasar CORDERIUS (ed. and transl.), *S.P.N. Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini homiliae xix In Ieremiam prophetam, Hactenus ineditae*...Antwerp, 1648. However, the corresponding entry in G. DE ANDRÉS, *Catálogo de los códices griegos desaparecidos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*, El Escorial, 1968, p. 188-189 (Γ.III.19, olim Δ.V.1) does not mention this sermon.

she edited, Kecskeméti identified the precise location in which the sermon was delivered as a church named Elaia in the Constantinopolitan suburb of the same name.⁵

The second major advance in scholarship pertaining to CPG 4187 is Eleni Chatzoglou-Balta's *editio princeps* of *In ascensionem Domini* (CPG 4236a.7/5028) and its subsequent attribution to Severian by Sever J. Voicu on the basis of a large number of parallels with the homilies of Severian that are preserved in Greek. This attribution has been independently confirmed by Sergey Kim, who includes several parallels with sermons preserved in Armenian and Syriac.⁶ Voicu identified *In ascensionem Domini* as the sermon delivered on Ascension Day, a few days prior to our sermon, and dated them both to the year 402; interpretation of the one sermon thus informs interpretation of the other.

In addition to these major advances, a handful of publications have investigated various aspects of our sermon. In an elegant public address originally delivered in Dutch, Cornelis Datema explored the imagery of the sermon's poem.⁷ The same author discusses our sermon in an article titled, "The Rôle of the Martyr in the Homilies of Severian of Gabala."⁸ Subse-

⁵ J. KECSKEMÉTI, *Sévérien de Gabala. Homélie inédite sur le Saint-Esprit* (CPG 4947) (diss.), Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1978. The omitted portion of CPG 4187 is introduced on p. 84-85 and edited with a translation on p. 177-200. For the date of the two sermons see p. 32-36; for the location, p. 202-03. With some justification, Kecskeméti proposed retitling *Genimina viperarum* as *De spiritu sancto I* (p. 30-31), but as this revised title has not been generally adopted we do not follow it here.

⁶ E. S. CHATZOGLU-BALTA "Εξ λόγοι εἰς τὴν Ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἐπιγραφόμενοι ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου (Εἰσαγωγή - Κριτική ἔκδοσις)", *Ἑπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 53, (2007-2009), p. 303-376 (introduction: p. 305-314; text: p. 333-344); S. J. VOICU, "Evidence of Authenticity: Severian of Gabala, *In ascensionem Domini* (CPG 5028)", in R. W. BISHOP – J. LEEMANS – H. TAMAS (eds.) *Preaching after Easter: Mid-Pentecost, Ascension, and Pentecost in Late Antiquity*, Leiden, 2016, (*Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae*, 136), p. 407-424; S. Kim, "Quelques observations sur l'homélie *In ascensionem Domini* de Sévérien de Gabala (CPG 4236a.7, olim 5028)", *Mus*, 128/3-4 (2015), p. 261-272. This sermon had previously been classified as belonging to Severian by both S. J. VOICU, "Sévérien de Gabala", in *DSp* 14 (1989), col. 752-763 (col. 758) and C. DATEMA, "Towards a Critical Edition of the Greek Homilies of Severian of Gabala", *OLP* 19 (1988), p. 107-115 (p. 113).

⁷ C. DATEMA, *De stamelende orator*, Amsterdam, 1987. Much of the material pertaining to Severian in this address can be found in the same author's "Severian of Gabala: A Modest Man?", in *Studia Patristica*, 22, ed. E. A. LIVINGSTONE, Louvain, 1989, p. 104-107, which was originally delivered in the same year as the Dutch address.

⁸ In A.A.R. BASTIAENSEN – A. HILHORST – C.H. KNEEPKENS (eds.) *Fructus centesimus: mélanges offerts à Gérard J.M. Bartelink à l'occasion de son soixante-cinquième anniversaire*, Steenbrugge/Dordrecht, 1989, p. 61-67. The article includes remarks on the omitted portion of CPG 4187; Datema is thus one of the few scholars to have read and written about Kecskeméti's edition of the omitted portion.

quent to her dissertation, Kecskeméti has commented on several features of the sermon, including its use of repetition as an exegetical tool, its date, and its Christology.⁹ As part of Severian's homiletic corpus, *CPG* 4187 figures in Holger Villadsen's study of the emerging lectionary of fifth-century Constantinople. The most recent accounts of the early history of the Ascension and Pentecost feasts, as well as a recent survey of Severian's sermons as a source of information about the imperial court, also make use of the evidence provided by this sermon.¹⁰

The larger context for these contributions to our knowledge of *CPG* 4187 is the study of Severian more generally, and in particular the delineation of his homiletic corpus.¹¹ Because most of Severian's sermons were transmitted under the name of Chrysostom, scholars have relied on attributions in ancient translations, citations, catena, and florilegia to identify

⁹ J. KECSKEMÉTI, "Deux caractéristiques de la prédication chez les prédicateurs pseudo-chrysostomiens: la répétition et le discours fictif", *Rhetorica* 14/1 (1996), p. 15-36 (discusses the use of repetition as a rhetorical tool in several pseudo-Chrysostomica, including *CPG* 4187); EADEM, "Sévérien de Gabala: exégète et théologien antiochien méconnu", *Euphrosyne*, n. s. 24 (1996), p. 99-126 (includes discussion of the date and Christology of *CPG* 4187). Kecskeméti subsequently published a monograph that synthesizes these and other publications with her dissertation. The monograph also contains a revised French translation of *Genimina viperarum* and new material dealing with the theme of anti-Judaism in the pseudo-Chrysostomica: *Une rhétorique au service de l'antijudaïsme: IV^e siècle – VII^e siècle*, Paris, 2005 (Bibliothèque d'études juives, 26).

¹⁰ H. VILLADSEN, "Det tidlige perikopesystem i Konstantinopel ifølge Severian af Gabala", in P. BESKOW – G. HALLONSTEN – S. HIDAL – S. RUBENSON (eds.), *Florilegium Patristicum: En Festskrift Till Per Beskow*, Stockholm, 1991, p. 233-257 (reprinted in H. VILLADSEN, *Perikoper og kirkeår i oldkirken. Jerusalem, Konstantinopel, Rom*, Copenhagen, 2010, p. 101-128); N. RAMBAULT (ed.), *Jean Chrysostome: Homélies sur la résurrection, l'Ascension et la Pentecôte*, vol. 2, Paris, 2013, (*SC*, 562), p. 18-29; H. BUCHINGER, "Pentekoste, Pfingsten und Himmelfahrt: Grunddaten und Fragen zur Frühgeschichte", in R. W. BISHOP et al. (eds.), *Preaching after Easter, op. cit.*, n. 6, p. 15-84. Space does not permit here an assessment of the sermon's historical-liturgical significance. S. KIM, "Severian of Gabala as an Eyewitness to Life at the Imperial Court in Fifth-Century Constantinople" *Studia Patristica* 96 (2017), in press. We may also note here that a few paragraphs of *CPG* 4187 were Englished, with exiguous analysis, in J. G. DAVIES, *He Ascended into Heaven: A Study in the History of Doctrine*, London, 1958, (*Bampton Lectures*), p. 118-119.

¹¹ Important histories of this endeavor can be found in: M. AUBINEAU, *Un traité inédit de christologie de Sévérien de Gabala «In Centurionem et contra Manichaeos et Apollinaristas» exploitation par Sévère d'Antioche (519) et le synode du Latran (649)*, Geneva, 1983 (*Cahiers d'Orientalisme*, 5); S. J. VOICU, "Sévérien de Gabala", *art. cit.*, n. 6; K.-H. UTHEMANN, "Severian von Gabala", *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, 9 (1995), col. 1487-1504. See now also the remarks and select chronological bibliography in S. J. VOICU, "Evidence of Authenticity", *art. cit.* n. 6. Severian studies promise to be considerably enriched through the publication of papers delivered at the conference "John Chrysostom & Severian of Gabala: Homilists, Exegetes & Theologians" (Leuven, 2016) as well as through the edition of the corpus planned by the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

them. Most investigators have felt that this approach alone cannot identify all the extant sermons of Severian, so from the beginning of modern Severian studies, stylistic analysis has also been employed to identify his sermons even when external attribution is lacking. Such analysis has included identifying stock phrases, free parallels, and a tendency to digress as evidence of a consistent, recognizable style. The results of this approach were codified 25 years ago in Voicu's authoritative article on Severian in the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*. Other articles by the same author have appealed to *CPG* 4187 as a source of parallels in order to identify other sermons of Severian's.¹² In the same year that Voicu published his encyclopedia article, Datema published, as a prelude to an edition of Severian's corpus, a list of the sermons that he felt could at that point be confidently attributed to the bishop of Gabala.¹³ Voicu and Datema both count *CPG* 4187 as authentic. There is, however, a minority voice. A year after the lists of Datema and Voicu were published, Uthemann expressed doubts about attributing texts to Severian solely on the basis of stylistic analysis and noted that even ancient external attributions to Severian have not been reliable in every case.¹⁴ Uthemann did, however, hold out hope that scholars would, through the production of critical editions and textual stemmata, be able to identify an ancient corpus of Severian's sermons. This line of research may yet prove fruitful. In 1995 Uthemann published his own encyclopedia article on Severian in which he categorizes as authentic only those sermons with reliable external attribution. Because *CPG* 4187 lacks such attribution, he classified it among the *dubia*.¹⁵

¹² S. J. VOICU, "In illud: *Quando ipsi subiecit omnia* (*CPG* 4761). Una omelia di Severiano di Gabala?", *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, n.s. 17-19 (1980-1982), p. 5-11; IDEM, "Nuove restituzioni a Severiano di Gabala", *RSBN*, n.s. 20-21 (1983-1984), p. 3-24; cf. also M. AUBINEAU, *Un traité inédit*, p. 40, 50; and most recently, J. J. OOSTERHUIS - DEN OTTER, *Four Pseudo-Chrysostomian Homilies on Job* (*CPG* 4564, *BHG* 939d-g): *Transmission, Critical Edition, and Translation* (diss.), Amsterdam, 2015, p. 204.

¹³ C. DATEMA, "Towards a Critical Edition", *art. cit.*, n. 6.

¹⁴ K.-H. UTHERMANN, "Kriterien zur Abgrenzung der Homilien Severians von Gabala unter den Pseudo-Chrysostomica", in *Studia Patristica*, 20, ed. E.A. Livingstone, Louvain, 1989, p. 61-69. The argument is reprised in the same author's "Severian von Gabala in Photios' Bibliothek und Amphilochia. Überlegungen zu den *dubia Severiani*", *JÖB* 43 (1993), p. 61-86 (esp. 61-65).

¹⁵ K.-H. UTHERMANN, "Severian von Gabala", *art. cit.*, n. 11, col. 1499. In UTHERMANN, "Die Lazarus-Predigt des Leontios von Arabissos (*BHG* 2219u). Einleitung, Edition und Übersetzung" *Byz* 59 (1989), p. 291-353 (p. 292 n. 12), the author describes *CPG* 4187 as certainly authentic; cf. the same author's "Kriterien zur Abgrenzung" (1989), p. 64 n. 36 and "Severian von Gabala in Photios" (1993), p. 66 n. 21. The three articles evince an evolution towards the position articulated in the 1995 encyclopedia article.

From this survey of scholarship, several issues meriting assessment arise: the sermon's extent and integrity, its location, authorship, and date. To facilitate assessment of these issues, and particularly the issue of the sermon's extent and integrity, we offer in the next section a detailed outline of the sermon's contents.¹⁶

2. Outline of the Sermon

- I. Introduction¹⁷
 - A. Proem: greatness of the topic; inadequacy of the speaker; indulgence of Christ (§1)
 - B. Apologia for the Saturday celebration at the Mount of Olives (§2)
- II. Io. 20,19-29
 - A. Io. 20,19: Christ's post-resurrection appearances establish the Lord's Day (§3)
 - B. Io. 20,20: "Peace be with you" (§4)
 - 1. The Savior calms fears and himself gives what angels previously mediated and prophets longed for.
 - 2. The Savior shows his hands and side, like a victorious general displaying his wounds on parade.
 - C. Io. 20,21-23: Sending and inbreathing (§5-6)
 - 1. Christ sends the disciples with the same power by which he was sent.
 - 2. Breathing the Holy Spirit into the disciples renewed what was lost in Adam, conferred apostolic authority, and fortifies us to be martyrs, whether in deed or word.
 - D. Io. 20,24-29: Thomas (§7-8)
 - 1. Thomas's doubt was not a denial of the resurrection but a search for certainty that rendered the resurrection more brilliant.
 - 2. Christ's entrance when the doors were shut and exhibition of the nail prints brought peace and expelled Thomas's doubt.

¹⁶ Cf. the outline of KECSKEMÉTI, *Homélie inédite*, *op. cit.*, n. 5, p. 85-88.

¹⁷ As is apparent from the outline, the main scriptural texts under discussion supply the sermon with its structure. The sermon's various digressions attach themselves to this structure of scriptural texts. Note that such digressions are not careless, but rather illustrate points of exegesis or argumentation and therefore serve a rhetorical purpose. Although it does not discuss *CPG* 4187, there is an illuminating treatment of Severian's use of the conversational diatribe style that makes this point in the article of K.-H. UTHEMANN, "Forms of Communication in the Homilies of Severian of Gabala: A Contribution to the Reception of the Diatribe as a Method of Exposition", in M. B. CUNNINGHAM – P. ALLEN (eds.) *Preacher and Audience: Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne, 1998 (*A New History of the Sermon*, 1), p. 139-177.

3. Investigating the incomprehensible nature is worse than Thomas investigating Christ's side and nail prints, which at least dissolved the doubt of heretics.
 4. Thomas's confession, "My Lord and my God" (Io. 20,28), is compared with another, "Good teacher" (Mc. 10,17-18).
- E. Transitional paragraph: Let us ascend the Constantinopolitan Mount of Olives (§9).

III. Act. 1,1-11

A. Introductory matters (§10-12)

1. Title of the book
 2. Act. 1,1-2: Who is the author of the book?
 - a. The author refers to a first book, a gospel that described Christ's ascension.
 - b. Comparison of the four gospels shows Luke alone described the ascension and therefore must be the author of Acts.
 3. Act. 1,1-2: Who is the book's addressee?
- B. Act. 1,1-3: Forty days of occasional appearances, eleven in number (§13-15)
1. The Gospel and Acts relate that Christ presented himself alive for 40 days after the resurrection.
 2. Act. 1,3: The appearances were not constant, but occasional. Christ was not physically recognizable; rather his appearances were accompanied by proofs.
 3. The Savior appeared eleven times, corresponding to the number of disciples.
- C. Act. 1,3-4: "Dining with them" (§16-17)
1. By dining with the disciples, Christ confirmed the resurrection to Thomas and to those who would deny it.
 2. By dining with the disciples, Christ honored the mystical table, through which he offers himself as food, thereby resolving war and administering peace.
- D. Act. 1,4: "The promise of the Father" (§18-19)
1. The Father's promise of the Holy Spirit is not to be found in the gospels, but in the prophets (e.g. Joel 2,28-32, as in Act. 2,17-21).
 2. The promise mentioned by Joel was spoken in the person of the Father, not in the person of the Son, the Spirit, or the prophet; the promise is also cited by Paul (Rom. 10,12-15).
- E. Act. 1,4-5: Baptism of the apostles (§20-23)
1. What was the nature of the baptism the apostles received before the Savior's passion? It was the water baptism of John, to which the Savior would later add the Holy Spirit.

2. The purpose of the ten-day interval between Christ's ascension and Pentecost was to exercise the faith of the disciples, who did not know when the promise would be fulfilled.
 3. Being "baptized in the Holy Spirit" (Act. 1,5) was the same as receiving the Spirit.
 4. The Savior alludes (Io. 13,10) to the prior baptism of the apostles, which was a baptism for the forgiveness of sins, but not yet a participation in the Holy Spirit.
- F. Act. 1,6-8: Questions about the end (§24)
1. When the apostles asked whether the Savior would then restore the kingdom to Israel, Christ's reply—"It is not for you to know times or seasons that the Father has fixed by his own authority" (Act. 1,7)—bridled their mouths. How much more does it bridle the mouths of all who ask, "How did the Father beget?"
 2. The Son is not excluded from this fixing of the times (Hebr. 1,2); in Act. 1,7, the Savior calls the Son the "authority" of the Father.
- G. Act. 1,8: "You will be my witnesses." The accomplishment of these words proves the Savior's authoritative power (§25).
- H. Act. 1,9; Lc. 24,49-50: A public ascent near Bethany, site of the resurrection of Lazarus (§26)
- I. Lc. 24,49: "Until you are clothed with power" (§27)
1. Believers are clothed with Christ in baptism and then clothed with the Holy Spirit; since the first garment is divine, the latter garment must also be divine, so as not to insult the first garment by covering it up with something ignoble.
 2. The Holy Spirit is like the fire that clothes iron, mingling through and through (cf. the face of Stephen in Act. 6,15).
- J. Lc. 24,50: "Stretching out his hand, he blessed them" (§28-31).
1. The Savior's blessing throughout the ascension goes on and on; it also serves as an example for priests to raise their hands when they bless the people, thereby lending their Master a pen to write the people a blessing.
 2. Some people mistakenly prize or reject the person who does the blessing, but the sender of the message is more important than the messenger.
 3. When the Savior gives this blessing, he also shows the nail prints in order to prove that the body being assumed was also crucified.
 4. The nail prints will remain to shame the Jews when the Savior comes again.

5. As in imperial images you see the imperial companions in glory and the captives under their feet, so also when Christ appears, his companions will be radiant, and his enemies (Jews, Greeks, and heretics) bound and “slain.”
 - a. The slaying is not bloody, but refers instead to punishment, as can be gathered from a (synoptic) reading of the parable of the talents (Mt. 25,14-30; Lc. 19,11-27), confirmed by David (Ps. 21,28-30).
6. The Savior shows the nail prints to exalt believers and shame his enemies.
- K. Lc. 24,51; Act. 1,9: A divine ascent is shown by the cloud and the active expression “as he went” (§32).
- L. Act. 1,10-11: Two messengers (§33-36).
 1. Two men on the Mount of Olives—like our Alkimos and Philemon—bless the disciples: “Men of Galilee,” which is not a reproach but a prophetically honored appellation.
 2. Act. 1,11: “Why do you stand looking?” This is not a reproach but a reminder to be witnesses.
 3. Act. 1,11: “This Jesus” is a reference to the dominical flesh; the deity is impassible though not separate from the one who suffered.
 4. Act. 1,11: “Into heaven.” Elijah was assumed “as if into heaven” (IV Reg. 2,11), not into heaven itself, as Christ confirms (Io. 3,13); Enoch was transferred, not assumed. Paul confirms that Christ ascended above the heavens (Eph. 4,9-10).
 5. Act. 1,11: “He will come again.”
 - a. The two angels knew this from prophecy and the teaching of Christ (Mt. 26,63-64).
 - b. Assumed on a cloud, the Savior will come again with many clouds, like an emperor with a retinue of chariots (I Thess. 4,16-17).
 - c. The clouds will convey the saints, who will meet the Lord in the air, like dignitaries meeting an emperor and conducting a visitation with him (Zach. 14,5).
- M. Multitude of scriptural statements about the ascension (§37)
 1. “He was lifted up” (Act. 1,9-10); “he was carried up” (Lc. 24,51); “he entered” (Hebr. 9,24); he “passed through” (Hebr. 4,14); he “ascended” with authority (Ps. 46,6); “the king of glory will enter” (Ps. 23,7).
 2. Astonished to see deity in the flesh, heaven asked, “Who is this king of glory” (Ps. 23,8).

N. A dual earnest (§38)

1. Christ's body in heaven above and the Holy Spirit on earth are both alike an earnest of salvation.
2. When Christ assumed flesh, the church and each pious person became relatives of Christ, just like a marriage that unites two families, as Paul confirms (Act. 17,29; I Cor. 12,27).
3. Nevertheless, heaven is not without the Holy Spirit and we are not without Christ's body, even as the image of Adam reigns above.

IV. Conclusion

- A. A marvelous economy: He is a great God, Lord (Ps. 47,2), King (Ps. 46,3), prophet (Lc. 7,16), priest (Hebr. 4,14), and light (Mt. 4,15-16); his day is also great (Ioel 2,31; §39).
- B. Judgment and Peace (§40)
 1. If we are worthy, we will meet the Lord upon the clouds, not as if on trial; even so everyone will receive according to his labor (I Cor. 3,8).
 2. A plea for freedom of speech. Calumniators will be called to account.
 3. We yearn for the peace Christ gave (Io. 20,19.21.26) and leave the other matters to God, who can establish peace among preachers and the preached to.

3. Extent and Integrity

This outline raises several questions related to the sermon's extent and integrity. What is the reason for the sermon's fundamental bifurcation, for a part dealing with Io. 20,19-29 and a part dealing with Act. 1,1-11? Is the portion of the sermon that deals with Lc. 24,49-50 and Act. 1,9-11 (§26-36), which is also the portion omitted by Montfaucon, an inept intrusion by a later hand as Montfaucon supposed, or does it belong to the sermon in its original form? Given that a main purpose of the speaker is to unfold the meaning of the Ascension (cf. §2 and §9), why is so much space devoted to exegeting the opening verses of Acts instead of focusing on Act. 1,9-11 or other scriptural accounts of the Ascension? These questions not only arise from the sermon's content, they are also reflected in the sermon's textual transmission and in the history of scholarship described above.¹⁸ Be

¹⁸ The first question, regarding the sermon's fundamental bifurcation, appears to have been behind not only P₂'s (and perhaps Photius's) omission of the portion dealing with Io. 20,19-29, but also behind Montfaucon's description of the sermon as a cento. J. KÉCSKEMÉTI (*Homélie inédite, op. cit.*, n. 5, p. 84) and R. REGTUIT, (*Severian of Gabala: Homily on the*

that as it may, there are compelling answers to each of these questions and sufficient reason to regard the sermon as the product of a single time and place. The remainder of this section will address the questions in general terms on the basis of the sermon's content as outlined above, examine specific internal parallels that link the different parts of the sermon together, and conclude with observations about the textual transmission which support the sermon's integrity.

The fundamental bifurcation of the sermon is adequately explained by the circumstances of its delivery. Since, as the preacher indicates, Io. 20,19-29 formed part or all of the day's gospel reading, the fact that the preacher treats it is unremarkable.¹⁹ The presence of an extensive treatment of Act. 1,1-11, and particularly an extensive treatment of the Ascension, is what requires an explanation, which the preacher in fact offers. As already noted and as will be discussed more extensively below, this sermon was delivered two days after a Feast of the Ascension. The preacher reports having delivered a sermon on the occasion of the feast, but also that he was not then able to say all that he had had in mind. The present sermon therefore represents the preacher's attempt to complement, at the next opportunity and after fulfilling his obligation to the day's gospel reading, his preceding

Incarnation of Christ (CPG 4204); *Text, Translation and Introduction* [diss.], Amsterdam, 1992, p. 170, albeit with nuance) report that Marx similarly proposed viewing the sermon as having been put together from two separate sermons of Severian, one dealing mainly with Io. 20,19-29 and the other mainly with Act. 1,1-8. It is true that Marx initially entertains such a possibility ("Severiana", *art. cit.*, n. 2, p. 283-84), but the investigation he subsequently undertakes leads him to defend the sermon's integrity (p. 287), except for the omitted portion, which he had not of course seen. The second question, concerning the apparently intrusive character of the portion dealing with Lc. 24,49-50 and Act. 1,9-11 (§26-36), appears to have motivated its original omission in V and its subsequent omission by Montfaucon. The third question, concerning the rationale for treating all first eleven verses of Acts, rather than just Act. 1,9-11, is not directly reflected in the textual transmission of the sermon, but it probably forms part of the reason Montfaucon sought to identify in this text Chrysostom's lost second homily *In principium Actorum*.

¹⁹ Public reading is explicitly mentioned at 3.1-3. For its part, Act. 1,1-11 may have been read aloud, but if so such reading was a departure from the emerging liturgical custom of reading Act. 1,1-11 at the Feast of the Ascension itself. Egeria reports that this text was read at what is likely a celebration of the Ascension on the afternoon of the fiftieth day (i.e. the Day of Pentecost) in Jerusalem (*Itinerarium Egeriae* 43.5 [P. MARAVAL (ed.), *Égérie. Journal de voyage (Itinéraire)*, Paris, 1982, corrected edition 2002 (SC, 296), p. 300; see n. 1 there and cf. on the fortieth day p. 297-299]). By the time of the Armenian lectionary, the reading has migrated to an independent Feast of the Ascension on the fortieth day after Easter (A. RENOUX [ed. and trans.], *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121*, Turnhout, 1969-1971 [PO, 35/1; 36/2]; vol. 2, LVII [p. 336-339]). We do not know to what extent hagiopolite lectionary practice influenced Constantinople on this point, but celebration of the Ascension at the Constantinopolitan Mount of Olives does evince a mimetic concern on the part of Christians in the imperial city, and Severian himself attests that concern in this sermon.

remarks on the Ascension.²⁰ The procedure of speaking first on the day's gospel reading and then appending extensive remarks on a preceding feast also applies to *Genimina viperarum*, which Severian probably delivered not long after the present sermon.²¹

The second question concerns the portion omitted by Montfaucon, which contains a synoptic treatment of the ascension accounts in Lc. 24,49-51 and Act. 1,9-11. At first glance the material from Luke's gospel may appear to be an intrusion into the program of exegeting Act. 1,1-11. In fact, however, this material assumes the earlier discussion of the common authorship of the gospel and Acts in §11-12.²² Given this preacher's views about their common authorship, it makes sense for him to treat the two accounts of the ascension synoptically. Not only does the synoptic treatment make sense, it constitutes an essential part of the sermon's larger aims. Consider that the sermon as printed by Montfaucon announces its intention to treat the ascension,²³ discusses the gospel reading for the day (Io. 20,19-29), then discusses the first eight verses of Acts, but unaccountably skips Act. 1,9-11, the most extensive scriptural account of the ascension, before offering a catalogue of other scriptural texts dealing with the ascension and then concluding the sermon. Granting the authenticity of the omitted portion resolves this incongruity; following the sermon's treatment of Act. 1,1-8, the omitted portion incorporates the account of the ascension in Lc. 24,49-51 with that in Act. 1,9-11. This treatment is then followed by the additional scriptural and concluding material. The omitted portion thus supplies the majority of the sermon's treatment of the ascension.

The third question concerns the preacher's decision to treat Act. 1,1-11, rather than focusing on Act. 1,9-11. In the first place, it is probable that Act. 1,1-11 was read publicly at the preceding feast, so the preacher's use of it here may be part of an attempt to re-celebrate the feast. This supposition, however, does not really explain why the preacher spends so much time expositing Act. 1,1-8, which receives little or no attention in other Greek festal sermons for the Ascension. Several additional justifications for the preacher's decision, however, do present themselves. In the first place,

²⁰ In support of these assertions, cf. §2, 9, and 13.10-12.

²¹ The relationship between CPG 4187 and *Genimina viperarum* is extensively discussed below, in the section on authorship (p. 136-153).

²² "Now this Luke, the author of the gospel, added: After saying these things, *he led them out as far as Bethany* (Lc. 24,50)." 'Ο δὲ Λουκᾶς οὗτος ὁ συγγραφεὺς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου προσέθηκε: Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν, ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἔξω εἰς Βηθανίαν (26.4-5). The demonstrative pronoun οὗτος recalls the previous mentions of Luke in §11-12 and 14, thus linking the omitted portion with the earlier part of the sermon.

²³ Cf. 2.11-14 and 9.11-13.

the preacher may have chosen to discuss the early verses of Acts, including the title of the book, as part of an elaborate justification for the synoptic treatment of the ascension (Lc. 24,49-51 and Act. 1,9-11) that he undertakes in the portion of the sermon omitted by Montfaucon. Secondly, discussing Act. 1,4-5.8 allows the preacher to preview Pentecost, which was only a week and a day away liturgically speaking. The discussion of Act. 1,4-5.8 also links the second part of the sermon to the first part, with its treatment of the Johanne Pentecost in Io. 20,22, as well as to promise of Pentecost in Lc. 24,49. Thirdly, the preacher's treatment of Act. 1,3 ("appearing to them during forty days"), in which he enumerates the eleven post-resurrection appearances of Christ, provides the sermon with a unifying literary device that incorporates both of its major parts (Io. 20,19-29 and Act. 1,1-11): Christ's appearances to the disciples when Thomas was not present and then when he was are the fourth and fifth appearances in the preacher's enumeration; the ascension is the eleventh appearance in the preacher's enumeration. So if a preacher was already obligated to speak about Io. 20,19-29, yet also wished to speak about the ascension as recorded in Act. 1,9-11, there are certain advantages to including the intervening verses of Acts in the discussion. In addition to noting these advantages, we should also recognize that this preacher is an expository preacher. The sermon largely consists of a word-by-word exposition of two scriptural texts, a procedure that the preacher views as intrinsically worthwhile.²⁴ So in view of this preacher's expository interests and the advantages in this sermon's specific circumstances of taking up all of Act. 1,1-11, it is not surprising that the result reminded Montfaucon of Chrysostom's series on the beginning of Acts.

Supplementing these general observations are a number of internal parallels, which link the first part of this sermon dealing with Io. 20,19-29 to the larger part dealing with Act. 1,1-11, including the omitted portion.²⁵ Such links make it difficult to maintain that the sermon's major components originated independently of each other. In the remainder of this section, we move through the first part of the sermon (§1-8) noting the minor parallels with the second part (§10-40) before laying out the sermon's two most striking sets of internal parallels. Beginning, then, in §2, the preacher mentions the suspicion (ὑπόληψιν) of some nameless oppo-

²⁴ "I wish, then, to investigate the book of Acts itself piece by piece, beginning with the poem, so that with you I might draw from the divine springs, and so that we might examine the treasures together, like merchants of truth, like people who are eager to be wealthy in piety" (10.1-3).

²⁵ E.g., as described above, the mention of Luke in 26.3-4 recalling the previous discussions of the authorship of Acts in §11, 12, 14.

nents who are inclined to bring a vain accusation against him (τῶν μάτην ἐγκαλεῖν βουλομένων, lines 6-7). In §28, the ostensibly same preacher again alludes to conflict with some who, he implies, disparage him on account of his less than illustrious background.²⁶ And at the end of the sermon, our preacher defends himself against those who falsely allege that he is an enemy of peace, and he denies that he is in a state of suspicion-induced schism with anyone (ταῖς δὲ ὑπονοίαις μὴ σχιζόμενοι, 40.10-11). These remarks from the beginning, middle, and end of the sermon, including the omitted portion, seem to reflect the same set of historical circumstances and thus imply common authorship.

A second set of texts relates to the sermon's defense of celebrating Ascension after the feast day itself: "proclamation of the cross, the passion, the resurrection, the assumption, the second coming is welcome every day."²⁷ This statement affirms the general appropriateness of these topics for public preaching, and thus their suitability for the present occasion. The last three members of the list constitute major themes of the sermon. But what about the cross and the passion? They are certainly not major themes of the sermon, but neither do they go unmentioned. In §29 we read that the Savior shows the nail prints in his hands "to exhibit the passion, because that which suffered, was crucified and nailed, is the very thing that is assumed."²⁸ The marks are said to remain until the second coming so that the Jews may look on him whom they have pierced (Io. 19,37; Zach. 12,10). The sermon thus contains an early statement that announces topics that are then discussed, thereby linking the various parts of the sermon together. One of these topics, namely, the resurrection, and in particular the post-resurrection appearances, makes its first appearance in §3. A perusal of the outline will show that the post-resurrection appearances constitute a unifying theme of the sermon. The discussion of the appearance to the disciples when Thomas was absent (§5-6) and when he was present (§7-8) completes the first part of the sermon; the appearances are again discussed and enumerated in §13-15, and as noted above, the discussion of the ascension is an important part of this theme since the preacher identifies the ascension scene on the Mount of Olives as Christ's eleventh post-resurrection appearance to his eleven disciples (15.36-37, 42-43).

²⁶ At least one person has despised or accused him: Εἴτα ἐμοῦ κατέγνως (28.17).

²⁷ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν δέχεται κήρυγμα, καὶ σταυροῦ, καὶ πάθους, καὶ ἀναστάσεως, καὶ ἀναλήψεως, καὶ δευτέρως παρουσίας (2.12-14).

²⁸ Δεικνὺς οὖν ὁ σωτὴρ τοὺς τύπους . . . ὅπως ἐν ταυτῷ καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν πληρώσῃ, καὶ τὸ πάθος δείξῃ· ὅτι τὸ παθὸν αὐτὸ καὶ σταυρωθὲν καὶ ἡλωθέν, τοῦτο ἀναλαμβάνεται (29.1-4; cf. §31).

Reference has already been made to Christ exhibiting the nail prints in his hands. The nail prints are first discussed in §4 in connection with Io. 20,20. That the sermon returns to the idea again in §29 in connection with Lc. 24,50 (“and stretching out his hand, he blessed them”) is all the more striking given that the latter scriptural text makes no explicit reference to the nail prints. It did, however, provide the preacher with an opportunity to elaborate on a topic introduced earlier in the sermon. This parallel thus links the first part of the sermon with the omitted portion. In §5, we find an exegesis of Io. 20,22, when Christ imparts the Holy Spirit to his disciples by breathing on them; this same text is cited in §20 in connection with the baptism in the Holy Spirit announced in Act. 1,4-5. At the end of §6 we find a citation of Lc. 24,49 together with Act. 1,8; the same two texts are cited together in the omitted portion (§27). In §7, the preacher rejects any attempt to pry into the divine nature by those who ask, “How was he begotten?” (Πῶς ἐγεννήθη; 7.30). Since the ineffable generation (γέννησιν ἄρρητον, 7.34) is beyond human comprehension, there should be no attempt at “investigating the incorporeal nature” (ἐρευνῶν τὴν ἀσώματον φύσιν, 7.29). Similarly in § 24, the hearers are instructed to refuse to answer such questions as “How did the Father beget? What is the mode of divine generation?”²⁹ It is after all not given to mortals to “investigate the eternal nature” (τὴν φύσιν τὴν αἰώνιον ἐρευνᾶν, 24.36-37).

Such parallels exhibit a similarity of thought, vocabulary, and exegesis. In order to view the sermon as a compilation rather than a single composition, one would have to suppose the production of distinct homiletic texts with significant thematic overlap, yet without the kind of word-for-word repetition that would be out of place in a single address. Scenarios that satisfy these requirements are not impossible, but at some point it is simply easier to maintain that the sermon was the product of a single mind in a single time and place.

The sermon’s two most striking internal parallels confirm this judgment. The first concerns the topic of peace, which is a minor theme of the sermon. The theme is announced in §1 when the preacher asserts that he has been entrusted with the proclamation of peace.³⁰ The theme is developed in §4, where the preacher expounds the significance of Christ’s post-resurrection salutation, “Peace be with you” (Io. 2,19): though angels and prophets had previously announced peace, the Savior’s announcement was unique because it was the first time that a person of sovereign power gave peace through himself. The preacher is careful to note that the Savior’s greeting of peace was repeated a second (Io. 20,21; §4.27-29) and a third time (Io.

²⁹ Πῶς ἐγέννησεν ὁ Πατήρ; Τίς ὁ τῆς θείας γεννήσεως τρόπος; (24.13-14).

³⁰ ἐνεχρίσεν [sc. ὁ Θεός] ἡμῖν τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς εἰρήνης (1.36).

20,26), which shows that it is a gift of the Holy Trinity (7.20-22). In §15, the second part of the sermon, there seems to be an internal allusion to precisely this repetition when the preacher says, “The Savior often repeated the greeting of peace up until the assumption.”³¹ After several additional minor references to peace,³² the preacher returns to the theme at the conclusion of the sermon, where he defends himself from the charge of being an enemy of peace. That would, after all, make him an enemy of those who heard, “Peace be with you” (Io. 20,19.21.26), the very greeting of peace that was expounded in the first part of the sermon (4.7-22, 32-36; 7.22-22). The sermon concludes by incorporating the theme of peace into the doxology: “God is able to grant peace, to establish peace . . . so that by all means beginning from peace, reaching the middle in peace, and finishing in peace, we might offer up glory to the God of peace.”³³ It is possible to read this last statement not only as a paean to peace in general, but also as a reference to the thematic role of peace in this particular sermon, which discusses peace at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end. “Peace” thus unites the various parts of the sermon.

A final internal parallel concerns the location of the sermon’s delivery. In §2, the preacher mentions a previous occasion (i.e., the Feast of the Ascension itself) when he wished to come to the Mount of Olives, but was hindered from doing so. Again in §9, the hinge between the sermon’s two main parts, the preacher mentions the Mount of Olives as the place of the ascension and explains that “God has honored our city too with the namesake of the mountain . . . here too the so-called Elaia has been planted as a namesake.”³⁴ The Mount of Olives is mentioned three more times in the sermon. It is listed as the location of Christ’s eleventh post-resurrection appearance (i.e., the ascension itself; 15.36-37, 42-43). In the first paragraph of the omitted portion, the preacher again mentions the Mount of Olives and connects it to Bethany, the location of the resurrection of Lazarus (26.5-11). The sermon’s final reference to the Mount of Olives occurs in §33, where the two angels who appeared to the disciples after the ascension are the topic of discussion. This angelic appearance

³¹ Εἰς τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Σωτῆρος πολλάκις ἐπαναλαβόντος τὴν εἰρήνην (15.37-38).

³² In §17, when Christ came and offered himself as food, “he straightaway resolved the war and administered the peace” (εὐθέως τὸν πόλεμον ἔλυσε καὶ εἰρήνην κατεδράδευσεν, 17.12-13; cf. εἰρήνην πόλεμον ἀφανίζει, 4.9). In §19, Rom. 10,14-15 (Is. 52,7) is cited, which refers to “those who bring glad tidings of peace” (τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων εἰρήνην).

³³ Δυνατὸς δὲ ὁ Θεὸς εἰρήνην δοῦναι, εἰρήνην πῆξαι . . . ἵνα διὰ πάντων ἀπὸ εἰρήνης ἀρξάμενοι, καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ μεσάσαντες, καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ πληρώσαντες, τῷ Θεῷ τῆς εἰρήνης δόξαν ἀναπέμψωμεν (40.18-22).

³⁴ Ἐτίμησε δὲ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ τοῦ ὄρους . . . καὶ ὧδε ὁμωνύμως ἡ λεγομένη ἐλαία πεφύτευται (9.5-8).

also happened on the Mount of Olives, and this time we are told in terms paralleling §9 that, “the church has obtained the namesake of this mountain.”³⁵ The last two references to the Mount of Olives, in §26 and §33, are particularly important since they belong to the omitted portion. Thus §2, 9, and 33 mention or allude to the Constantinopolitan Mount of Olives and were probably delivered there.

The sermon’s internal parallels make it unlikely that §10-15 were taken, as Montfaucon supposed, from Chrysostom’s lost second homily *In principium Actorum* (CPG 4731). We may still wonder, however, if Severian’s treatment of Act. 1,1-11 was influenced by those homilies or any other homilies Chrysostom may have preached on the early verses of Acts, such as the early sermons of his *In Acta apostolorum homiliae* 1-55 (CPG 4426).³⁶ Careful comparison of CPG 4187 with Chrysostom’s preaching in either series on the early verses of Acts fails to turn up evidence of influence on Severian. Whatever similarities exist are adequately explained by the circumstance of both preachers commenting on the same scriptural texts or are commonplaces of the emerging homiletical tradition devoted to the Ascension.

³⁵ Τούτου δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν ἔλαχεν ἡ ἐκκλησία (33.3-4) // Ἐτίμησε δὲ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ τοῦ ὄρους (9.5-6).

³⁶ On *In principium Actorum* (PG 51, col. 65-112), see M. B. COMPTON, *Introducing the Acts of the Apostles: A Study of John Chrysostom’s On the Beginning of Acts* (diss.), Charlottesville, Virginia, 1996; W. MAYER, “The Sequence and Provenance of John Chrysostom’s Homilies *In illud: Si esurierit inimicus* (CPG 4375), *De mutatione nominum* (CPG 4372) and *In principium Actorum* (CPG 4371)”, *Augustinianum*, 46/1 (2006), p. 169-186. Mayer notes that the first two (preserved) homilies of *In principium Actorum* can be securely located in Antioch, but expresses doubt that the fourth homily of the series was delivered in the same year as the first three (p. 182-184). Her case on this point, however, relies on a denial that homilies 1-3 contain any passage corresponding to the promise in homily 4 “to speak about why the Fathers established the rule that Acts be read during Pentecost” (p. 182; referring to PG 51, col. 101, 24-28). But the passage from homily 1 that she mentions (PG 51, col. 71, 37-39) would seem to meet this requirement. Compton accepts that all four sermons were delivered in the same year (p. 82-88), discusses the possibility that they circulated in Constantinople (cf. p. 118-122), and rejects Montfaucon’s suggestion that CPG 4187 preserves portions of the lost second homily of *In principium Actorum* (p. 123-125). The practice of reading Acts during the ancient season of Pentecost, which these remarks of Chrysostom attest, seems to have been widespread if not exactly universal (R. CABIÉ, *La Pentecôte: l’évolution de la Cinquantaine pascale au cours des cinq premiers siècles*, Tournai, 1965 [*Bibliothèque de liturgie*], p. 97-100; for Constantinople: H. VILLADSEN, “Det tidlige perikopesystem” *art. cit.*, n. 10). This practice is one of the reasons that the homogeneity of the larger series on Acts can no longer be taken for granted. The assumption of series homogeneity in the works of Chrysostom was discredited by the watershed work of W. MAYER, *The Homilies of St John Chrysostom: Provenance. Reshaping the Foundations*, Rome, 2005 (OCA, 273).

A conviction of the sermon's integrity best accounts for these general observations, the specific internal parallels, and the lack of support for Montfaucon's theory of the sermon's origin. That conviction is also ultimately supported by the sermon's textual transmission in the eight mss. collated for this edition. These eight mss. (and here we assume conclusions that will be established below under *Textual History*) descend from two hyparchetypes, namely, α and β . Of the five extant mss. that descend from α , one (P_1) omits the first four paragraphs of the sermon (1.1 – 5.12). This omission does not appear to have been motivated by considerations of content (5.12 coming in the midst of the discussion of Io. 20,19-29), but is rather due to the loss of several folios at the beginning of the sermon. Of the three extant mss. that descend from β , P_2 omits all of the material dealing with John 20,19-29 (3.1–9.3), probably because it was not deemed liturgically suitable for an Ascension sermon. Photius, whose text of the sermon contains notable agreements with P_2 as well as some with α , similarly excludes the material dealing with John, but whether this material was lacking in his text of the sermon or Photius simply chose to omit it as unsuitable for his aims in his *Amphilochia*, is not possible to determine from the available evidence. Similarly, due to the loss of an unknown number of folios from the beginning of the sermon in R, we do not know whether that ms. ever included the material dealing with John 20,19-29. R does, however, contain material from the portion of the sermon omitted by V, which is thus the only witness that omits the portion of the sermon dealing with Lc. 24,49-51 and Act. 1,9-11 (26.4–37.1). This omission, followed by Montfaucon, would seem to have been originally motivated, at least in part, by a concern with the apparent intrusion of the material dealing with Lc. 24,49-51. Be that as it may, none of the major omissions, whether of P_1 , P_2 , or V, is attested by any other extant witness to the text of the sermon. Consequently none of these omissions can have occurred in either of the hyparchetypes, α or β , and therefore none can go back to the archetype Ω . The sermon's textual tradition must therefore be read as transmitting some concern with, but ultimately supporting, the sermon's integrity. In particular, the direct textual tradition, buttressed by the indirect testimony of Photius, supports the authenticity of the portion omitted by Montfaucon.

Taken together, the sermon's internal architecture and parallels, the lack of support for Montfaucon's theory of the sermon's origin, as well as the direct and indirect textual tradition of the sermon, are best explained by supposing *CPG* 4187 to have originated as a single address delivered at a single time and place. Hence the following discussion of location, authorship, and date applies to the sermon as a whole and not merely to individual parts.

Location: Constantinople, Church of the Holy Maccabees

To identify the location of the sermon's delivery, it will be useful to review the circumstances of that delivery. The preacher explains early on in the sermon that on Ascension Day itself his plans "to ascend the Mount of Olives" had been thwarted and that the sermon that day was cut short (§2). When he further remarks that today he is repaying his debt, the debt would seem to include not only delivering additional remarks on the occasion of the feast, but also delivering those remarks on "the Mount of Olives." As we have already observed, the preacher twice discusses the relationship of this Constantinopolitan Mount of Olives, which he calls Elaia, to the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem.³⁷ The church of Constantinople, indeed the whole city, has been honored by God with a namesake of the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem, and that is the most fitting, if not the only acceptable, place for Constantinopolitan orthodox Christians to celebrate the Ascension.³⁸

The after-the-fact celebration of the Ascension that this sermon attests thus took place outside the city proper, across the Golden Horn, at Elaia. This general location is confirmed by a statement of Socrates, the fifth-century church historian and native of Constantinople, who mentions that the eponymously named Elaia is a suburb of the city and the place in which "the city-wide Feast of the Savior's Assumption is customarily celebrated."³⁹ Our sermon provides some precious additional information about that locale. In §33, the preacher cites Act. 1,10: "And while they were gazing into heaven as he went, behold, two men stood by them in white raiment." Then he observes: "The angels appeared in the form of men. That happened on the Mount of Olives. The church has obtained the namesake of this mountain, and there you did not even lack *two men in white raiment*, for instead of two men clad in white, you had there the holy Alkimos and Philemon, the holy martyrs who are always resplendent *in the white rai-*

³⁷ See p. 129-130 above.

³⁸ Cf. 9.5-8 and 33.3-7. On Elaia, see R. JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine: développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1964 (AOC, 4A), p. 456.

³⁹ ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ ἐξ ἑθους ἡ ἀναλήψιμος τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπιτελεῖται πάνδημος ἑορτή (Hist. Eccl. 7.26.2; G. C. HANSEN [ed.], *Sokrates: Kirchengeschichte*, Berlin, 1995 [GCS, n.f. 1], p. 375). This statement is made in connection with the elevation of Sisinnius, predecessor of Nestorius, to the episcopacy of Constantinople in 426. Socrates says that Sisinnius had been a presbyter (πρεσβύτερος) appointed to the priesthood (τὴν ἱεροσύνην) at a church in the suburb of Elaia.

ment of martyrdom.”⁴⁰ A martyrium dedicated to Archippus and Philemon is in fact attested for Elaia in later Byzantine sources, and it seems likely that this passage should be understood as referring to them.⁴¹ Philemon, Apphia, and Archippus were, of course, the recipients of Paul’s letter to Philemon. Archippus is also mentioned at Col. 4,17 and would later be listed as the first bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia in the *Constitutiones apostolorum*, before becoming the subject of a small body of hagiographical literature.⁴² Our preacher’s remarks thus provide quite early attestation for the veneration at Elaia of Philemon and a companion, probably Archippus. Since the preacher lays some emphasis on the fact of their location at Elaia, it is fair to deduce that there was already a shrine to them there. Indeed, Kecskeméti understands the statement, “The church has obtained the namesake of this mountain,” to refer to the very location in which the sermon was delivered: in her view CPG 4187 was delivered in a church named Elaia, after the area where it was located, and in which the two martyrs Archippus and Philemon were venerated. This understanding of our preacher’s remarks, however, appears to be mistaken both as to the name of the church in which the sermon was delivered and as to that church being the location where the two martyrs were venerated. As far as the name of the church is concerned, the preacher does not say that “this church,” that is, the specific building in which he is speaking, is named after the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem. Instead “the church,” which should be understood as a generalizing reference to the community of (orthodox) Christians in Constantinople, has obtained a namesake of the Mount of

⁴⁰ Οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐν ἀνδρῶν σχήματι ἐφάνησαν· ταῦτα ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῶν ἐλαιῶν. Τοῦτου δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν ἔλαχεν ἡ ἐκκλησία· καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖ ἡμοιορήσατε δύο ἄνδρες ἐν ἐσθῇτι λευκῇ. Εἴχετε γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἀντὶ δύο ἀνδρῶν λειψυμιμονούντων τὸν ἄγιον Ἀλκιμον καὶ Φιλήμονα τοὺς ἁγίους μάρτυρας αἱ ἐν ἐσθῇτι λευκῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου λάμποντες (33.2-7).

⁴¹ For the martyrium, see R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l’Empire Byzantin*. I: *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique*. III: *Les églises et les monastères*, Paris, 1969, p. 53. The name Alkimos presents a difficulty since, as Kecskeméti already noted in the *editio princeps* of this part of the sermon, it is not hagiographically attested (*Homélie inédite*, *op. cit.*, n. 5, p. 202-203). It may be that the word ἄλκιμος, “brave”, was originally an epithet for Archippus, who is called “our fellow soldier” (τῷ συστρατιώτῃ ἡμῶν) in Philem. 1, and subsequently taken for a proper name, either by a scribe or by our preacher himself. Apart from this passage, however, such a possibility has left little evidence: the *TLG* corpus contains no clear association of the word ἄλκιμος with either the name Archippus or Philemon. Hence the suggestion that Alkimos is simply a mistake for Archippus may well be correct (so J. KECSEKEMÉTI, *Homélie inédite*, *op. cit.*, n. 5, p. 203; followed by C. DATEMA, “The Rôle of the Martyr”, *art. cit.*, n. 8, p. 63).

⁴² *Const. ap.* 7.46. On Archippus see in particular, F. HALKIN, “Légende inédite de l’Apôtre Archippos” in P. GRANFIELD – J. A. JUNGSMANN (eds.), *Kyriakon*, 2 vols., Münster, 1970, vol. 2, p. 578-79. Reprinted in F. HALKIN, *Recherches et documents d’hagiographie Byzantine*, Brussels, 1971 (*SH*, 51), p. 296-98. *BHG* 2039-2040.

Olives in Jerusalem.⁴³ The namesake is not a specific church, but simply the area known as Elaia. As far as the location of the martyrs' repose is concerned, the preacher twice uses the adverb of place ἐκεῖ, which normally refers to a location at some relative distance from the speaker. If the preacher had been speaking in the very presence of the martyrs, why does he so oddly emphasize their distance from him?⁴⁴

A hagiographical anecdote, first noted by Cyril Mango in connection with the celebration of the Ascension at Constantinople, helps to resolve this riddle.⁴⁵ The anecdote comes from the *Vita Dalmati*. In addition to a few writings of Dalmatus himself, two recensions of this vita are known.⁴⁶ In each of them may be read a story about Dalmatus being awakened from a trance by his spiritual master Isaac on Ascension Day. Though the body of Dalmatus had not moved from the place where it lay, Dalmatus reports having been present in the Spirit for the Ascension Day synaxis at the Church of the Holy Maccabees. Upon being questioned by Isaac about this strange occurrence, Dalmatus was able to accurately report the details of

⁴³ If the words ἡ ἐκκλησίαι (33.3) were intended by the preacher to refer to the specific church building in which he was speaking, we might have expected a demonstrative pronoun and language more along the lines of what, for example, Severian says about the Anastasis in *In ascensionem Domini* (CPG 4236a.7/5028), which, as will be argued below, was almost certainly delivered two days before the present sermon: "This church has become the first fruits of good things for us. God raised this church up first and made a namesake for his own resurrection. And he fittingly adapted the name to the economy. It was fittingly called Anastasis." Γέγονεν ἡμῖν ἡ ἀπαρχὴ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡ ἐκκλησία αὐτῇ. Ταύτην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁ Θεὸς πρῶτον ἤγειρε καὶ ὁμώνυμον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀναστάσει ἀπετέλεσεν. Εἰκότως καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἤρμωσε τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ. Εἰκότως ἀνάστασις ἐλέγετο (CHATZOGLU-BALTA p. 342, 281-284).

⁴⁴ An instructive comparison here is how Chrysostom talks about the martyrs recently reinterred at the martyrion of Romanesias, the location of his own Ascension sermon (CPG 4342; N. RAMBAULT [ed.], *Homélies sur la résurrection*, vol. 2, [SC, 562], p. 148-155). He makes very clear that he is in their immediate presence. Cf. also the pertinent remarks of W. MAYER with B. NEIL, *St. John Chrysostom: The Cult of the Saints*, New York, 2006 (Popular Patristics Series), p. 90.

⁴⁵ C. MANGO, "Constantinople's Mount of Olives and Pseudo-Dorotheus of Tyre", *Néa Rhóme: rivista di ricerche bizantinistiche* 6 (2009), p. 157-70.

⁴⁶ Writings of Dalmatus: CPG 5776-5778; lives: BHG 481-483. BHG 482: A. BANDURI, *Imperium orientale, sive Antiquitates Constantinopolitanae in quatuor partes distributae*, part 4, vol. 2, Paris, 1711, p. 697-705; Venice, 1729, p. 514-519. BHG 483: AASS, *August I*, Paris & Rome, 1867, p. 214-219 (historical commentary); p. 219-225 (Latin text of Banduri, with annotations). BHG 481, a different recension: M. GEDEON, *Βυζαντινὸν Ἑορτολόγιον: Μνήμαι τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δ' μέχρι τοῦ ΙΕ' αἰῶνος ἐορταζομένων ἁγίων ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει*, Constantinople, 1899, p. 144-148. On Dalmatus, the lives written about him, and his involvement in the Council of Ephesus 431, see in particular D. CANER, *Wandering, Begging Monks: Spiritual Authority and the Promotion of Monasticism in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley, 2002, p. 217-223.

the service and even said that he had sat next to the Patriarch Atticus.⁴⁷ The incidental liturgical details that the account reveals, in particular the presence of the bishop at the celebration and its location in the Church of the Holy Maccabees, are what interest us here. Although the *Vita Dalmati* has not been securely dated, there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of these details, especially since they agree with what Socrates and the preacher of our sermon each say about the location of the Ascension Day celebrations in fifth-century Constantinople, for the Church of the Holy Maccabees was located at the foot of Elaia.⁴⁸ Since Atticus became bishop of the city in 406 and the death of Isaac can be dated to 416 or shortly thereafter,⁴⁹ the anecdote in the *Vita Dalmati* attests the celebration of the Ascension at the Church of the Holy Maccabees within a decade or so of Severian's sojourn in Constantinople, if we may assume for a moment the sermon's Severianic authorship, to be demonstrated in the next section of the introduction. The sermon is therefore very likely to have been delivered in the same location mentioned in the *Vita Dalmati*, namely, at the Church of the Holy Maccabees. However, in CPG 4187 the preacher's remarks about Alkimos and Philemon, who are not in his immediate

⁴⁷ On Isaac, an important early monastic figure in Constantinople and one of the accusers of John Chrysostom at the Synod of the Oak, see Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 59 (R. HENRY [ed.], *Photius. Bibliothèque. 1: Codices 1-84*, Paris, 1959 [*Collection byzantine*], p. 53); D. CANER, *Wandering, Begging Monks*, p. 217-19; N. LENSKI, "Valens and the Monks: Cudgeling, and Conscriptio as a Means of Social Control", *DOP* (2004) p. 93-117 (esp. p. 109-110); and P. HATLIE, *The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople, ca. 350 – 850*, Cambridge, 2007, p. 66-69. BHG 481, the text that Mango cites, refers not to the patriarch Atticus (sed. 405-25) but rather to Nectarius (sed. 381-97). The chronological problems with locating the early career of Dalmatus and especially the death of Isaac in the episcopacy of Nectarius were already noted in the edition by Gedeon and elaborated by J. PARGOIRE, (Review of) "MANUEL J. GÉDÉON. ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ ΕΡΓΟΛΟΓΙΩΝ, I^{re} partie, Constantinople, 1895-1898", *EO* 2/5 (1899), p. 249-252. Cf. J. PARGOIRE, "Date de la mort de saint Isaac", *EO* 2/4 (1899), p. 138-145. The motivation for placing the death of Isaac in the episcopacy of Nectarius was to posthumously absolve Isaac of his opposition to Chrysostom at the Synod of the Oak (so N. LENSKI, "Valens and the Monks", p. 107-09).

⁴⁸ On the Church of the Holy Maccabees, see C. MANGO, "Constantinople's Mount of Olives", *art. cit.*, n. 45 p. 162-163, 168-169; and R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique*, *op. cit.*, n. 41, p. 325 (no. 2). Cf. the description of its location by Pargoire, "Les homélies de saint Jean Chrysostome en juillet 399," *EO* 3/3 (1900) 151-162 (160.n.2bis). In his sermon *De Eleazaro et de septem pueris* (CPG 4441.13), Chrysostom remarks that going to this church entailed a journey of a few stadia across the water (PG 63, col. 530), as originally noted in the same article of Pargoire (p. 160), and repeated by Mango (p. 168). On the probably Constantinopolitan provenance of this sermon, see W. MAYER, *The Homilies of St. John Chrysostom*, *op. cit.*, n. 36, p. 498-504, cf. p. 243.

⁴⁹ On the date of Isaac's death, see in particular A. CAMERON – J. LONG, *Barbarians and Politics at the Court of Arcadius*, Berkeley, 1993 (*The Transformation of the Classical Heritage*, 19), p. 72-75.

presence but rather ἐκεῖ, “over there,” forbid us from supposing that the Church of the Holy Maccabees was also the location where the two martyrs were venerated. Instead they seem to have been venerated at their own shrine, which must have been somewhere in or near the olive-growing area known as Elaia.⁵⁰

Authorship: Severian of Gabala

Although Marx’s attribution of our sermon to Severian of Gabala has been accepted by most scholars of Severian, close examination reveals the parallels cited by Marx to be of mixed value for establishing the sermon’s authorship. Although some are convincing, many others would make for interesting comparanda provided that common authorship is assumed, but they are not probative in and of themselves.⁵¹ Because of this variability in the evidence cited by Marx, and because of Uthemann’s minority voice in advocating more exacting standards for attribution of sermons to Severian, it seems appropriate here to lay out here the internal evidence we have found for the Severianic authorship of *CPG* 4187. The arguments include the internal indications of location and date, the occurrence of Severianic stock phrases, as well as both brief and extended parallels with the other sermons of Severian preserved in Greek.

Since the present sermon provides clear indications of its Constantinopolitan provenance, candidates for authorship can be reasonably limited to figures with a homiletic output linked to that city.⁵² In addition to this

⁵⁰ To this point, we have proceeded on the assumption that when our preacher says, Εἴχετε γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἀντὶ δύο ἀνδρῶν λευχειμονούντων τὸν ἅγιον Ἀλκιμον καὶ Φιλήμονα, τοὺς ἁγίους μάρτυρας, αἱ ἐν ἐσθῇτι λευκῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου λάμποντας (33.5-7), he means, “For instead of two men clad in white, you had there the holy Alkimos and Philemon, the holy martyrs who are always resplendent *in the white raiment* of martyrdom.” But it would be entirely possible to take τοῦ μαρτυρίου in the concrete sense and translate, “the holy martyrs who are always resplendent *in the white raiment* of the martyrrium.” If that is what is meant, we have an early reference to the shrine of the two martyrs and a strengthened case for distinguishing the location of the sermon’s delivery from the location of the martyrs’ repose since if the two locations were identical, we would again expect to find a demonstrative expression such as “this martyrrium.”

⁵¹ In still other instances, the references Marx provides appear to contain typographical errors; such errors hinder assessment of the evidence Marx adduces and unfortunately plague Marx’s publications.

⁵² Referring to the Mount of Olives, the preacher states: Ἐτίμησε δὲ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ τοῦ ὄρους· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἐξ ὄρους τοῦ λεγομένου ἐλαιῶνος ἀνελήφθη ὁ Σωτὴρ, καὶ ὧδε ὁμονύμως ἡ λεγομένη ἐλαία πεφύτευται (9.5-8). Marx appealed to this passage, which was partly quoted above, and in particular to the terms ἐκεῖ and ὧδε in support of his argument for the sermon’s Constantinopolitan provenance. This argument

geographical limitation, the sermon also enables observations about contemporary liturgical practice that help to date the sermon in general terms and thus narrow the list of candidates. The first such observation concerns the day's gospel reading, Io. 20,19-29. Reading this passage on the Saturday after Ascension is consistent with the practice of reading through John in the period between Easter and Pentecost.⁵³ Reading this passage on the Saturday after Ascension would also appear to antedate the relocation of the passage to the Sunday after Easter in the emerging Constantinopolitan lectionary system. If the sermon *In s. apostolum Thomam* (CPG 5832) attributed to Proclus of Constantinople (sed. 434-446) is authentic, it would attest the existence of a Thomas Sunday in Constantinople at the time of its delivery, which would in turn constitute the terminus ante quem for CPG 4187. The attribution of CPG 5832, however, remains unproven, and in any case, the possibility that Io. 20,19-29 was read for a time both on the Saturday after Ascension and on the Sunday after Easter, cannot be ruled out.⁵⁴ The presence of the Thomas pericope is therefore suggestive of an early fifth-century date for CPG 4187, but hardly decisive. A second liturgical observation, however, confirms an approximately early-fifth century date for the sermon. Commenting on the forty-day post-resurrection period mentioned in Act. 1,3, our preacher observes: "The assumption was in fact the day before yesterday, since forty days are completed from the resurrection to the assumption. For on the fiftieth day, it was not the assumption, but the visitation of the Holy Spirit."⁵⁵ Not only do

has been generally accepted; the remarks at 33.3-7, in the portion omitted by Montfaucon, confirm Marx's judgment on this point.

⁵³ For evidence of this practice and its relevance to the origin of the Feast of Mid-Pentecost, see Martin KAISER, "Das Mesopentekoste-Fest. Bezeugung, Charakter, Entstehung", in R. W. BISHOP et al. (eds.), *Preaching after Easter, op. cit.*, n. 6, p. 87-103, esp. p. 100-103. For assessment of Severian's evidence for Constantinople, see VILLADSEN, "Det tidlige perikopesystem", *art. cit.*, n. 10, p. 118-122.

⁵⁴ This latter observation we owe to conversation with Harald Buchinger. In any case, it does not seem that Severian chose to have Io. 20,19-29 read; rather, it was read and he felt compelled to say something about it. An edition of CPG 5832 may be found in F. J. LEROY, *L'Homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople. Tradition manuscrite, inédits, études connexes* (ST, 247) Vatican, 1967, p. 230-251. This edition has been praised by M. AUBINEAU, who however also critiques Leroy's methodology for determining authorship; in the case of CPG 5832, Aubineau considers that an adequate case for Proclan authorship has yet to be made: "Bilan d'une enquête sur les homélies de Proclus de Constantinople", *REG* 85 (1972), p. 572-596, esp. p. 593-594.

⁵⁵ Καὶ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς χθὲς ἦν ἡ ἀνάληψις, ἐπειδὴ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραι πληροῦνται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως μέχρι τῆς ἀναλήψεως· τῇ γὰρ πεντηκοστῇ οὐκ ἦν ἀνάληψις, ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐπιφοίτησις (13.12-15). The omission of this statement in P₂, an omission attested in no other ms. collated for this edition, is due to haplography: the scribe has jumped from βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ in 13.12 to the occurrence of the same phrase in 14.2, omitting the

we learn here that the sermon was delivered two days after celebration of the Ascension, which took place on the fortieth day after Easter, we also observe the preacher telling his audience that the fiftieth day after Easter, the Day of Pentecost, is associated not with Christ's ascension but rather with the visitation of the Holy Spirit. Such a remark, all the more valuable for being off-hand, only makes sense at an early point in the history of the Ascension Feast, when its celebration on the fiftieth day was still a liturgical possibility, or at least a memory to some. The remark thus suggests a date sometime in the last quarter of the fourth century, or the first quarter of the fifth.⁵⁶ With these geographic and chronological limitations in mind, we can now turn to the stylistic evidence.

Over the course of the twentieth century, Severian scholars have identified a number of brief phrases that recur, apparently almost automatically, in his sermons. Although such phrases are not exclusive to his writings, most scholars have considered them to be markers of his style.⁵⁷ A number of these stock phrases are found in *CPG* 4187, in both major parts of the sermon, including the omitted portion (26.4–37.1): *πρόσεχε παρακαλῶ* (5.1-2; 5.6; 7.23; 11.21; 13.6; 14.1; 15.32; 20.1; 28.1; 36.17);⁵⁸ *ὅρα τὸ θαυμαστόν*: 36.9 (plural verb); 38.1; 38.20; *ὅρα πῶς*: 5.2; 7.17; cf. 19.8;⁵⁹ *διὰ τί*: 1.34-35; 4.33; 5.14; 16.6; 22.7; 30.18; *ἀδελφοί* in direct address: 36.9; 40.11;⁶⁰ *σωτήρ*: 39 times.⁶¹ The occurrence of such phrases is not of course sufficient in itself to establish Severianic authorship, but it may form part of a larger case.

intervening material. Hence the omission communicates nothing about the sermon's original liturgical circumstances or the liturgical circumstances of the scribe of P₂. Montfaucon, followed by the PG, unaccountably splits the difference by omitting with P₂ the sentence cited above (*Καὶ γὰρ – ἐπιφοίτησις* [13.12-15]), yet retaining the ensuing scriptural citation, also omitted by P₂ (*Πρόσεχε – Θεοῦ* [14.1-3]).

⁵⁶ For the celebration of the Ascension on the fiftieth day, see: G. KRETSCHMAR, "Himmelfahrt und Pfingsten", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 66/3 (1954-1955), p. 209-253; R. CABIÉ, *La Pentecôte*, *op. cit.*, n. 36, p. 127-142; G. ROUWHORST, "The Origins and Evolution of Early Christian Pentecost" in *Studia Patristica* 35, eds. M. F. WILES and E. J. YARNOLD, Louvain, 2001, p. 309-322; and now H. BUCHINGER, "Pentekoste, Pfingsten und Himmelfahrt" in R. W. BISHOP et al. (eds.) *Preaching after Easter*, *op. cit.*, n. 6.

⁵⁷ For an extensive list of such phrases, see M. AUBINEAU, *Un traité inédit*, *op. cit.*, n. 11, p. 49-52; cf. J. J. OOSTERHUIS - DEN OTTER, *Four Pseudo-Chrysostomian Homilies*, *op. cit.*, n. 12, p. 202-203.

⁵⁸ *πρόσεχε ἀκριβῶς* (7.11); *πρόσεχε* (5.14; 19.14; 29.4; 37.8).

⁵⁹ *Ὅρα πῶς* (23.11-12).

⁶⁰ Severian exhibits a preference for this term over, for example, *ἀγαπητοί* (so S. J. VOICU, "In illud: Quando ipsi subiecit omnia", *art. cit.*, n. 12, p. 7-8), which does not occur in *CPG* 4187.

⁶¹ Only one occurrence of this title is from a scriptural citation (39.13). By contrast, there are 26 occurrences of *Χριστός*, excluding scriptural citations, and 14 occurrences in scriptural citations. Many of the 26 are of course influenced by those citations.

In addition to these stock phrases, our sermon contains a number of relatively brief parallels with other sermons in Severian's Greek corpus:⁶²

ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τινὰ εὐδίων λιμένα καταφεύγομεν (1.4-5) // τῶν κυμάτων τὴν ζάλην φεύγοντες, ἐπὶ τὸν εὐδίων λιμένα τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ σκάφος ὁρμήσωμεν (Haidacher 159, 18-19).⁶³

ποῦ φανήσεται λόγου βραχυτάτου ψεκᾶς, τοσοῦτου πελάγους σοφίας προκειμένου; (1.22-23) // ποῦ φανήσεται βραχυτάτη λόγου ψεκᾶς τοσαύτης ἀξίας λόγου προκειμένης (Haidacher 151, 21-22); cf. νεφέλη τοσαύτη οὐρανίοις ὁμοῖοις κοσμῶσα οὐκ ἀποσιεῖται τὴν ψεκᾶδα τῆς ἡμετέρας γλώσσης (Martin 314, 21-22).⁶⁴

Καὶ ὥσπερ φιλόστοργοι πατέρες, ἐπειδὴν ἴδωσι τοὺς παῖδας ψελλίζοντας καὶ χολεύοντας τῇ λέξει, οὐ πρὸς τὸ ἄναρθρον βλέπουσι τοῦ λόγου . . . οὕτω καὶ ὁ Θεός (1.26-31) // Καὶ ὥσπερ πατὴρ ἀγαθός, ἐπειδὴν ἴδῃ τὸν παῖδα περιλήγναι [Savile proposes: περὶ παλίνγια] ἔχο-

⁶² We have not included parallels from the catena material found in K. STAAB (ed.), *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche. Aus Katenenhandschriften gesamm. und hrsggeg. von Karl Staab*, Münster, 1933 (*Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen*, 15), and we leave it to other scholars to identify parallels between CPG 4187 and the Severianic texts preserved in languages other than Greek. The parallels we adduce here have been culled from a variety of scholarly articles as well as our own reading. We cite a passage from CPG 4187 first followed by one or more parallels. For each sermon cited, we indicate judgments about its authenticity from the three most prominent lists of Severian's Greek corpus (C. DATEMA, "Towards a Critical Edition", *art. cit.*, n. 6; K.-H. UTHEMANN, "Severian von Gabala", *art. cit.*, n. 11; S. J. VOICU, "Evidence of Authenticity", *art. cit.* n. 6, which updates the list found in the same author's *DSp* article, "Sévérien de Gabala"). We also make incidental observations about the general frequency of various expressions based on our consultation of the *TLG* (consulted in late 2015 and early 2016). It should be borne in mind that the *TLG* currently lacks most of Severian's corpus of sermons.

⁶³ *In illud: Quando ipsi subiecit omnia* (CPG 4761) in S. HAIDACHER, "Drei unedierte Chrysostomus-Texte einer Baseler Handschrift. II", *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 31 (1907), p. 141-171. Datema considers this sermon authentic, while Uthemann lists it among the dubia; Voicu argues for Severianic authorship in: "In illud: Quando ipsi subiecit omnia", *art. cit.*, n.12. For other Severianic references to a εὐδίων λιμῆν, see S. J. VOICU, "Evidence of Authenticity", *art. cit.* n. 6, p. 418. According to the *TLG*, the imagery of fleeing (forms of φεύγω, with or without prepositional prefixes) to a εὐδίων λιμῆν occurs only a handful of times outside of Severian.

⁶⁴ *In illud: Pater, transeat a me calix iste* (CPG 4215) in C. MARTIN, "Note sur l'homélie de Sévérien de Gabala *In illud: Pater, transeat a me calix iste* (Mt. 26,39)", *Mus* 48 (1935), 311-321 and J. ZELLINGER, *Studien zu Severian*, *op. cit.*, n. 2, p. 10-21. Cf. the incipit of Basil of Seleucia, *In Cainum et Abelum* (PG 85, col. 61, 39-41): Πάλιν ἡμᾶς ὁ τῆς διδασκαλίας νόμος πρὸς τὸ λέγειν ἀνίστησι· πάλιν τὴν μικρὰν ἡμῶν ψεκᾶδα τὸν πνευματικὸν ἀρδεῦσαι παράδεισον ἐκδιάζεται. Datema posits, given the rarity of likening a sermon to a drop, that Basil must have borrowed this image from his reading of one or another of Severian's sermons (*De stamellende orator*, *op. cit.*, n. 7, p. 9-10). Datema, Uthemann, and Voicu all count CPG 4215 as authentic.

ντα, τῆς μὲν ἀγορᾶς αὐτον ἀφέλκει . . . οὕτως καὶ ὁ Θεὸς βουλόμενος αὐτους (PG 52, col., 831,19-24).⁶⁵

ἐν τοῖς ὑπαναγνωσθεῖσι σήμερον (3.1-2) // ὁ σωτὴρ ἐν τοῖς σήμερον ὑπαναγνωσθεῖσιν . . . λέγων (Aubineau 1.10);⁶⁶ cf. Εἰπωμεν τοίνυν τοῦ Μονογενοῦς τὴν ἀγαθότητα ἐκ τῶν ἀρτίως ὑπανεγνωσμένων (Martin 315, 18-19).

Τέλος γὰρ εἶχε τὰ τῶν σαββάτων . . . Πῶς ὁ μακάριος Ματθαῖος περιγράφων τὰ σάββατα, ἀρχὴν δὲ εἰσάγων τῶν ἀγίων Κυριακῶν, ἔλεγεν Ὅψὲ σαββάτων; Τέλος γὰρ ἦν, καὶ ὁψὲ τῶν πρώτων σαββάτων (3.11-15) // βουληθεῖσα δεῖξαι ἡ γραφή, πῶς τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ διαλύεται, τὰ δὲ νέα ἀνθεῖ καὶ εἰς εὐπρέρειαν πρόεισιν, Ἀνέστη, φησιν, ὁψὲ σαββάτων ποτέ. Ἐκεῖνο γὰρ τὸ σάββατον περιώρισε πάντα τὰ σάββατα. Ἀλλ' ὁψὲ σαββάτων σαββάτων τὸ τέλος ἦν ἐκεῖνο τὸ σάββατον (Uthemann et al. 186, 47-52).⁶⁷

ἡ θνητὴ φύσις (5.11) // PG 56, col. 510, 22;⁶⁸ Regtuit 246, 194, 198-99;⁶⁹ Chatzoglou-Balta 333, 21-22; 338, 163-64;⁷⁰ Kecskeméti 133, 13.⁷¹

⁶⁵ *De Christo pastore et oue* (CPG 4189) in PG 52, col. 827-836. Uthemann classifies this sermon among the dubia; Datema and Voicu count it authentic. S. KIM adduces a parallel between this passage of CPG 4187 and one from CPG 4235, a Severianic text preserved complete only in Georgian: “L’homélie géorgienne CPG 4235 et le cod. 277 de la « Bibliothèque » de Photius”, OC 98 (2015), p. 99-108.

⁶⁶ *De centurione et contra Manichaeos et Apollinaristas* (CPG 4230) in M. AUBINEAU, *Un traité inédit*, op. cit., n. 11. According to the TLG, forms of the verb ὑπαναγιγνώσκω occur with σήμερον a handful of times outside of Severian: Ps-Chrysostom, *In Psalmum 100* (PG 55, col. 629, 52); Ps-Chrysostom, *In laudem sancti Joannis theologi, homilia 1* (PG 61, col. 719, 39); in a statement attributed to Nesios of Corybrassos in the Acts of Ephesus 451 (E. SCHWARTZ, *ACO*, vol. 1.1.2, Berlin, 1927, p. 18, 30); Photius, *Homilia 6* (B. LAOURDAS, *ΦΩΤΙΟΥ ΟΜΙΛΙΑΙ*, Ἑλληνικά 12 Παράρτημα, Thessalonica, 1966, p. 64, 5); and Philagathus, *Homilia 5* (G. ROSSI TAIBBI, *Filagato da Cerami Omelie per i vangeli domenicali e le feste di tutto l'anno*, Palermo, 1969, [Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, *Testi e Monumenti*, 11] 1.2). None of these occurrences, however, match the parallel phrases cited above, which appear to be unique to Severian.

⁶⁷ *Contra Iudaeos et Graecos et haereticos* (CPG 4233 and 5027) in K.-H. UTHEMANN – R. F. REGTUIT – J. M. TEVEL (eds.) *Homiliae Pseudo-Chrysostomicae. Instrumentum studiorum*, vol. 1, Turnhout, 1994, p. 185-201. Classed among the dubia by Uthemann; authenticity accepted by Datema and Voicu.

⁶⁸ *De serpente homilia* (CPG 4196) in PG 56, col. 499-516. Authenticity of this sermon is accepted by Datema, Uthemann, and Voicu. The expression itself is common.

⁶⁹ *In incarnationem Domini* (CPG 4204) in R. F. REGTUIT, *Homily on the Incarnation*, op. cit., n. 18. Classed among the dubia by Uthemann; authenticity accepted by Voicu and Datema.

⁷⁰ *In ascensionem Domini* (CPG 4236a.7/5028) in E. S. CHATZOGLU-BALTA, “Ἐξ λόγοι εἰς τὴν Ἀνάληψιν”, art. cit., n. 6. Uthemann classes this sermon among the dubia; Datema accepts its authenticity and Voicu convincingly defends it in “Evidence of Authenticity”, art. cit., n. 6.

⁷¹ *In illud: Genimina viperarum* (Matth. 23, 33; Luc. 3, 7) (CPG 4236.3/4947) in J. KECSEKEMÉTI, *Homélie inédite*, op. cit., n. 5. Accepted as authentic by Datema, Uthemann, and Voicu.

Ὅμοιόν ἐστι τὸ ἐρευνᾶν πλευρὰν Χριστοῦ καὶ τύπους ἥλων, τῷ λέγειν· Πῶς ἐγεννήθη; Μᾶλλον δὲ οὐχ ὅμοιον. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπεζήτει ἰδεῖν τύπους ἥλων, ἐν σαρκὶ ὁρωμένους καὶ αἰσθήσει ὑποπίπτοντας, ἐπεθύμει ἰδεῖν πρᾶγμα γεγενημένον, ὃ καὶ προήδει. Σὺ δὲ πολυπραγμονῶν φύσιν ἀθεώρητον, οὐσίαν ἀκατάληπτον, γέννησιν ἄρρητον, τὸν γεννήσαντα ἄφραστον, τὸν γεννηθέντα ἀκατάληπτον (7.29-35) // Εἴτα τὸ ὄν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος οὐκ οἶδας εἰπεῖν πῶς ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸν ὄντα ἐκ τοῦ ὄντος τολμήσεις πολυπραγμονεῖν πῶς ἐγεννήθη; (PG 56, col. 441, 23-25);⁷² Ἐὰν δὲ ἐρωτήσης· «Τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ Χριστός, καὶ πῶς ἐγεννήθη;» πολυπραγμονῶν τὸ θεῖον γέννημα (Regtuit 236, 50-51); εἰ δὲ ὅπως ἐγεννήθη πολυπραγμονεῖς, μάθε παρ' ἡμῶν. Τὴν γερεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγῆσεται; (Regtuit 236, 53-55).

Ἀκουέτωσαν οἱ αἰρετικοί (8.2-3) // Ἀκουέτωσαν οἱ αἰρετικοί (PG 56, col. 480, 34-35) πάλιν ἀκουέτωσαν αἰρετικοί (PG 56, col. 482, 21-22).⁷³

καὶ ἴδωμεν τίνα ἡμῖν ἐπραγματεύσατο ἡ σωτήριος ἀνάληψις (9.12-13) // ἡ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀνάληψις ὅλω τῷ γένει τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐπραγματεύσατο (Chatzoglou-Balta 335, 64-65).⁷⁴

⁷² *De mundi creatione oratio 2* (CPG 4194.2) in PG 56, col. 438-447. Datema, Uthemann, and Voicu count the whole series of six sermons authentic. The critique of excessive curiosity about the divine nature and the generation of the Son is a topos of patristic literature since the days of Hippolytus and Eusebius of Caesarea. What is of concern here is whether the precise formulations identified are characteristic of Severian and whether they occur regularly outside his works. Although the question πῶς ἐγεννήθη is relatively common (at least 30 instances in the TLG corpus), its occurrence near any form of πολυπραγμονεῖν is quite rare. The TLG reports only one instance of that combination outside of Severian: Hippolytus, *Contra haeresin Noeti* 16.6, line 3 in R. BUTTERWORTH (ed.), *Hippolytus of Rome. Contra Noetum*, London, 1977, p. 43-93. On the theme in Severian, cf. the remarks of J. ZELLINGER, *Studien zu Severian*, op. cit., n. 2, p. 162.

⁷³ *De mundi creatione oratio 5* (CPG 4194.5) in PG 56, col. 471-484. Although the imperativ form ἀκουέτωσαν occurs 391 times in the current TLG corpus, the instances in which the form has αἰρετικοί as a subject are considerably more rare, and when they do occur, they also have a genitive object, which is lacking in the instances cited above. E.g.: Ἀκουέτωσαν οἱ αἰρετικοί τῆς πνευματικῆς φωνῆς (Chrysostom, *In epistulam ad Romanos* 2 [PG 60, col. 409, 53-54]); cf. Ps-Chrysostom, *In sancta lumina sive In baptismum et in tentationem* 4.5, 2. 153 (K.-H. UTHEMANN, *Die Pseudo-Chrysostomische Predigt In baptismum et tentationem* [BHG 1936m, CPG 4735]: kritische Edition mit Einleitung, Heidelberg, 1994, p. 131 [Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse 3]); Theodoret of Cyrillus on Heb. 3, 12 in *Interpretatio in xiv epistulas sancti Pauli* (PG 82, col. 700, 16-17); Anastasius of Sinai, *Viae dux* 13.6, 73-75 (K.-H. UTHEMANN, *Anastasius Sinaitae viae dux*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1981 [CCSG 8]).

⁷⁴ The TLG reports no instances of any form of the noun ἀνάληψις in close proximity to any form of the verb πραγματεύω.

Ὡς τῆς πολλῆς ἀγαθότητος! (16.4-5) // ὦ τῆς πολλῆς ἀγαθότητος τοῦ δεσπότου! (PG 59, col. 603, 65-66);⁷⁵ PG 49, col. 334, 42-43, 44-45.⁷⁶

τοῖς γεγραμμένοις στοιχοῦμεν (20.11) // τοῖς γεγραμμένοις στοιχοῦμεν (Oosterhuis-den Otter 240, 99);⁷⁷ ἀλλὰ τοῖς γεγραμμένοις στοιχοῦμεν (PG 59, col. 608, 52-53);⁷⁸ cf. Σὺ δὲ τοὺς κανόνας ὑπερβαίνων, οὐ στοιχεῖς ταῖς θεοπνεύστοις Γραφαῖς, ἀλλὰ πολυπραγμονεῖς τὰ θεῖα (PG 56, col. 416, 2-4).⁷⁹

Πῶς ἐγέννησεν ὁ Πατήρ; Τίς ὁ τῆς θείας γεννήσεως τρόπος; (24.13-14) // πῶς ἐγέννησεν ὁ Πατήρ, τίς ὁ τῆς θείας γεννήσεως τρόπος; (PG 56, col. 420, 12-14).⁸⁰ Cf. πῶς ἐγέννησε (PG 56, col. 445, 27).⁸¹

⁷⁵ *De caeco et Zacchaeo* (CPG 4592) in PG 59, col. 599-610. This sermon is classed among the dubia by Uthemann, but accepted as authentic by Datema and Voicu. The exclamation itself is rare outside of Severian. The *TLG* reports one occurrence, in John of Damascus, *Oratio in Sabbatum sanctum* 11.8 (B. KOTTER [ed.], *Opera homiletica et hagiographica*, Berlin/New York, 1988, [PTS, 29; *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, 5], p. 121-146). There is also one nearly identical occurrence (Ὡς πολλῆς ἀγαθότητος) in the fourth-century figure known as Adamantius, *De recta in deum fide*, 70, line 19 (W. H. VAN DE SANDE BAKHUYZEN [ed.], *Der Dialog des Adamantius: Περὶ τῆς εἰς θεὸν ὁρθῆς πίστεως*, Leipzig, 1901 [GCS, 4], p. 2-242).

⁷⁶ *De paenitentia et compunctione* (CPG 4186) in PG 49, col. 323-336. This sermon is accepted as authentic by Datema, Uthemann, and Voicu.

⁷⁷ *In Iob sermo 3* (CPG 4564.3) in J. J. OOSTERHUIS-DEN OTTER, *Four Pseudo-Chrysostomian Homilies*, op. cit., n. 12, p. 236-255. The Severianic authorship of sermons 2-4 of this series was first advocated by S. J. Voicu, "Nuove restituzioni", art. cit., n. 12, p. 14-16. Datema considers more investigation necessary and Uthemann classifies these sermons among the dubia. See, however, the discussion of the issue in OOSTERHUIS-DEN OTTER (p. 200-209), including one instance where a fragment of homily 4 has been attributed to Severian in a catena. Based on her research, there would seem to be no further reason to doubt the authenticity of homilies 2-4. Prior to the ninth century, participial forms of γράφω in collocation with the verb στοιχέω are quite rare. The *TLG* reports only two occurrences, both from the same work: Ps-Athanasius, *De incarnatione contra Apollinarium libri ii* (PG 26, col. 1108, 8-9). There are a handful of other occurrences after the ninth century.

⁷⁸ *De caeco et Zacchaeo* (CPG 4592).

⁷⁹ *In illud: In qua potestate* (CPG 4193) in PG 56, col. 411-428. Datema, Uthemann, and Voicu accept the authenticity of this sermon.

⁸⁰ *In illud: In qua potestate* (CPG 4193). Outside of Severian, and prior to the 11th century, approximations to the expression ὁ τῆς θείας γεννήσεως τρόπος occur in Basil of Caesarea and Cyril of Alexandria. For Basil see, *Ep.* 52. 3,13 (Y. COURTONNE, *Saint Basile. Lettres*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, vol. 1, 1957); *In sanctam Christi generationem* (PG 31, col. 1460, 1-2); and for Cyril, *Commentarii in Joannem* (P.E. PUSEY, *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in D. Joannis evangelium*, 3 vols., Oxford, 1872, vol. 1, p. 19, line 22, vol. 1, p. 252, line 15); *De sancta trinitate dialogi i-vii* (G.-M. DE DURAND, *Cyrille d'Alexandrie. Dialogues sur la Trinité*, SC 231, 237, 246, Paris, Cerf, Aubert p. 443, line 35, Aubert p. 452, line 20-2); *Glaphyra in Pentateuchum* (PG 69, col. 432, 36-37); *Thesaurus de sancta consubstantiali trinitate* (PG 75, col. 57, 40-41; col. 61, 4-5; col. 76, 44-45). None of these passages, however, have a similar combination of questions as those cited above for Severian. The closest we come is a final passage from Cyril of Alexandria: Ἀλλ' εἰ μέ τις

Εἰ ἀλλότριον τοῦτο ἐκείνου, πῶς ὑδρίζεται ἔνδυμα βασιλικόν, ἐπιτιθέμενον τινί οὐκ ὄντι βασιλεῖ; (27.2-3) // Ἐνδυμα βασιλικόν ἐὰν ὑδρίσῃς, οὐ τὸν ἐνδεδυσμένον ὑδρίζεις; (PG 63, col. 544, 7-9).⁸²

Additionally, in §29-30 of *CPG* 4187, an appeal to Ps. 149,8-9 is supplemented with a lengthy discussion of the parable of the talents (Lc. 19,11-27 conflated with Mt. 25,14-30). A passage in the sermon *Encomium in sanctos martyres* (*CPG* 4950) similarly has a lengthy treatment of Ps. 149,6-9, supplemented with a reference to Lc. 19,27.⁸³ A mere confluence of two scriptural texts in a pair of sermons would normally tell us little, but the way the two sermons conclude their respective discussions is more striking. In *CPG* 4187, after citing the scriptural text, *Τοῦ δῆσαι τοὺς βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἐν πέδαις, καὶ τοὺς ἐνδόξους αὐτῶν ἐν χειροπέδαις σιδηραῖς· τοῦ ποιῆσαι ἐν αὐτοῖς κοῤῥημα ἔγγραπτον* (Ps. 149,8-9a), the preacher concludes: *Εἴτα τούτων οὕτως γινομένων, τί ἔσται; Δόξα αὕτῃ ἐστὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὁσίοις αὐτοῦ* (Ps. 149,9b [29.27-29]). In *CPG* 4950, again after citing Ps. 149,8-9, we read: *Καὶ τούτων γινομένων, τί ἔσται; Δόξα αὕτῃ ἐστὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὁσίοις αὐτοῦ* (Ps. 149,9b [Uthemann et al. 115, 337-38]).⁸⁴

βούλοιο τὸν τῆς γεννήσεως τῆς θείας ἀφηγήσασθαι τρόπον, ἔροίτο τε προσιών. Πῶς οὖν ἡ θεία γεγέννηκε φύσις (*Epistulae paschales sive Homiliae paschales* 12.3, 90 in W. H. BURNS [ed.], *Cyrille d'Alexandrie. Lettres Festales, Tome 3: Lettres 12-17*, Paris, 1998 [SC, 434]).

⁸¹ *De mundi creatione oratio* 2 (*CPG* 4194.2).

⁸² *De sigillis sermo* (*CPG* 4209) in PG 63, col. 531-544. This sermon is accepted as authentic by Datema, Uthemann, and Voicu. As indicated by the *TLG*, the words ὑδρίζω, ἔνδυμα, and βασιλικός do not otherwise occur in close proximity, except for the citation of this very passage under the name of Chrysostom by John of Damascus, *Orationes de imaginibus* tres 2.61 line 3 (B. KOTTER [ed.], *Contra imaginum calumniatores orationes tres*, Berlin, 1975, [PTS, 17; *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, 3], p. 65-200). On the career of Severianic texts during the iconoclastic controversy, see K.-H. UTHEMANN, "Severian von Gabala in Florilegien zum Bilderkult", *OCP* 66/1 (2000), p. 5-47; V. DÉROCHE, "Pas la planche: un fondement patristique inattendu de la polémique iconodoule sur les images chez Sévérien de Gabala", in T. ANTONOPOULOU – S. KOTZABASSI – M. LOUKAKI (eds.), *Myriobiblos: Essays on Byzantine Literature and Culture*, Boston/Berlin/Munich, 2015 (*BA*, 29), p. 99-102.

⁸³ In *CPG* 4187, the whole point of adducing the parable of the talents (or minas in Lukan language), is to justify the preacher's assertion that at the second coming, Christ's enemies will be "slain," which the preacher takes in a figurative sense. Unaccountably, after a lengthy retelling of the parable, the preacher paraphrases the key verse ("bring them here and slay them before me" Lc. 19,27) without actually citing it. *CPG* 4950, which lacks the larger retelling of the parable, does not hesitate to cite Lc. 19,27.

⁸⁴ *Encomium in sanctos martyres* (*CPG* 4950) in K.-H. UTHEMANN et al. (eds.), *Homiliae Pseudo-Chrysostomicae, op. cit.*, n. 67, p. 107-117. Uthemann lists this sermon among the dubia; Datema considers it a possibility requiring further investigation; Voicu considers it authentic.

The foregoing brief parallels concern in many cases relatively rare expressions. Because such parallels cannot all be dismissed as coincidental, they suggest some kind of connection between our sermon and the various passages compared. Uthemann, however, has argued that such parallels are less significant than they appear in a situation where multiple preachers may have preached in succession and thus have influenced each other. It might also be objected that the authorship of some of the sermons providing the brief parallels has not been universally accepted. To meet these objections we now turn to three sermons of Severian, the authorship of which is not in dispute. Each of these sermons contains a lengthy passage that exhibits extensive parallels with a corresponding passage in *CPG* 4187.

The first sermon is titled *De serpente* (*CPG* 4196).⁸⁵ The fifth paragraph of this sermon bears comparison with the fifth paragraph of *CPG* 4187. Both passages begin with a discussion of the sending of the Son, or the Logos, by the Father. In both sermons, such sending should not lead us to make deductions about either the divine dignity or the divine begetting of the Son; the language of sending is rather to be understood as economical. In both sermons, this discussion of sending elicits a question about Christ's post-resurrection breathing on the apostles as described in Io. 20,22 and in particular about its timing: *καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν, ἐνεφύσησε καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Λάβετε Πνεῦμα ἅγιον. Πρόσεχε. Διὰ τί ἐνεφύσησεν ὁ Σωτὴρ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις κατ' αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἀναστάσεως; . . . ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀποστόλων* (5.13-16, 22). // *Διὰ τί πρὸ τῆς ἀναλήψεως, ἀναστὰς ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἐνεφύσησας εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ λέγεις, Λάβετε Πνεῦμα ἅγιον;* (PG 56, col. 506, 10-8 a.i.). *Διὰ τί οὖν ἐνεφύσησας εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀποστόλων;* (PG 56, col. 506, 4-3 a.i.). So in both sermons, the Johannine inbreathing is interpreted with the help of Genesis 2,7, where, when forming the first man, God "breathed into his face . . . and the man became a living soul." Christ's inbreathing is thus a restoration and renewal of the inbreathing that Adam lost. Strikingly, in both sermons appeal is then made to a prophetic text that is interpreted as foretelling this second, post-resurrection inbreathing: "Celebrate your feasts, O Judah, repay to God your vows; do not keep going to what is obsolete. It is finished, it has been removed. For the one who breathes into your face and delivers you from persecution went up from the earth" (Nah. 2, 1-2).⁸⁶ There are admittedly a number of differences between these two

⁸⁵ PG 56, col. 499-516.

⁸⁶ Nah. 2, 1-2 (Rahlfs); Nah. 1,15 – 2,1 (Göttingen ed.). In *CPG* 4187, the relevance of the first two sentences to the preacher's argument is not immediately clear; the corresponding passage in *De serpente*, however, provides an extensive explanation of the typical character of the Old Testament feasts and their fulfillment and consequent obsolescence in the New

sermons and the use they make of these scriptural passages. Nevertheless, discussion of the same three scriptural passages in the same order, both in the larger context of the sending of the Son, together with the verbal parallels noted make it highly likely that there is some sort of dependence at work here.⁸⁷

Testament economy. This explanation would also account for the presence of the verses in CPG 4187, where the explanation itself is largely absent. Note that *παλαιώσεις*, translated above as “what is obsolete,” properly means “decay,” but it is clear from *De serpente* that Severian loads the term with more significance.

⁸⁷ Since the treatment in *De serpente* is longer, that sermon may have been delivered first and later excerpted by CPG 4187. *De serpente* is not the only Severianic sermon in which Io. 20,22 and Gen. 2,7 are interpreted with reference to each other; *De mundi creatione oratio* 5 may also be compared to CPG 4187 in this regard. In both sermons Christ restores the breath of life that Adam lost: ἀπώλεσε δὲ τοῦ ἐμφυσήματος τὴν χάριν (5.18-19) // ὁ ἀπώλεσεν ἐμφύσημα Ἀδάμ (PG 56, col. 477, 20); the restoration is accomplished by breathing into the face(s) of the apostles: ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀποστόλων (5.22) // ἐνεφύσησεν ὁ Χριστὸς εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τῶν ἀποστόλων (PG 56, col. 477, 18-19). In addition to this parallel, these two sermons share some vocabulary in this context (πρόσεχε, πλάττω, χοῦς, δημιουργία, ἀποδίδωμι). Cf. also the passage in *Quomodo animam acceperit Adamus* (CPG 4195) where the primordial inbreathing of Gen. 2,7 is compared to the apostolic inbreathing of Io. 20,22: ὁ σωτὴρ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ εἶπε, Λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον (H. SAVILE [ed.], *Tou en hagiois patros hemon Ioannou archiepiskopou Konstantinoupoleos tou Chrysostomou ton heuriskomenon tomos [a – b] – Di epimeleias kai analomaton Herrikou tou Sabiliou ek palaion antigraphon ekdotheis*, Eton, 1612-1613, vol. 5, p. 648-653 [here p. 650, 7-10]). This passage of CPG 4195 is quoted twice by Theodore Dexius, *Appellatio adversus Iohannem Cantacuzenum* 40.26-33; 58.5-15 (J. POLEMIS [ed.], *Theodori Dexii Opera Omnia*, Turnhout, 2003 [CCSG, 55], 3-185). It should be noted that the interpretation of Gen. 2,7 and Io. 20,22 together is not exclusive to Severian. Among Greek writers, see, e.g., Eusebius of Caesarea, *Supplementa minora ad quaestiones ad Marinum* (fragment 9, PG 22, col. 1013, 35-38); Basil of Caesarea, *De spiritu sancto* 16.39, 20-25 (B. PRUCHE [ed.], *Basile de Césarée. Sur le Saint-Esprit*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1968 [SC, 17 bis]); cf. Eusebius, *De ecclesiastica theologia* 3.5.1-2 (G. C. HANSEN – E. KLOSTERMANN [eds.], *Eusebius Werke, Band 4: Gegen Markell. Über die kirchliche Theologie. Die Fragmente Marcellis*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1972 [GCS, 14]); (Ps-?) Didymus the Blind, *De trinitate* (PG 39, col. 1612-1613-14); and the discussion attributed to Cyril of Alexandria in Michael Glycas, *Quaestiones in sacram scripturam* (S. EUSTRATIADIS [ed.], *Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Γλυκά. Εἰς τὰς ἀποφάσεις τῆς Θείας Γραφῆς*, Athens, 1906, p. 346, 27 – 347, 13). And on the whole topic see: M.-G. DE DURAND, “Pentecôte johannique et Pentecôte lucanienne chez certains Pères”, *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 72/2 (1978), p. 97-126 (discussed on p. 101, 107, 110, 113, 118, 124); M.-O. BOULNOIS, “Le souffle et l’Esprit, exégèses patristiques de l’insufflation originelle de Gn 2, 7 en lien avec celle de Jn 20, 22” *Recherches augustinienes* 24 (1989), p. 3-37. Neither of these articles, however, contains a reference to Nah. 2, 1-2. That text is connected with Io. 20,22 (without mention of Gen. 2, 7 in the immediate context) by Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses ad illuminandos* 17.12, 3 (W. C. REISCHL – J. RUPP [eds.], *Cyriilli Hierosolymorum archiepiscopi opera quae supersunt omnia*, Munich, Lentner, vol. 2, 1860, p. 266); (Ps-?) Didymus the Blind, *De trinitate* (lib. 2.1-7) 7. 3, 8, lines 7-13 (I. SEILER [ed.], *Didymus der Blinde. De trinitate, Buch 2, Kapitel 1-7*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 52, Meisenheim am Glan, Hain, 1975); Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarius in xii prophetas minores* (on Nah.

In illud: Quomodo scit litteras (CPG 4201) is another accepted sermon of Severian's that bears comparison with CPG 4187.⁸⁸ We have already referred to the discussion, in the omitted portion of CPG 4187, concerning the nail prints in Christ's hands, prints which are said to persist even until the second coming in order to shame the Jews. The words of Io. 19,37 (quoting Zach. 12,10), ὁψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν, are adduced there and interpreted with reference to a phrase from Mt. 24,30, ὁψονται πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς.⁸⁹ In *Quomodo scit litteras*, we find an extended discussion of the same verse from John, interpreted with reference to the preceding phrase of Mt. 24,30, τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.⁹⁰ An analogy from imperial iconography follows immediately in CPG 4187 and, after an explanation of the rest of Mt. 24,30, in *Quomodo scit litteras*:

<i>Quomodo scit litteras</i> PG 59, col. 50, 9-48	CPG 4187 § 29.12-29
Ὡςπερ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς εἰκόσι διαγράφεται ἡ δόξα τῶν δορυφορούντων τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τὰ γένη, τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ ὑποπίπτει μὲν καὶ ὁ βάρβαρος κάτωθεν, ὑποπίπτει δὲ καὶ ὁ ὁμόφυλος· ἀλλ' ὅμως μετὰ παρρησί- ας ἔστηκε, δοξάζων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλέα· ὁ δὲ ἀνάγκαις πεπεδημένος ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας, προσκυνῶν μὲν τὸν βασιλέα, μισθὸν δὲ τῆς	Οὐκ εἶδες ἐν εἰκόσι βασιλικαῖς, ἐν ποίᾳ ὄψει παρεστήκασιν τὰ τῶν δορυφόρων τάγματα, καὶ ἐν οἷα ταπεινώσει ὑποτέτακται τὰ τῶν πολεμίων; Πῶς περὶ τὴν ἄνω ζώνην οἱ σύντροφοι τῆς βασιλείας, παρρησίᾳ πολλῇ παρεστήκασιν, ὡς πεπαρρησιασμένοι τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς δόξης· οἱ δὲ πολέμου νόμῳ καταληφθέντες δέσμιοι, ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας κείμενοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ εἰκόνι· οἱ

2, 1, with an allusion to the creation account, though not specifically to Gen. 2, 7, in P.E. PUSEY [ed.], *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in xii prophetas*, Oxford, 1868, vol. 2, p. 37, 10-19), and by Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta scripturae sacrae* 118 (PG 89, col. 1801, 22-26). Among Greek writers, and outside of Severian, we have found the three scriptural texts explicitly connected only by Theodoret of Cyrillus, in his comment on Nah. 2,1-2 (*Interpretatio in xii prophetas minores* [PG 81, col. 1796, 33 – 1797, 4]; cf. the derivative treatment in Theophylact, *Expositio in prophetam Naum* [PG 126, col 1000, 11 a.i. – 1001, 11]). But Theodoret treats the texts in the following order: Nah. 2,1-2; Gen. 2, 7; Io. 20, 22. This order differs from that of Severian, and in any case Theodoret's discussion contains none of the other similarities between the Severianic passages compared in the main text above.

⁸⁸ PG 59, col. 643-652.

⁸⁹ The NT witnesses here read κόψονται instead of ὁψονται. See the note on this passage in "Textual Notes" below.

⁹⁰ PG 59, col. 649, 30-41. According to Severian's interpretation of Io. 19,37 in *Quomodo scit litteras*, what the Jews will look upon at the second coming is not the person pierced (ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν), but the instrument on which the Savior was pierced (εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν), i.e., the cross itself. Although this interpretation is not mentioned in CPG 4187, it may be lurking in the background.

<i>Quomodo scit litteras</i> PG 59, col. 50, 9-48	CPG 4187 § 29.12-29
<p>προσκυνήσεως οὐκ ἔχων· οὐ γὰρ γνώμη αὐτὸν ἡγάγεν, ἀλλ' ἡ ἀνάγκη αὐτὸν ἐπέδρασεν· καὶ ἔστιν ἡ μὲν ἄνω τάξις προσκυνούντων, ἡ δὲ κάτω τάξις πιπτόντων· ἄλλο γὰρ ἔστι προσκυνῆσαι, καὶ ἄλλο πεσεῖν· οὕτως ἐν τῇ <u>παρουσίᾳ</u> τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, ἐν εἰκόνι τῆς δόξης φανήσεται τὸ τάγμα τῶν πιστευόντων, ἐν παρρησίᾳ μετὰ τῆς ἀγγελικῆς τάξεως ὑμνοῦντες καὶ δοξαζόντες· φανήσεται δὲ καὶ τὸ τάγμα τῶν ἀπιστησάντων ἐστρωμένον ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔσονται λελυμένοι τῇ παρρησίᾳ, οἱ δὲ πεπεδημένοι τῇ ἀνάγκῃ. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ προεδέθησαν τῷ πόθῳ οἱ πιστοί, οὐ χρεῖα δεσμῶν· δεσμὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ πόθος· οὐς δὲ μὴ ἔδρασεν ὁ πόθος, δεσμεῖ πολλάκις ἡ ἀνάγκη· καὶ προσάγονται μετὰ παρρησίας οἱ πιστοὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς δόξης, οἱ μὲν πιστοὶ μετὰ παρρησίας, οἱ δὲ ἄδοξοι καὶ ἀντιλέγοντες τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας, προσελεύσονται <u>δεδεμένοι χειροπέδαις σιδηραῖς</u>· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔσονται ἐν τῷ τάγματι τῶν προσκυνούντων ἐν ὕψει, οἱ δὲ ἐν τάγματι τῶν πιπτόντων ἐν βύθῳ. Ὡςπερ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς εἰκόσιν <u>ἄνωτέρα</u> μὲν ἔστιν ἡ ζώνη ἡ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας ἔχουσα, κατωτέρα δὲ ἡ τοὺς βαρβάρους φέρουσα· οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας, ὑψηλότερον μὲν δεῖ φαίνεσθαι τὸ τάγμα τῶν πιστευόντων, χαμαιπετὲς δὲ καὶ γήινον τῶν ὑποπιπτόντων. Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ ψαλμός, ἀφορίζων <u>τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας τῶν ὑποπιπτόντων</u>, λέγει· <u>Μνησθήσονται, καὶ ἐπιστραφήσονται πρὸς Κύριον πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς, καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι αἱ πατρίαι τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅτι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ αὐτὸς δεσπόζει τῶν ἐθνῶν</u>· ὅτε ἐπὶ <u>τῶν προσκυνούντων τὴν τάξιν</u> ἔδειξεν, ὅτε ἐπὶ <u>τῶν ὑποπιπτόντων</u> ἐπήγαγεν· <u>Ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ προσπεσοῦνται πάντες οἱ καταβαίνοντες εἰς γῆν</u>.</p>	<p>μὲν παρ' αὐτόν, οἱ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτόν; Οὕτως ἔταν φανῇ ὁ πάντων Δεσπότης ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ <u>παρουσίᾳ</u> ἐν σαρκί, καὶ δείξῃ τοὺς τύπους τῶν ἡλίων καὶ τὰ τραύματα ἐκεῖνα λάμποντα τὴν ἀθανασίαν, παραστήσει μὲν ἑαυτῷ τοὺς ἁγίους ὥσπερ συντρόφους τινὰς τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ ταῖς ζώναις ταῖς βασιλικαῖς λάμποντας, τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς βασιλείας παρεστῶτας· καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐναντιωθέντας τῷ σταυρῷ, Ἰουδαίους τε καὶ Ἑλλήνας, καὶ αἵρετικούς τοὺς κατὰ τῆς θεότητος μανέντας, τοὺς μὲν δεσμίους παραστήσει, τοὺς δὲ σταυρώσει. Οὐκ εἶδες βαρβάρων πλήθη, τὰ μὲν δεδεμένα, τὰ δὲ ἐσφαγμένα; Τοῦτο γίνεται καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ· <u>δεθήσονται πάντες οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες</u> καθὼς γέγραπται· <u>Τοῦ δῆσαι τοὺς βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἐν πέδαις, καὶ τοὺς ἐνδόξους αὐτῶν ἐν χειροπέδαις σιδηραῖς</u>· τοῦ ποιῆσαι ἐν αὐτοῖς κρῖμα ἔγγραπτον. Εἴτα τούτων οὕτως γινομένων, τί ἔσται; Λόξα αὕτη ἐστὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὁσίοις αὐτοῦ. ...</p> <p>30.28-34: Ταύτην τὴν εἰκόνα εἶπε <u>τῶν προσκυνούντων καὶ τῶν πιπτόντων</u> ὁ Δαυὶδ εἰπὼν· <u>Μνησθήσονται καὶ ἐπιστραφήσονται πρὸς Κύριον πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς</u>· τῶν πιστευσάντων· καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι αἱ πατρίαι τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅτι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡ βασιλεία. Εἰπὼν τὴν <u>τάξιν τῶν προσκυνούντων</u>, εἰσάγει καὶ <u>τῶν ὑποπιπτόντων</u>· ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ προσπεσοῦνται πάντες οἱ καταβαίνοντες εἰς γῆν.</p>

In both sermons, the preacher contrasts the confidence (παρρησία 29.15; PG 59, col. 650, 14.26) of the emperor's escorts (δορυφόροι 29.13; δορυφοροῦντοι PG 59, col. 650, 10) with the debasement of the emperor's opponents (πολεμίοι 29.14; βαρβάροι PG 59, col. 650, 11), who are subject (ὑποτάσσω 29.14; PG 59, col. 650, 11-12) to him. Those in the

emperor's favor are portrayed in an upper register (ἔνω ζώνη [29.14] // ἔνωτέρω ἢ ζώνη [PG 59, col. 650, 35-36]), while the subjected are portrayed underfoot (ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας 29.16-17; PG 59, col. 650, 15.24). Such images show how it will be at the second coming (Οὕτως ὅταν φανῇ ὁ πάντων Δεσπότης ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ [29.18] // οὕτως ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως [PG 59, col. 650, 20-21]). In *CPG* 4187, the words of Ps. 149,8-9, "To bind their kings with fetters and their nobles with iron handcuffs," are then adduced as a prophecy of what will happen to the gainsayers (δεθήσονται πάντες οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες . . . ἐν χειροπέδαις σιδηραῖς [29.26-28]). In *Quomodo scit litteras*, the fate of the gainsayers is described in similar terms with a likely allusion to the same psalm (PG 59, col. 650, 31-33: οἱ . . . ἀντιλέγοντες τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας προσελεύσονται δεδεμένοι χειροπέδαις σιδηραῖς). In *CPG* 4187, there follows a lengthy digression on the parable of the talents, which the preacher concludes by introducing a citation of Ps. 21,28-30. Ταύτην τὴν εἰκόνα εἶπε τῶν προσκυνοῦντων καὶ τῶν πιπτόντων ὁ Δαυὶδ εἰπών· Μνησθήσονται . . . Εἰπὼν τὴν τάξιν τῶν προσκυνοῦντων, εἰσάγει καὶ τῶν ὑποπιπτόντων· ἐνώπιον . . . (Ps. 21,30 [30.28-33]). *Quomodo scit litteras* cites the same verses with similar introductory formulae: Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ ψαλμός, ἀφορίζων τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας τῶν ὑποπιπτόντων, λέγει· Μνησθήσονται . . . ὅτε ἐπὶ τῶν προσκυνοῦντων τὴν τάξιν ἔδειψεν, ὅτε ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποπιπτόντων ἐπήγαγεν· Ἐνώπιον . . . (PG 59, col. 650, 40-48).⁹¹ The parallels and similarities between these two passages justify positing dependence of some sort between the two sermons and probably common authorship.

The third acknowledged sermon of Severian's that exhibits an extended set of parallels with *CPG* 4187 is *Genimina viperarum* (*CPG* 4236.3/4947). The sermons are comparable in length.⁹² Both deal with festal themes, but, as we will see, were delivered sometime after the feast in question and offer an apology for this after-the-fact celebration. Both sermons begin with a section devoted to an exposition of the day's reading (*CPG* 4187: Io. 20,19-29; *CPG* 4236.3/4947: Mt. 3,7-10) and then move to a lengthier discussion of a festally appropriate scriptural text (*CPG* 4187: Act. 1,1-11; *CPG* 4236.3/4947: Act. 2,1-21). In addition to these general similarities, §19 of *CPG* 4187 closely parallels a passage of *Genimina viperarum* (Kecskeméti p. 162-164). In *CPG* 4187 there is a citation of Act. 2,17-19 ("I

⁹¹ The second introductory formula (ὅτε ἐπὶ τῶν προσκυνοῦντων . . . ἐπήγαγεν) is textually corrupt, but what has been preserved is quite similar to the corresponding words in *CPG* 4187.

⁹² Our Greek text of *CPG* 4187 is approximately 9900 words in length. The Greek text of *CPG* 4236.3/4947 has not been digitized, but since six randomly selected pages of the 63-page sermon contain 786 words, the total length may be estimated at 8250 words.

will pour out from my Spirit on all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy . . . and I will give,” he says, “signs in the heaven above and on the earth below, blood and fire and the vapor of smoke”) followed by a citation of Act. 2,19-20 (“Blood and fire and vapor of smoke; the sun shall be turned to darkness and the moon to blood, before the day of the Lord comes, the great and magnificent day”). Sandwiched between these two texts is the following explanation: Εἶπον πολλάκις αἷμα τὸ ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς· σημεῖον γὰρ ἦν ἀπὸ νεκροῦ σώματος αἷμα προερχόμενον ἰδεῖν· αἷμα τὸ ἀπὸ πλευρᾶς, πῦρ τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων (19.6-8). In this unusual interpretation, the preacher refers the αἷμα of Act. 2,19 to Christ’s passion and the πῦρ of the same verse to the Day of Pentecost.⁹³ We are also told that blood proceeding from a dead body is a great sign. In the relevant portion of *Genimina viperarum*, we find the same two passages from Acts cited, and sandwiched between them, the following explanation: Εἴρητα καὶ πρώην ὅτε τὸν περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἀνελάβομεν λόγον καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πάθος, καθὼς οἶόν τε ἦν, ἀνεπτύξαμεν τῇ θεωρίᾳ, ὅτι ἐδόθη δύο ξένα· αἷμα καὶ πῦρ. Πῦρ, ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐπιφοίτησις, αἷμα, ἡ ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς προελθοῦσα χάρις. Ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἀπὸ νεκροῦ σώματος προελθεῖν αἷμα· πῆγνυται γάρ. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν σημείοις αὐτὸ τίθησιν ὁ θεός. Δώσω σημεῖα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ κάτω (Kecskeméti 162, 4-11). Here the blood and fire are referred to the same two events, this time with a little more explanation of each, including a statement of why it is strange to see blood proceeding from a dead body: the body had been dead long enough for the blood to congeal, in Severian’s view. Both texts classify this event as a sign, and both texts note that the author has mentioned these matters before.

The reference in each sermon to previous remarks raises the question of dependence. Although it is logically possible that *CPG* 4187 refers to *Genimina viperarum* here, for reasons that will be discussed later, that does not seem likely. *Genimina viperarum* rather refers to *CPG* 4187 or to some other sermon, which Severian characterizes as the λόγος περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ (Kecskeméti 162, 5). The remarks in *CPG* 4187 that indicate a previous discussion of the issue refer either to this same λόγος περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ or to some other sermon. Kecskeméti argues that *Genimina viperarum* refers to *CPG* 4187, in other words that *CPG* 4187 and the λόγος περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ are one and the same. She points to the statement early in *CPG* 4187, which we have already partly cited, where the preacher defends

⁹³ Chrysostom understands these words as part of a prophecy about the destruction of Jerusalem (*Hom. Act.* 5.1 [PG 60, col. 50, 3 a.i. – 51, 7]). In *Genimina viperarum*, Severian goes on to also reject the common interpretation of blood in v. 19 as having to do with the moon (as in v. 20; Kecskeméti 162, 13 – 163, 3).

discussing Christ's ascension after the feast day itself and mentions as suitable topics for proclamation the cross, passion, resurrection, ascension, and second coming.⁹⁴ Since *CPG* 4187 does mention the cross here, and since in §29 we have the discussion of the nail prints, which refers to the passion and the cross,⁹⁵ Kecskeméti's position that *Genimina viperarum* (Kecskeméti 162, 4-7) alludes to *CPG* 4187 cannot be excluded; nevertheless it still seems strange that Severian would refer to *CPG* 4187 as a λόγος περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ since that is not a major topic of the sermon. Kecskeméti's interpretation may be correct, but it remains prudent not to base any conclusions on the identification of *CPG* 4187 with the λόγος περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ mentioned in *Genimina viperarum*.

This demurrer, however, does not prevent us from recognizing the other parallels between *CPG* 4187 and *Genimina viperarum*, which are not exhausted by what has been mentioned so far. After citing Act. 2,19-20 as described above, the preacher of *CPG* 4187 explains: "Ὁρα τὸν λαλοῦντα Θεὸν Πατέρα, πῶς τὸν Υἱὸν ἐρμηνεύει λέγων· *Πρὶν ἔλθειν τὴν ἡμέραν Κυρίου· καὶ οὐ λέγει· Τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμὴν* (19.10-12). The phrase, "the day of the Lord" elicits a very similar explanation in *Genimina viperarum*, where we read: Εἴρηται πολλάκις ἡμῖν, ὅτι Θεὸς ἐστὶν ὁ λέγων· ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου. Εἰπέ τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ· εἰ ἐν πρόσωπόν ἐστιν, καὶ θεϊκὸν ἐστὶν ὄνομα, καὶ αὐτὸς λαλεῖ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, διατί μὴ εἶπεν· *πρὶν ἔλθειν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμὴν*; (Kecskeméti 163, 13 – 164, 2). Both sermons therefore identify the speaker of Act. 2,17-21 as the Father and take the instances of "Lord" as referring to the Son. In support of this reading both sermons note that the speaker in Act. 2,20 does not refer to "my day," but rather to "the day of the Lord." Hence "Lord" must not, on this reading, refer to the speaker, who is the Father, but rather to the Son. By itself this similarity in exegesis might not be probative, but given that it follows in both sermons the previous parallel about blood and fire, it is difficult to avoid positing a literary dependence of some sort. It is very possible that Severian confirms the dependence for us when in *Genimina viperarum* he says, εἴρηται πολλάκις ἡμῖν (Kecskeméti 163, 13), which may refer to *CPG* 4187 itself.

⁹⁴ *Homélie inédite, op. cit.*, n. 5, p. 32-35. "And you ought to know that the word of God is not circumscribed by times or days; on the contrary, proclamation of the cross, the passion, the resurrection, the assumption, and the second coming is welcome every day." Δεῖ δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ὅτι Θεοῦ λόγος, οὐ χρόνους, οὐχ ἡμέραις περιγράφεται, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν δέχεται κήρυγμα, καὶ σταυροῦ, καὶ πάθους, καὶ ἀναστάσεως, καὶ ἀναλήψεως, καὶ δευτέρως παρουσίας (2.11-14).

⁹⁵ ἕως ἑσχάτης ἀναλήψεως τοὺς τύπους δεικνύς [sc. ὁ σωτὴρ], ὅπως ἐν ταυτῷ καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν πληρώσῃ, καὶ τὸ πάθος δείξῃ· ὅτι τὸ παθὼν αὐτὸ καὶ σταυρωθὲν καὶ ἡλωθὲν, τοῦτο ἀναλαμβάνεται (29.2-4). In the same context as this reference to the passion, the preacher mentions τοὺς ἐναντιωθέντας τῷ σταυρῷ (29.22) and Ἰουδαίους τοὺς σταυρώσαντας (29.8).

Confirming the identity of the Lord in Act. 2,20-21 leads to a final point of contact between the two sermons. Since “the day of the Lord” in verse 20 refers to the Son, the statement in verse 21 (citing Joel 2,32), “everyone who calls upon the name of the Lord shall be saved,” must also refer to him. In CPG 4187, the preacher supports this identification by appealing to two Pauline texts, the first of which also cites Joel 2,32: Καὶ Παῦλος αὐτῷ ἐπιφέρει λέγων· Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Κύριος πάντων, πλουτῶν εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους αὐτόν. Πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσῃται τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου, σωθήσεται (Rom. 10,12-13). Εἶτα δεικνὺς ὅτι εἰς Χριστὸν εἴρηται, λέγει· Πῶς οὖν ἐπικαλέσονται, εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν; πῶς δὲ πιστεύσουσιν, οἳ οὐκ ἤκουσαν; . . . (Rom. 10,14-15 [19.18-22]). In *Genimina viperarum* we find the same two passages from Romans adduced to interpret the same statement, “Everyone who calls upon the name of the Lord shall be saved”: Κύριον τὸν σωτῆρα λέγων, ὡς φησὶν ὁ Παῦλος· Ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς Κύριος πάντων . . . σωθήσεται, καὶ ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ λέγει, ἐπάγει· πῶς οὖν ἐπικαλέσονται εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν; Πῶς δὲ πιστεύσουσιν οἳ οὐκ ἤκουσαν; . . . (Rom. 10,14-15 [Kecskeméti 164, 5-11]). Both sermons thus adduce the same two Pauline texts for the same purpose: to identify Christ as the “Lord” in question. In both sermons, these two Pauline texts are connected by a similar explanatory statement.

This series of scriptural texts – cited in both sermons in the same order, interpreted in the same way, and in quite similar language – points to literary dependence. In view of the general similarities between the two sermons and the set of extended parallels just described, the most likely conclusion is that CPG 4187 and *Genimina* are products of the same preacher.

One more allusion will confirm this judgment. Early in *Genimina viperarum*, after concluding his remarks about Mt. 3,7-10, Severian states: “The visitation of the Holy Spirit, which took place on the holy day of the Holy Pentecost, constrains us not to leave that subject unexamined. For just as the Assumption has not, by exhibiting its own brilliance, prejudiced us with regard to days, so also the visitation of the Holy Spirit does not forbid those who observe the feast to celebrate even after the feast.”⁹⁶ Severian here addresses himself to his community, to those who celebrate the Feast of Pentecost, which has already taken place. He proposes that they continue or return to the celebration, even though the feast day itself has already passed. As precedent for this procedure, Severian adduces the community’s

⁹⁶ ἔλκει ἡμᾶς ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐπιφοίτησις κατὰ τὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν γενομένη τῆς ἁγίας Πεντεκοστῆς, μὴ παρελθεῖν τὸν περὶ αὐτῆς λόγον ἀνεξέταστον. Ὡσπερ γὰρ οὐδὲν προέκρινεν ἡμῖν ἡ ἀνάληψις ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τὴν ἐαυτῆς δείξασα λαμπροδύνα, οὕτως καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἡ ἐπιφοίτησις οὐ προκρίνει τοῖς τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐπιτελοῦσιν, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἑορτάσαι (Kecskeméti 122, 6-12).

celebration of the Ascension, which appears to have been conducted in a fashion similar to what he now proposes. As Kecskeméti pointed out nearly 40 years ago, this is very likely an allusion to *CPG* 4187, which describes the previous celebration of Ascension Day itself and offers an apologia for celebrating again two days later (see §2; cf. 13.12-15). It might be objected at this point that if Severian had made a practice of such after-the-fact celebrations, then *CPG* 4187 would not be the only candidate for object of this allusion. But the after-the-fact celebration of the Ascension attested by *CPG* 4187 is explained by its specific circumstances (§2), and the same is true of *Genimina viperarum*. The need to defend the after-the-fact celebrations in both cases already suggests that they did not conform to the normal practice. In the case of *Genimina viperarum*, Severian justifies his departure from custom by implying that he did not preach on the feast day itself.⁹⁷ Both *CPG* 4187 and *Genimina viperarum* were ostensibly delivered

⁹⁷ Such is the import of the statement, ἔλκει ἡμᾶς ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐπιφοίτησις . . . μὴ παρελθεῖν τὸν περὶ αὐτῆς λόγον ἀνεξέταστον. The phrase τὸν περὶ αὐτῆς λόγον looks as if it might refer to a specific sermon περὶ Πεντεκοστῆς, and then the adjective ἀνεξέταστον would suggest that Severian felt it needed more examination than it had received. Could Severian's sermon *In sanctam Pentecosten* (*CPG* 4211; *PG* 63, col. 933-38) be what he is referring to here? That seems unlikely. *In sanctam Pentecosten* is so strikingly similar to *Genimina viperarum* that we find it difficult to believe that they were delivered in close temporal proximity to each other, lest Severian be accused of simply repeating himself (pace J. KECSKEMÉTI, *Homélie inédite, op. cit.*, n. 5, p. 37). In addition, *In sanctam Pentecosten* is a substantial sermon in its own right. It would seem strange to have delivered that sermon at the feast and still claim that not speaking about the feast again would constitute treating Pentecost "without examination" (ἀνεξέταστον). A detail of exegesis supports the view that *Genimina viperarum* and *In sanctam Pentecosten* were not delivered in close temporal proximity. When interpreting Act. 2,3 in *Genimina viperarum* (the portion cited is: Καὶ ὠφθῆσαν αὐτοῖς διαμερίζόμενοι γλῶσσαι ὥσπερ πυρὸς [*Kecskeméti* 137, 8]), Severian makes a point of distinguishing between μερίζμενοι and διαμερίζμενοι (Ὅν εἶπεν μερίζμενοι ἀλλὰ διαμερίζμενοι [*Kecskeméti* 137, 9]). *In sanctam Pentecosten*, however, shows Severian happy to cite the same text in a different form, without the prefixed preposition (Ἐμερίσθησαν γὰρ γλῶσσαι ὥσπερ πυρὸς [*PG* 63, col. 934, 9 a.i.]), and interpret accordingly, with no reference to the distinction between μερίζω and διαμερίζω. The noticeable difference between the form of the two citations and between the two treatments of the same scriptural text might have sounded odd to Severian's hearers if the two sermons had been delivered mere days or weeks apart. If a year or more had intervened, the difference is more understandable. Thus the best interpretation of Severian's remark in *Genimina* (ἔλκει ἡμᾶς ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐπιφοίτησις . . . μὴ παρελθεῖν τὸν περὶ αὐτῆς λόγον ἀνεξέταστον) is that Severian did not speak at the recent Feast of Pentecost, and that in *Genimina viperarum* he presents himself as unwilling to let the occasion pass by without taking the opportunity to say something about the feast, even if his remarks were after the fact. That Severian did not preach at the Feast of Pentecost which preceded the delivery of *Genimina viperarum* is also the position of S. J. VOICU, "Pentecost According to Severian of Gabala" in R. W. BISHOP et al. (eds.), *Preaching after Easter, op. cit.*, n. 6, p. 293-303.

because the sermon at the preceding feast was cut short or not delivered at all.⁹⁸

How then should we account for the Severianic stock phrases and the brief and extended parallels? It is barely possible that we have uncovered evidence of a very assiduous imitator of Severian who was intimately familiar with his modes of expression and lines of argumentation, but it seems far simpler to affirm that the author of *CPG* 4187 is Severian himself. Uthemann's insistence on reliable external attribution exhibits admirable critical caution, but it does not permit us to affirm all that can be known with reasonable certainty about Severian's corpus of sermons. In addition to confirming Severian's authorship of this sermon, the parallels with the portion omitted by Montfaucon provide supplementary confirmation of the sermon's integrity.

Date: 17 May 402

After examining the extent, integrity, location, and authorship of *CPG* 4187, we turn to an examination of its date. Since the sermon was cer-

⁹⁸ It has long been believed that another sermon attributed to Severian, *De Spiritu sancto* (*CPG* 4188; PG 52, col. 813-826), was delivered the day after Pentecost. So: B. DE MONTEFAUCON in the third volume of his 1721 edition of Chrysostom's works [p. 797], reprinted in PG 52, col. 813; B. MARX, "Severiana", *art. cit.*, n. 2, p. 292; H. D. ALTENDORF, *Untersuchungen, op. cit.*, n. 4, p. 274; S. J. VOICU, "Pentecost", *Preaching after Easter, op. cit.*, n. 6, p. 297. *De Spiritu sancto* was in fact sometimes transmitted as a sermon for Pentecost Monday (so K.-H. UTHEMANN, "Kriterien zur Abgrenzung", *art. cit.*, n. 14, p. 68), but Kecskeméti argued persuasively that the sermon was originally delivered the day after *Genimina viperarum* and not the day after Pentecost (*Homélie inédite, op. cit.*, n. 5, p. 31; cf. *Une rhétorique, op. cit.*, n. 9, p. 133-34). The incipit of *De Spiritu sancto* reads: Χθὲς ἡμῖν, ὃ φιλόχριστοι, ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ προσκυνητοῦ Πνεύματος ἐπιφοίτησις ἀνυμνεῖτο, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίναις ἐννοίαις τιμωμένη, ἀλλὰ τῇ πατρικῇ δυνάμει μαρτυρουμένη (PG 52, col. 813, 1-4). The word χθὲς need only refer to a day on which the Spirit's visitation was "hymned" (ἀνυμνεῖτο). All things being equal, that day would be the Day of Pentecost, but in Severian's case the term could just as easily refer to the day on which *Genimina viperarum* was delivered because that sermon too hymns the Spirit's visitation. Kecskeméti cites in support of this interpretation an allusion from *De Spiritu Sancto* to the incipit of *Genimina viperarum*: Μόνος ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος, μόνῃ ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος διδασκαλία, καὶ λαμπράς ἐστιν εὐσεβείας, καὶ κήρυγμα θεογνωσίας, καὶ φωτισμὸς τῆς ἐνθέου διδασκαλίας (PG 52, col. 813, 7-10) // Λαμπράς εὐσεβείας, κήρυγμα θεογνωσίας, ὁ φωτισμὸς τῆς θεοπνεύστου τῶν γραφῶν διδασκαλίας (Kecskeméti 107, 1-2). This clear allusion makes it very likely that *De Spiritu Sancto* was delivered the day after *Genimina viperarum*, not the day after *In sanctam Pentecosten*. Therefore, the incipit of *De Spiritu Sancto* does not necessarily constitute evidence that Severian regularly delivered festal sermons after the feast day itself; neither does it necessarily constitute evidence for an emerging octave of Pentecost (so also H. BUCHINGER, "Pentekoste, Pfingsten und Himmelfahrt" in R. W. BISHOP et al. [eds.] *Preaching after Easter, op. cit.*, n. 6, p. 47).

tainly preached in Constantinople, it must come from Severian's Constantinopolitan period. He is generally supposed to have arrived in the imperial city in 398 or 399, and it seems probable that he left the city not later than August 404, when an imperial edict expelled visiting and foreign clergy. At any rate, there is no evidence that he was active in the city after that date.⁹⁹ We have already had occasion to note the sermon's allusions to a contemporary conflict and the sermon's attention to the theme of peace.¹⁰⁰ These features of the sermon have been understood by previous scholars as referring to the conflict between Severian on the one hand and Chrysostom's deacon, Serapion, or Chrysostom himself, on the other.¹⁰¹ Since there seems no good reason to dispute this understanding, and since Severian portrays himself as still hoping for a just reconciliation, we should envision for the sermon a date after that conflict had arisen, but before there was a definitive breach. The only two years that fit this requirement are 402 and 403.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ For the date of Severian's arrival in Constantinople, cf. the remarks of M. AUBINEAU, "On peut dater approximativement ces premiers succès dans la capitale: vers 398/399" (*Un traité inédit, op. cit.*, n. 11, p. 12), with K.-H. UTHEMANN, "Severian von Gabala", *art. cit.*, n. 11, col. 1487, and S. J. VOICU, "Sévérien de Gabala", *art. cit.*, n. 6, col. 753. The imperial edict (*Codex Theodosianus* 16. 2. 37) is adduced by C. BAUR, *John Chrysostom and His Time*, 2 vols., M. GONZAGA (trans.), Westminster, Maryland, 1960, vol. 2, p. 315. Severian's next reported activity was to assist in consecrating an opponent of Chrysostom as an episcopal successor to Flavian of Antioch, which may have been part of the imperial motivation for Severian's induced departure from Constantinople (cf. H. D. ALTENDORF, *Untersuchungen, op. cit.*, n. 4, p. 267). Severian may also have been involved in securing the relocation of Chrysostom in exile in 407, as Palladius (*Dialogus de vita sancti Joannis Chrysostomi* 11) alleges, but the way Palladius describes the involvement of Severian and his associates (ἀποστέλλαντες εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκπορίζουσι πάλιν ἀντιγραφὴν) indicates that they operated in that instance from outside the imperial city (A.-M. MALINGREY [ed.] *Dialogue sur la vie de Jean Chrysostome*, Paris, 1988 [SC, 341-342], vol. 1, p. 222, 97-98).

¹⁰⁰ On conflict see: §2, 28, 40; on peace see especially: § 1, 4, 40.

¹⁰¹ B. MARX, "Severiana", *art. cit.*, n. 2, p. 290-291; J. KECSKEMÉTI, *Homélie inédite, op. cit.*, n. 5, p. 36; S. J. VOICU, "Evidence of Authenticity", *art. cit.* n. 6, p. 421.

¹⁰² The conflict between Severian and Serapion arose during John's trip to Ephesus. This trip used to be dated to 401 (so C. BAUR, *John Chrysostom*, vol. 2, p. 145, followed by B. MARX, "Severiana", *art. cit.*, n. 2, p. 291 and J. KECSKEMÉTI, *Homélie inédite, op. cit.*, n. 5, p. 36), but historians of the period have convincingly assigned the trip to the following year, 402. See A. CAMERON, "Earthquake 400", *Chiron* 17 (1987), p. 343-360; revised in A. CAMERON – J. LONG, "Appendix II – Chrysostom's Movements in 400-402", in *Barbarians and Politics, op. cit.* n. 49, p. 405-408. These works are followed, with considerable development, by J. N. D. KELLY, *Goldenmouth: The Story of John Chrysostom, Ascetic, Preacher, Bishop*, Ithaca, New York, 1995, chapters 12-13; S. J. VOICU, "Evidence of Authenticity", *art. cit.* n. 6, p. 421-422; and T. D. BARNES – G. BEVAN (trans.), *The Funeral Speech for John Chrysostom*, Liverpool, 2013, (*Translated Texts for Historians*, 60), p. 29. The ecclesial-political situation in the spring of 404, after John's condemnation at the Synod of the Oak in July of 403 and

Though either of these dates remains a possibility, the earlier one seems preferable for two admittedly less-than-decisive reasons. First, it is more likely that *CPG* 4187 preceded Severian's reconciliation sermon, *De pace* (*CPG* 4214), than followed it. The abortive reconciliation probably took place in the autumn of 402.¹⁰³ If Severian had delivered *CPG* 4187 the following spring, we might expect his remarks there about conflict and peace to make pointed allusion to the preceding autumn's reconciliation and in particular to his own understanding of it as expressed in *De pace*. We do find that both sermons put forward Io. 14,27, "My peace I give to you," as an answer to the prophetic longing for peace voiced in Is. 26,12, "O Lord, our God, give us peace." But apart from that, there is very little specific overlap between the two texts, despite their similarity as to theme. Of the approximately 27 scriptural texts cited in *De pace*, for example, many of which deal specifically with the theme of peace, only the two just mentioned are also found in *CPG* 4187. This state of affairs may be better explained by supposing that Severian's remarks about peace in *CPG* 4187 adumbrate the theme's subsequent development in *De pace* than by supposing that they hark back to it. A second reason for favoring the year 402 is that, as with the year 404, though to a lesser extent, the ecclesial-political circumstances of the Ascension feast in 403 do not easily accommodate Severian's portrayal of himself as hoping for reconciliation. The simmering unease between John and Theophilus of Alexandria broke out into open conflict in the summer of 402, and by the spring of 403 Theophilus was travelling to Constantinople and securing support, such as that of Epiphanius of Salamis, who visited Constantinople with a stern warning for John shortly after Easter in 403. By the time of the Ascension Feast several weeks later, it is difficult to imagine Severian still holding out the prospect of reconciliation. It is more likely that Theophilus had already secured his support. The sermon could, however, fit rather easily into the context of events just prior to or just after Chrysostom's return from Ephesus in the spring of 402.¹⁰⁴

just before his second exile, is not a possible context for Severian's rhetorical posture in this sermon.

¹⁰³ So A. CAMERON – J. LONG, *Barbarians and Politics*, *op. cit.*, n. 49, p. 407-408. The Greek text of *De pace* may be found in A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS (ed.), *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, vol. 1, Petroupolis, 1891, p. 15-26. Chrysostom's sermon, *De Severiano recipiendo* (*CPG* 4395), is known only in an abbreviated, Latin form (PG 52, col. 423-424).

¹⁰⁴ According to Kelly, the return was "some two or three weeks after Easter 402 [6 April]" (*Goldenmouth*, *op. cit.*, n. 102, p. 181). Voicu prefers to date it somewhat later, "verosimilmente attorno alla fine di maggio del 402", i.e., after the delivery of *CPG* 4187 ("Roma e l'ultimo manoscritto", *art. cit.* n. 3, p. 75).

In addition to enabling the near determination of the year of its delivery, the sermon also informs us, as we have already had occasion to note, as to the day of the week on which it was delivered. Towards the beginning of the sermon, Severian refers to his previous sermon on the Ascension, and a little later in the sermon he specifically says that the Ascension was “the day before yesterday.”¹⁰⁵ Hence this sermon was delivered on the Saturday following Ascension Day, probably in the year 402. Since Easter took place on April 6th that year, the Feast of the Ascension will have fallen on May 15th, and this sermon will have been delivered two days later on the 17th.¹⁰⁶

Textual History¹⁰⁷

1. The Direct Tradition

1.1 *Table of Manuscripts*

M Moscow, GIM, *Synod. gr.* 110 9th cent.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. §2 and the later remark καὶ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς χθὲς ἦν ἡ ἀνάληψις (13.12), which, though omitted by *P*₂ (followed by Montfaucon), is certainly authentic. P. DEVOS has argued that in Chrysostom, the expression πρὸ τῆς χθὲς does not mean “the day before yesterday,” but simply “yesterday” (“Saint Jean Chrysostome à Antioche dans quatre homélies baptismales [dont *BHG* 1930w]” *AB* 109/1-2 [1991], p. 137-156, here: 145-146). If this claim were correct, then our assessment of the circumstances of *CPG* 4187 would need to be revised. Devos’s claim, however, is unsupportable. The only clear examples he is able to adduce are biblical, and thus do not necessarily reflect Chrysostom’s normal usage. According to a TLG search, Chrysostom only uses the expression πρὸ τῆς χθὲς nine times, but he uses the word χθὲς independently 187 times in the authentic writings. In none of its nine occurrences does πρὸ τῆς χθὲς unambiguously mean simply “yesterday.” And in at least one occurrence it cannot possibly mean that: Ἐνεπλήσθη χθὲς καὶ πρὸ τῆς χθὲς, μὴ ζήτει νῦν; (*In Matthaeum*, hom. 35; PG 57, col. 410, 17). Several other examples come from Chrysostom’s resurrection day sermons, where πρὸ τῆς χθὲς appears to refer not to Saturday, the preceding day (*pace* Devos), but rather to Friday, the day of Christ’s death. Severian also uses the word χθὲς independently, as in the incipit of *CPG* 4188 (PG 52, col. 813, 1); it is difficult to imagine that πρὸ τῆς χθὲς meant to him exactly the same thing.

¹⁰⁶ In 403, Easter fell on March 29th and Ascension on May 7th. For the dates of Easter in 402 & 403, see O. SEECK, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr. Vorarbeit zu einer Prosopographie der christlichen Kaiserzeit*, Stuttgart, 1919, p. 305. Cf. the useful website: <http://millesimo.irht.cnrs.fr/>.

¹⁰⁷ Several acknowledgements are in order here. With regard to the ms. *M*, we would like to thank Sever J. Voicu, who drew its existence to our attention, and Kosta Simic, who helped us secure images of the relevant folios. For the ms. *A*, we are indebted to Holger Villadsen, who informed us about its existence, graciously placed his notes on the ms. at our disposal, and supplied us with a microfilm of its relevant folios. We would also like to thank Katie Papadopoulos, who assisted with the original transcription of this sermon, and Krista Slagle, who assisted in translating this portion of the introduction, originally composed in French, into English.

<i>P</i> ₁	Paris, BNF, <i>gr.</i> 582	10 th cent.
<i>V</i>	Vatican, BAV, <i>Ottoboniani gr.</i> 14	10 th cent.
<i>P</i> ₂	Paris, BNF, <i>gr.</i> 1447	10 th -11 th cent.
<i>A</i>	Athos, <i>Karakallou</i> 5	13 th cent.
<i>P</i> ₃	Paris, BNF, <i>gr.</i> 1186	14 th cent. (1306)
<i>O</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, <i>Barocci</i> 241	14 th cent. (2 nd 1/4)
<i>R</i>	Rome, Bibl. Angelica, <i>gr.</i> 125	15 th cent.
	Naples, Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, <i>gr.</i> 19	17 th cent.

1.2 *Presentation of Manuscripts*

Athos, Monastery of Karakallou

A *Karakallou* 5 (*Lambros* 1518)

13th cent., parchment, 319 × 227 mm, 366 f., 2 col., 27 lines. See *Paris gr.* 1186 and *Barocci* 241.

f. 311-322v

In addition to our sermon, this ms. contains the following nine homilies of Severian, all under the name of John Chrysostom:

f. 18-18v: Severian of Gabala, *In Chananaeam et Pharaonem* (CPG 4202)

f. 33v-38: Severian of Gabala, *In filium prodigum* (CPG 4200)

f. 93v-101: Severian of Gabala, *De serpente homilia* (CPG 4196)

f. 105-110: Severian of Gabala, *In pretiosam et vivificam crucem* (CPG 4213)

f. 189v-191v: Severian of Gabala, *In lotionem pedum* (CPG 4216)

f. 237-240v: Severian of Gabala, *In illud: In principio erat verbum* (CPG 4210)

f. 274-280v: Severian of Gabala, *In illud: Quomodo scit litteras* (CPG 4201)

f. 286v-293: Severian of Gabala, *De caeco nato* (CPG 4582)

f. 336v-344v: Severian of Gabala, *De spiritu sancto* (CPG 4188)

See: S. P. LAMBROS, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, vol. 1, Cambridge, 1895, p. 130.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ The handwritten notes of H. VILLADSEN, from which our information on this ms. comes (cf. previous note), are now online at IRHT: <http://ideal.irht.cnrs.fr/document/818923>

Moscow, State Historical Museum (GIM)**M** *Synod. gr. 110 (Vladimir 160)*

9th cent., parchment, 385/404 × 270 mm, 255 f., 2 col., 40 lines. The same scribe copied *Athens EBE 210*, *London Arundel 542*, and *Oxford Barocci 235*. Origin: Athos, Esphigmenou Monastery.

f. 232-254

In addition to our sermon, this ms., the archetype of which was probably a ms. from Constantinople,¹⁰⁹ contains the following five sermons of Severian, all under the name of John Chrysostom:

f. 1-17: Severian of Gabala, *In Incarnationem Domini* (CPG 4204; BHG 1910k)

f. 22-32: Severian of Gabala, *In Ps. 96* (CPG 4190; BHG 1937)

f. 37-44: Severian of Gabala, *De fide et lege naturae* (CPG 4185)

f. 77-88: Severian of Gabala, *De Caeco et Zacchaeo* (CPG 4592)

f. 167-179: Severian of Gabala, *In Ps. 95* (CPG 4191; BHG 488e)

See: E. FOLLIERI, “La minuscola libraria dei secoli IX e X”, in A. A. LONGO – L. PERRIA – A. LUZZI (eds.), *Byzantina et Italograeca: Studi di Filologia e di Paleografia*, Rome, 1997 (*Storia e Letteratura: Raccolta di Studi e Testi*, 195), p. 205-248; E. DOBRYNINA, *Сводный каталог греческих иллюминированных рукописей в российских хранилищах. Т. 1, Рукописи IX-X вв. в Государственном историческом музее, ч. 1*, [Corpus of Greek Illuminated Manuscripts in Russian Collections, Volume I, Manuscripts of the 9th – 10th cc. At the State Historical Museum, Part I] Moscow, 2013, p. 80-87; K.-H. UTHEMANN, “Kriterien zur Abgrenzung”, p. 68

Naples, Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III*Gr. 19 (Vienne Suppl. gr. 49, ex-vind. gr 19)*

17th cent., paper, 265 × 192 mm, f. 334, full page, 27-28 lines. Collection of sermons with a Latin translation by Vincentius Riccardus.

f. 118-119v desinit εἰρήνην ἐπὶ εἰρήνην· πάλιν εἰρήνην ὑμῖν (PG 52, col. 773-776, 12 a. i.).

See: G. PIERLEONI, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Nationalis Neapolitanae* I, Rome, 1962, p. 36-39; R. E. CARTER, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci* V, *Codicum Italiae partem priorem*, Paris, 1983, p. 138-139;

¹⁰⁹ Cf. S. J. VOICU, “Il nome cancellato: la trasmissione delle omelie di Severiano di Gabala” *RHT*, 1 (2006), p. 317-333 (here p. 331-332).

H. TEVEL, *De Preken van Basilius van Seleucië: Handschriftelijke overlevering – editie van vier preken*, Amsterdam, 1990, p. 233, 261-65; M. AUBINEAU (ed.), *Homélie Pascales*, Paris, 1972 (SC, 187), p. 177-178 (N); S. J. VOICU, “Une homélie pseudo-chrysostomienne pour la Noël (BHG 1899t)”, *Byz* 43 (1973), p. 483-494 (N).

Oxford, Bodleian Library

O *Barocci 241*

2nd quarter of the 14th cent., parchment, 390 × 280 mm, 292 f., 2 col., 40 lines. Origin: Constantinople. See *Karakallou 5* and *Paris gr. 1186*.

f. 258-274v

In addition to our sermon, this ms. transmits a recension of John Chrysostom's *Contra ebrietatem* (CPG 4241; SC, 561) into which a portion of Severian's *In Genesim, sermo 2* (CPG 4197), has been interpolated: f. 147, col. 2, lines 11-39 (PG 56, col. 523, 18 – 524, 11): ὅταν ἴδῃς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πένητα – ἐλευθέρων τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς θείας χάριτος ἡλευθερωμένον.¹¹⁰

See: A. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, 3 vol., Berlin-Boston, 1937-1952 (TU, 50-52), repr. Leipzig 1965, vol. 2, p. 273-274; M. AUBINEAU, *CCG I, Codices Britanniae et Hiberniae*, Paris, 1968, p. 199-201; S. KOTZABASSI, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der rhetorischen und hagiographischen Werke des Gregor von Zypern*, Wiesbaden, 1998 (*Serta Graeca: Beiträge zur Erforschung griechischer Texte*, 6), p. 86; F. J. LEROY, *L'Homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople. Tradition manuscrite, inédits, études connexes*, Vatican, 1967 (ST, 247) (N); A. M. MALINGREY (ed.), *Sur l'égalité du Père et du Fils: Contre les Anoméens, homélie VII-XII*, Paris, 1994 (SC, 396) (J); N. RAMBAULT (ed.), *Homélie sur la résurrection, l'Ascension et la Pentecôte*, Paris, 2013, vol. 1 (SC, 561) (O₄); vol. 2 (SC, 562) (O₆); J. J. OOSTERHUISDEN OTTER, *Four Pseudo-Chrysostomian Homilies* (45).

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF)

P₁ *Gr. 582*

10th cent., parchment, 355/366 × 227/250 mm, p. 552, 2 col., 37 lines. Panegyric for the entire year (type C). Many folios were restored during the 13th cent. The manuscript was acquired by François Sevin at Ancyra (Ankara) in 1730 on behalf of the royal library. This is a liturgical collection probably originating in Constantinople (so Leroy).

¹¹⁰ See N. RAMBAULT (ed.), *Homélie sur la résurrection*, vol. 1, (SC, 561), p. 70.

p. 445-477: *inc.* 5.12 καὶ τοῦτο

Καὶ τοῦτο, the first words of p. 445, occur in the middle of Severian's treatment of Io. 20,19-29, and have no connection to the preceding sermon. Of that sermon, Leontius of Constantinople's *In mesopentecosten* (*homilia* 10), the ms. preserves a little more than half (des. τὸν νόμον πληρῶ, line 327).¹¹¹ Although in its current state, the text of that sermon concludes on p. 444 at the end of a sentence, the bottom third of the two columns on p. 444 have been retraced, presumably to reinforce faded lettering. The page's last line of text appears to have originally contained several more letters that are now illegible. These were probably καὶ or καὶ τὴν, the next words in the sermon, in which case the sermon originally broke off mid sentence. Thus the defective end of *In mesopentecosten* and the defective beginning of our sermon are due to the loss of several folios between p. 444 and p. 445.

See: A. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung*, vol. 2, p. 76-80; P. AUGUSTIN – J.-H. SAUTEL, *CCG VII, Codicum Parisinorum partem priorem*, Paris, 2011, p. 46-49; E. GEBHARDT (ed.), *In diem luminum* in G. HEIL et al. (eds.), *Sermones, Pars I*, Leiden, 1967 (*GNO*, 9) (Φ); F. J. LEROY, *Proclus*, p. 225-226 (A); C. DATEMA (ed.), *Amphilochii Iconiensis opera: Orationes pluraque alia quae supersunt, nonnulla etiam spuria*, Turnhout-Leuven, 1978 (*CCSG*, 3) (A); P. ALLEN – C. DATEMA, "Leontius Presbyter of Constantinople – a Compiler?", *JÖB*, 29 (1980), p. 9-20 (D); C. DATEMA – P. ALLEN, *Leontii Presbyteri Constantinopolitani Homiliae* (P); O. LENDLE (ed.), *In sanctum Stephanum I* in G. HEIL et al. (eds.), *Sermones, Pars II*, Leiden, 1990 (*GNO*, 10/1); K.-H. UTHEMANN, *Die pseudo-chrysostomische Predigt In baptismum et tentationem (BHG 1936 m; CPG 4735). Kritische Edition mit Einleitung*, Heidelberg, 1994 (*Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 3) (T); N. RAMBAULT (ed.), *Homélies sur la résurrection*, vol. 2, (*SC*, 562) (P₂); J. J. OOSTERHUIS-DEN OTTER, *Four Pseudo-Chrysostomian Homilies* (55).

P₃ *Gr.1186 (Maz. Reg. 2027)*

Beginning of the 14th cent. (1306), parchment, 333 × 245 mm, 264 f., 2 col., 33 lines. This is a homiletical collection covering the entire liturgical year. This metaphrastic manuscript, originally produced by the copyist George of Rhodes, was corrected in the 14th cent., including the restoration of some omissions. It was subsequently sent to Paris by Athanasius Rhetor

¹¹¹ C. DATEMA – P. ALLEN (eds.), *Leontii Presbyteri Constantinopolitani Homilia*, Turnhout-Leuven, 1987 (*CCSG*, 17), p. 313-337.

(Pierre Athanase) during his mission to the East (1643-1653) on behalf of Chancellor of France Pierre Séguier and Chief Minister Cardinal Mazarin. The ms. belongs to the Mazarin collection. Origin: Constantinople. See *Karakallou* 5 and *Barocci* 241.

f. 245-259

See: H. OMONT, *Inventaire sommaire de la Bibliothèque nationale*, vol. 1, Paris, 1886, p. 254-255; A. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung*, vol. 3, p. 325-326; F. HALKIN, *Manuscrits grecs de Paris. Inventaire hagiographique*, Brussels, 1968 (*SH*, 44), p. 135-136; P. GÉHIN et al., *Les manuscrits grecs datés des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de France. II. XIV^e siècle (Première moitié)*, Louvain, 2004 (*Monumenta Paleographica Medii Aevi. Series Graeca*, 1), p. 30-32; F. J. LEROY, *Proclus*, p. 235; K. TREU, "Der Schreiber am Ziel. Zu den Versen "Ωσπερ ξένοι χάρουσιν und ähnlichen", in K. TREU – J. DUMMER (eds.), *Studia codicologica*, Berlin, 1977 (*TU*, 124), p. 479, 488, 490, n. 59, p. 491; J. KECSKEMÉTI, *Homélie inédite sur le saint-Esprit*, Paris, 1978 (G); J. MOSSAY et al., *Repertorium Nazianzenum. Orationes. Textus Graecus* 1, Paderborn, 1981-1998, p. 89 (R158); N. RAMBAULT (ed.), *Homélies sur la resurrection*, vol. 1 (*SC*, 561) (P₅); vol. 2, (*SC*, 562) (P₆).

P₂ *Gr. 1447 (Reg. 2030)*

10th-11th cent., parchment, 340 × 250 mm, 396 f., 2 col., lines. This is a half-year collection, with sermons from Lent to the end of August. The archetype of the collection dates to the mid-eighth century, as demonstrated by the presence of sermons by Germanos of Constantinople and Andrew of Crete as well as by the close relationship of this half-year collection to the older type of collection for the entire year (Type A), with no development yet towards Type B (so K.-H. UTHEMANN, "Enkomion" p. 106). As appears from a statement on f. 1v, the ms. once belonged to the monastery of Chrysopiga (the Golden Source) at Constantinople (K.-H. UTHEMANN, "Enkomion" p. 104).

f. 165-183v: lacuna 3.1/9.3 ἡρέμα – φωνήν

See: H. OMONT, *Inventaire sommaire*, vol. 2, p. 43-44; A. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung*, vol. 1, p. 266-269; F. HALKIN, *Inventaire hagiographique*, p. 158-159; F. J. LEROY, *Proclus*, p. 32 (n° 199); J. KECSKEMÉTI, *Homélie inédite* (H); J. MOSSAY et al., *Repertorium Nazianzenum*, p. 90 (R040); K.-H. UTHEMANN, "Ein Enkomion zum Fest des Hl. Paulus am 28. Dezember. Edition des Textes (CPG 4850) mit Einleitung" in A. SCHOORS – P. VAN DEUN (eds.), *Philohistôr: Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Laga septuagenarii*, Leuven, 1994 (*OLA*, 60), p. 103-134.

Rome, Bibliotheca Angelica**R** *Gr. 125*

11-15th cent., parchment, 362 × 240 mm, 373 f., 2 col., 30 lines. Origin: Monastery of St. John the Forerunner (St. John Prodromos), Constantinople.

f. 293-300v: Chrysostom, *In ascensionem D.N. Iesu Christi* (CPG 4342; SC 562) desinit σῶμα ἀναλαμβανόμενον (1.1 – 5.32).

f. 301-306v: Severian of Gabala, *In ascensionem et in principium Actorum* (CPG 4187): 22.1/40.2, incipit mut. τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπεφοίτησεν δόξης, desinit mut. ἀρπαζόμεθα ἐν νεφέλαις [εἰς ἀπάντησιν τοῦ δεσπότης εὐξώμεθα οὖν ἵνα γενόμεθα ἄξιοι τῆς ἀπαν<τήσεως> τῆς ἐκείνης καὶ ἡμεῖς πῶς οὖν εἰσόμεθα ἄξιοι *add. Angelica Gr. 125*]. At f. 305, col. 2, line 2, after εἰσόμεθα ἄξιοι, and beginning with ἔαν ἕκαστος, this ms. appends the conclusion of Chrysostom's *In Epistulam ad Romanos homilia 5* (CPG 4247; PG 60 col. 430, 3 – 432). Cf. CCG V, appendix 57, p. 249, which, however, does not take into account the portion of CPG 4187 omitted by V and edited by Kecskeméti.

The partial texts of *In ascensionem et in principium Actorum* and *In Epistulam ad Romanos homilia 5* preserved by this ms. are themselves lacunose. The former's major omissions, all unique, are as follows: 24.1/25.15 Εἶτα – μαρτυρούμενος, 28.5/32.1 ἀνελήφθη – αὐτόν, 38.3/39.27 Πάλιν – μέγαν. Despite its highly adaptive nature, this ms. does attest the portion of the sermon omitted by V (and Montfaucon and the PG) and later edited by Kecskeméti. Since the defective ending of CPG 4342 comes at the end of f. 300v and the defective beginning of CPG 4187 comes at the start of f. 301, we may conclude that an unknown number of folios have gone missing between f. 300v and f. 301. Consequently, we do not know how much more of CPG 4187 this ms. originally contained, or even if CPG 4187 was attached to the preceding sermon (CPG 4342) or not. In particular we do not know for certain if this ms. originally contained the portion of CPG 4187 dealing with Io. 20,19-29, which is omitted by P₂.

See: A. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung*, vol. 2, p. 33-34; CCG V, p. 175-177; E. GAMILLSCHEG, "Zur Rekonstruktion einer Konstantinopolitaner Bibliothek", *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 1, (1981), p. 283-293; P. MUNAFO – N. MURATORE, *La Biblioteca Angelica*, Rome, 1989, p. 140; A. M. MALINGREY (ed.), *Sur l'égalité du Père et du Fils* (SC, 396) (F); J. J. OOSTERHUISDEN OTTER, *Four Pseudo-Chrysostomian Homilies* (73).

Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV)

V *Ottoboni gr. 14*

10th cent., parchment, 382 × 242 mm, 272 f., 2 col., 38 lines. Copied in the 10th and the 12th centuries. The ms. is a fragment of the oldest and most extensive representative of the lectionary for the entire year (Type B). While V contains predominately fourth- and fifth-century church fathers, the most recent works are by Joseph of Thessalonica and George of Nicomedia, both ninth-century figures. Consequently, the collection probably originates with V itself, not with a prior ms. The scribe and illuminator of this ms. was also responsible for *Paris. gr. 654* and *Venice Marc. gr. II.179*. V appears to have a close relationship with Thessalonica, *Vlatadon 6* and Oxford, *Barocci 199*. Origin: Constantinople.

f. 259v-272: lacuna 26.4/37.1 ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς- ἀσφαλίστηται

In addition to our sermon, this ms. contains the following three sermons of Severian, all under the name of John Chrysostom:

f. 10-17v: Severian of Gabala, *De Serpente homilia* (CPG 4196; BHG 451h)

f. 27-31: Severian of Gabala, *De Ieiuno* (CPG 4968 = 4236a.6)

f. 177-180: Severian of Gabala, *In lotionem pedum* (CPG 4216)

See: E. FERON – F. BATTAGLINI, *Codices manuscripti graeci Ottoboniani Bibliothecae Vaticanae descripti praeside Alphonso cardinali Capecelatro*, Rome, 1893, p. 16-18; A. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung*, vol. 1, p. 213-218; S. MADIGAN, “Three manuscripts by the ‘Chrysostom Illuminator’: The Scribe as Artist in Tenth-century Constantinople” *Scriptorium* 41 (1987), p. 205-220 and Plates 15-17; K.-H. UTHEMANN, “Die Lazarus-Predigt des Leontios von Arabissos (BHG 2219u). Einleitung, Edition und Übersetzung” *Byz* 59 (1989), p. 291-353; M.-L. AGATI, *La minuscola “bouletée”*, coll. Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, Vatican 1992 (*Littera Antiqua* 9/1-2), p. 271-272; H. TEVEL, *De Preken van Basilius van Seleucië*, p. 37-40; J. J. OOSTERHUIS-DEN OTTER, *Four Pseudo-Chrysostomian Homilies* (94).

1.3 *Classification and Selection of Manuscripts*

Nine manuscripts were identified, dating from the 9th to the 17th centuries. Of these, six originated at Constantinople, where the sermons of Severian passed under the name of John Chrysostom sometime in the

second half of the sixth century.¹¹² Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, *gr. 19* has not been retained in this critical edition because of its fragmentary character. The critical apparatus retains eight other mss., but among them only M, A, P₃, and O offer the text in its entirety. As described above, the title and the beginning of the homily are missing in P₁, where the text begins with §5.12. P₂ omits §3.1/9.3, the portion of the sermon dealing with Io. 20, 19-29. The ms. R, for its part, has also suffered the loss of an unknown number of folios and, even apart from this accident of preservation, presents an abbreviated recension of the sermon. The passage omitted by V, and later edited by Kecskeméti, is equivalent to 11 folios, or 22 columns, of text in M. Each column of V has 38 lines, and the point of omission is located approximately two-thirds of the way down the second column (line 24) of folio 270 between ἀναλήψεως and βλέπόντων. Since it is impossible to explain the omission as resulting from the loss of a quire in V, it may be that the scribe of V purposely omitted the material, perhaps out of a concern with the length of the sermon, or perhaps out of a belief that the material dealing with Lc. 24, 49-51 was an unnecessary digression.

Collation of these eight manuscripts permits us to distinguish several groups:

AP₃O: These three manuscripts share more than two hundred and sixty unique readings. Their text is thus the result of a considerable intervention. This intervention appears to have aimed at facilitating public reading by, for example: offering explanations, addressing the audience – perhaps in order to revive attention – and by highlighting the discourse's logical connections. The additions, examples of which follow, particularly demonstrate this aim:

explanations	addressing the audience	logical connections
3.4/5 συνηγμένοι] διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν ἰουδαίων <i>add.</i> AP ₃ O	2.11 εἰδέναι] ἀγαπητοὶ <i>add.</i> AP ₃ O	1.36 ψελλίζομεν] ἀλλ' <i>add.</i> AP ₃ O
4.14 εἶπεν] αὐτῷ <i>add.</i> AP ₃ O	12.19 τοῦτον τὸν λόγον] τὸν δεύτερον λόγον ποῖον δὴ τοῦτον <i>add.</i> AP ₃ O	3.5 ἀφ' οὗ] γὰρ <i>add.</i> AP ₃ O
5.6 με] ὁ πατήρ <i>add.</i> AP ₃ O	24.31 χρόνοι] τί οὖν <i>add.</i> AP ₃ O	3.11 τέλος] μὲν <i>add.</i> AP ₃ O
10.3 θησαυροὺς] τῆς ἀγίας γραφῆς <i>add.</i> AP ₃ O	40.5 οὖν] καὶ ἡμεῖς ἅπαντες ἀγαπητοὶ <i>add.</i> AP ₃ O	4.13 ὥφθη] γὰρ <i>add.</i> AP ₃ O
11.14 ἐποίησε] σημείων <i>add.</i> AP ₃ O		4.26 ἐκκαλύπτει] διατί <i>add.</i> AP ₃ O
12.9 αὐτός] ὁ λοῦκας <i>add.</i> AP ₃ O		4.29 ἔδειξε] τοίνυν <i>add.</i> AP ₃ O

¹¹² For the date of the attribution of the Severianic corpus to Chrysostom, see S. J. VOICU, "Il nome cancellato", *art. cit.*, n. 109, p. 329-330. Cf. the same author's "Roma e l'ultimo manoscritto", *art. cit.* n. 3, p. 77.

The unique readings of the group AP₃O not only illustrate the aim of facilitating public reading, they also enable us to posit for that group a common ancestor (δ). Although additions are the most characteristic feature of AP₃O, and hence of δ, it is the errors of omission and transposition, the most significant of which are listed below, that are particularly instructive in demonstrating the existence of δ:

Errors of omission: **2.8** τὸν λόγον] *om.* AP₃O **5.18** ἄνθρωπος] *om.* AP₃O **8.12/14** ἐκεῖ – λέγει] *om.* AP₃O **13.4/5** πρόσσεχε παρακαλῶ] *om.* AP₃O **15.9/10** καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις γυναιξί] *om.* AP₃O **23.5** πόθεν εἰσόμεθα] *om.* AP₃O **25.3** οὗτος] *om.* AP₃O **39.1** τοῦ μεγάλου] *om.* AP₃O

Errors of transposition: **4.10/11** τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρὰ θεοῦ *trsp.* AP₃O **4.29** ἡμῖν ἀνέδωκεν *trsp.* AP₃O **4.33** πάλιν αὐτοῖς *trsp.* AP₃O **6.28/29** πνεύματος ἁγίου] τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος AP₃O **8.11** ἦν αὐτοῦ *trsp.* AP₃O **10.9/10** ἡ πᾶσα πραγματεία *trsp.* AP₃O **11.30** μάρκος ὁμοίως] ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ μάρκος AP₃O **19.24/25** τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων εἰρήνην, τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων τὰ ἀγαθὰ *trsp.* AP₃O **27.6** ὁ δὲ χριστός θεός ἐστι, θεός ἐστι καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον AP₃O **29.3** αὐτὸ τὸ παθὸν σῶμα AP₃O **32.7/8** δὲ αὐθεντία *trsp.* AP₃O **40.6** κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον κόπον λήψεται *trsp.* AP₃O

While such errors enable us to identify the common ancestor δ, other variant readings enable us to more precisely describe the relationship between the three mss. AP₃O. The mss. P₃ and O are more closely related to each other than either is to A, as is indicated by a number of variants (orthographic or otherwise), additions, and errors of transposition that are common to them both but that A does not share:

Variants: **1.14** μέγεθος] πέλαγος P₃O **5.7** ἀπεστάλης] ἀπέστειλε A ἀπεστάλη P₃O **11.9** ὅτι] λόγον P₃O **14.5** ἔδει] ἐπειδὴ P₃O **17.4/5** διελιμπάνομεν] διαλιμπάνομεν P₃O **19.6** πλευρᾷς] ἐξελθόν *add.* A ἐξελθόν *add.* P₃O **21.5** τὸν ἐπαγγελιάμενον] τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν P₃O **25.7** τῇ βασιλείᾳ] τῆς βασιλείας P₃O **38.4** λεγέτω] λέγω P₃O

Errors of transposition: **7.5** ὁ σωτὴρ πληροφορίαν *trsp.* P₃O **7.30** χριστοῦ πλευρὰν *trsp.* P₃O **11.45** περὶ πάντων ἐποιοσάμην *trsp.* P₃O **23.10** τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας *trsp.* P₃O

Additions: **4.19** διὸ] καὶ *add.* P₃O **4.22** αὐτοῖς] καὶ *add.* P₃O **4.33** οὖν] ὁ ἰησοῦς *add.* P₃O **11.11** πρῶτον²] λόγον *add.* P₃O **20.4** ἁγίῳ] καὶ πυρὶ *add.* P₃O **23.3/4** ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ] κηρύττων *add.* P₃O

Given the date each was copied, one might think that O is a copy of P₃. Nevertheless P₃, the older of the two, offers unique readings: about twen-

ty-five variants, ten errors of omission, four additions, and one error of transposition, all of which O does not follow. Below are some rather convincing examples of the readings unique to P_3 ; the presence of these unique readings shows that P_3 cannot be the antigraph of O:

Variants: **5.31** ἐνεφύσησε] ἀνεφύσησε P_3 **6.2** εἶδε] οἶδε P_3 **6.11** ἐμπίπτομεν] ἐμπίπτων *V^a. corr. in marg.* ἐμπίπτωμεν VP_1 ἐκπίπτομεν P_3
6.19 συγχωρήσεως] συγχωρήσει P_3 **10.7** αἱ πράξεις] ἐπράξεις P_3
12.11 παρέδωσαν] παρεδόθησαν P_3 **15.35/36** Ἰακώδω] Ἰακώδων P_3
 Ἰακώδως O **18.3** ἠκούσαμεν] ἀκούσαμεν P_3 **18.7** μου] ναὶ φησὶν P_3
 ναὶ φησὶν *add.* AO **26.9** ἐγγύτης] ἐγγύζοντα P_3

Errors of omission: **5.25** ὁ σωτήρ] *om.* P_3 **6.25** θεοῦ] *om.* P_3 **15.31** γὰρ] *om.* P_3 **18.21** ἐπὶ] *om.* P_3 **34.5/7** μὴ γὰρ – ἀφ' ὑμῶν] *om.* P_3

Addition: **5.9** με] ὁ πατὴρ καὶ γὰρ πέμπω ὑμᾶς AO σε ὁ πατὴρ ἀποστέλλεις οὐ τοῦ τρόπον λέγω φησὶ τῆς ἀποστολῆς τὸ καθὼς ἀπεστείλε με ὁ πατὴρ καταπέμπω ὑμᾶς *add.* P_3

If these unique readings show that P_3 cannot be the antigraph of O, then the most economical explanation for the common errors of these two mss. is that they have a common ancestor. Moreover, on the basis of a number of readings that are unique to A, it is possible to ascertain that neither P_3 nor O are copies of A. Here are the most significant of such readings:

Titulus: χρυσοστόμου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ μεγάλου φωστῆρος A χρυσοστόμου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου O χρυσοστόμου P_3 δέσποτα εὐλόγησον A εὐλόγησον πάτερ O

Variants: **2.2** ἀποκλείεται] ἀποκλύεται A **2.9** ἀποδίδωμεν] δίδωμεν A **4.18** παρὰ] περὶ A **5.7** ἀπεστάλης] ἀπέστειλε A **6.6** παρὰ] περὶ A **6.29** ἀναλαμβάνομενος] ἀναβαινόμενος A **9.5** ἐτίμησε] ἐπετίμησε A **15.34** τοὺς] τὴν τῶν P_3 O τοῖς P_1 εἶτα τοῖς A *om.* V **15.41** τοὺς²] τοῖς VO τὸν A **16.4** πατρός] σωτήρος A **27.4** ὑδρίζεται] ὑδρίζει A **29.16** νόμω] νόμου A **33.5** εἵχετε] εἶχε A **36.27** ἀποστόλους] πολλοὺς A **40.12/13** ἐπόπτης] δεσπότης A

Errors of omission: **4.28** ἐξ ἧς] *om.* A **6.16** ἔθνος] *om.* A **12.15/17** πόθεν – κράτιστε] *om.* A **12.15/18** τῷ ἡγεμόνι – θεόφιλε] *om.* A **14.10** τοῖς²] αὐτοῖς P_3 O *om.* A

Errors of transposition: **25.4** εἰς προῶγμα τὸ ῥῆμα] τὸ ῥῆμα εἰς προῶγμα *trsp.* A τὸ προῶγμα P_3 O **36.36/37** καὶ ἐν νεφέλαις *trsp.* A

Additions: **1.11** εἰπεῖν] εἶπε *add.* A **3.11** σαδδάτων] ἐπιφαίνεσθαι ἵνα πῆξῃ τὸν θεμέλιον τῆς ἀγίας κυριακῆς τέλος μὲν γὰρ εἶχε τὰ τῶν σαδδάτων *add.* A **11.11** ἐποίησεν] λόγον *add.* A **30.17** λέγει¹] ἔφη P_3 O K ἔφη αὐτῷ A **38.8** ἀρραδῶνα] βέβαιον *add.* A βέβαιον ποῖον ἀρραδῶνα *add.* P_3 O Pg

Since these readings make it unlikely that either P₃ or O are apographs of A, we may posit for the two mss. P₃ and O a common ancestor (ε). The best explanation for the common errors of the three mss. AP₃O is that both A and ε descend from the same ms. (δ). We know of no direct evidence that makes it possible to date δ, the hypothetical antigraph of AP₃O. However, studying the manuscript tradition of the sermon *Contra ebrietatem* (CPG 4241) may supply some clues. Analysis of that text's tradition shows that the codex Philadelphia, Lewis 2 (L) of the eleventh century could be the antigraph of P₃ or they could have a common ancestor. L descends from the same exemplar as the tenth-century Dionysiou 71 (R), which makes it possible to locate what is likely the first ancestor of AP₃O in the tenth century or a little after. Furthermore, as regards the sermon *Contra ebrietatem*, P₃ and O¹¹³ have in common readings unknown to L. Since P₃ and O also have in common some readings unknown to A, the immediate antigraph of P₃ and O cannot be earlier than the twelfth or thirteenth century.

MP₁: An examination of the portion of the sermon transmitted by P₁ establishes the close relationship this codex has to M. These two manuscripts contain a handful of probably erroneous variants which this edition does not adopt and which are found in no other mss.:

15.28 πεντακοσίους ἀδελφοῖς] πεντακοσίων ἀδελφῶν MP₁ **15.31**
 ἑνδεκα¹ 2] δώδεκα MP₁ **36.23** νεφελῶν] νεφέλαις MP₁ **37.7**
 μέγαν] μέγα MP₁

The two mss. also agree in a number of minor errors, orthographical or otherwise, which support the recognition of a close relationship between M and P₁:

5.15 κατ'αὐτήν]* κατὰ τήν MP₁AP₃O **11.34** ἐκάθισεν] ἐκάθησεν
 MP₁A **12.16** ὁ¹] om. MP₁ **14.10** ἀλιεύουσι] ἀλιεύουσιν ἐν MA
 ἀλίευσιν ἐν P₁ ἀλίευσιν V^{a. corr. in marg.} **15.18** εἶδομεν] εἶδωμεν M^{a. corr.}
 P₁ εἶδαν P₂ **17.16** ἐσθιόμενος] ἐσθιόμενος M^{a. corr.}P₁ **17.16** ἐσθι-
 ὁμενος²] ἐσθιόμενον V M_fPg ἐσθιόμενος M^{a. corr.}P₁ **18.7** μου] om.
 MP₁ ναὶ φησὶν add. AP₃O Pg **18.26** μεθύουσιν] μεθύοντας M^{a. corr.}VP₁
19.4 θυγατέρες] θυγατέρας M^{a. corr.}P₁ **20.12** τοῦ²] om. MP₁ **27.21**
 καθίσατε] καθήσατε MP₁O **29.5** λαμπρότητα]* λαμπρότητος MP₁A
 λαμπρότατον P₃K λαμπρότατα O **30.11, 14** μνᾶ] μνᾶς MP₁AP₃O^{a. corr.}
35.23 ἐκαθάρισεν] ἐκαθήρησεν M^{a. corr.} P₁ ἐκαθέρισεν P₂ **40.14** θέλο-
 μεν] θέλωμεν M^{a. corr.}P₁P₂ **40.16** θέλωμεν] θέλωμεν MP₁P₂

In addition to these minor errors and to the readings unique to MP₁ which this edition does not adopt, there are other readings unique to MP₁ which

¹¹³ P₅ and O₄ in the edition of N. RAMBAULT (ed.), *Homélies sur la resurrection*, vol. 1 (SC, 561), p. 65-79.

this edition does adopt and which may also be enlisted here, in a secondary way, in support of the close relationship between the two mss.:

11.42 τὸν κόσμον χωρῆσαι *trsp.* VP_2AP_3O **39.5/6** οὐχί – εἰκὼν]* *om.* VP_2AP_3O . From the portion omitted by P_2 : **5.7** δέσποτα] δεσπότης VP_3O **7.36** ἄπιστος] ἀλλὰ πιστός *add.* VAP_3O . From the portion omitted by V : **29.24** σταυρώσει]* τρώσει P_2AP_3O **34.5,6** (cf. 35.1, 27) ἐμβλέποντες] βλέποντες P_2AP_3OR **35.13** ἀπεστάλησαν] δὲ *add.* P_2AP_3O .

If these readings, taken together, indicate a real affinity between M and P_1 , there are nevertheless several distinctive readings of M that prohibit us from supposing P_1 to be a direct descendent of that ms. Examples include: 8.16 μακαρισμός] μακάριος MO^a . *corr.* 20.4/5 μετὰ γὰρ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας] *om.* M 27.4 κοινόν] καινόν M . The omission at 20.4/5 is particularly significant; P_1 contains these words but cannot have gotten them from M . The likeliest explanation is that P_1 transmits them from a common source, namely, the hypothetical ms. α , which descended from the archetype Ω and was copied not earlier than the second half of the sixth century, when the sermons of Severian passed under the name of John Chrysostom.¹¹⁴

Despite its proximity to M , the ms. P_1 also contains no fewer than seventy variants which it shares with no other collated manuscript, as well as twelve unique additions, and three unique inversions. The variants mostly offer synonyms and do not change the meaning of the text. Thirty-eight omissions, some of which are quite long or involve haplography, demonstrate the distraction of the scribe and, together with some transcriptional errors, compromise the quality of the text. The large number of distinctive readings provides evidence of a major intervention on this text or its ancestor.¹¹⁵ The most important indications of this intervention are:

Variants: **6.21** μαρτυρῆσαι] μαρτυρήσαντα P_1 **21.8** τάξεως] διαστάσεως P_1 **27.17** περικείμενον] προκείμενον P_1 **22.1** ἡμεῖς δὲ] ἡμεῖς δὲ P_1 **29.14** ζώνην] πόλιν P_1 **36.6** δυνάμεως] μεγαλοσύνης αὐτοῦ P_1 **38.4** σῶμα] πνεῦμα P_1 **38.13** συγγενὴς χριστοῦ] σῶμα χριστοῦ καὶ συγγενὴς P_1 **40.20** μαρθάνουσιν] διδασκομένοις P_1

Transcriptional errors: **29.27/28** πέδαις ... χειροπέδαις] παῖδες ... χειρόπαιδες *sic* P_1 **29.30** οὖν δεθήσονται] συνδεθήσονται P_1

Errors of omission: **7.29** ὁ δὲ πίσται δουλεύων πιστός] *om.* P_1 **11.13/15** οὐ πράξεις – διδάσκειν] *om.* P_1 **13.8/10** οἷς παρέστησεν –

¹¹⁴ See n. 112.

¹¹⁵ For the same conclusion regarding the sermon of John Chrysostom, *De s. Pentecoste 1*, see: N. RAMBAULT (ed.), *Homélie sur la resurrection*, vol. 2 (SC, 562), p. 119.

αὐτὸν] *om.* P_1 29.9 ὁψονται – ἐξεκέντησαν] *om.* P_1 35.5/7 ἐνταῦθα
δέ – οὐρανόν] *om.* P_1R 37.9/10 ἐνταῦθα – ἐν ἀλαλαγμῶ] *om.* P_1

Additions: 7.45 δαυὶδ] εἰρημένον *add.* P_1 20.20 ἐδάπτισεν]
βάπτισμα μετανοίας ἐν *add.* P_1 27.11 ἔνδυμα] τὸν χρυστὸν *add.*
 P_1 30.15 λοιπὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς] εὖ δοῦλε ἀγαθὲ καὶ πιστέ· ἔσω ἔχων
ἐξουσίαν ἐπάνω δέκα πόλεων λοιπὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς *add.* P_1 32.7 τῶν
ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν] λοιπὸν οὐκ ἔτι ὡς ἀνθρωπίνῃ σαρκὶ δουλεύει ἡ
φύσις τῶν κτισμάτων ἀλλ' ὡς θεῶ *add.* P_1 37.8 ἀνέβη] ἀνελήφθη
ἐπορεύετο ἀνέβη *add.* P_1

Errors of transposition: 20.21 γὰρ ὕδατι ἔλαβον *trps.* P_1 28.17 οὗτος
με *trsp.* P_1 38.20 κατέβη τὸ πνεῦμα *trps.* P_1

P₁AP₃O: The ms. P_1 also has a close relationship with δ , as is indicated by an omission that they have in common, yet which lacks a contextual explanation, and therefore does not seem to have arisen independently: 12.2 ἐδέξατο ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ] *om.* $P_1P_2AP_3O$. Since P_1 is, moreover, characterized by many errors that do not appear in δ , we must assume that P_1 and δ descend from a common ancestor (γ).¹¹⁶ That the omission at 12.2 is also attested in P_2 will be explained a little further below.

6			
		α	
7			
8			
9	M		γ
10		P_1	δ
11			
12			
13		A	ϵ
14			P_3
			O
15			

¹¹⁶ The following readings may support the common ancestry of P_1 and δ , though they could also have arisen independently: 18.1 ἐλάλει] *add.* τὰ $P_1P_2AP_3O$ 25.6 πάντας] πάντας P_1AP_3O 27.8 πνεῦμα] τὸ ἄγιον *add.* P_1AP_3O 28.20 παρὰ] τοῦ *add.* P_1P_3O 29.11 πιστεύσαντας] πιστεύοντας P_1P_3O 30.26 δοθήσεται] καὶ περισσευθήσεται *add.* P_1AP_3O .

The differences between MP_1AP_3O and VP_2 : V and P_2 share several variants, a number of minor omissions, and one transposition that are found nowhere else in the extant textual tradition of this sermon:

Variants: **15.30** ἐπειτα] ἐπὶ P_1 εἴτα VP_2 **37.10** φωνήν] παρρησίαν VP_2

Errors of omission: **10.14** καὶ] *om.* VP_2 **11.6/7** τοίνυν] *om.* VP_2
13.3 ἀγίοις] *om.* VP_2 **18.14** καὶ²] *om.* VP_2 **18.23** καὶ¹] *om.* VP_2
26.1 βλεπόντων²] *om.* VP_2 **38.26** τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμα] *om.* VP_2 **38.27**
τὸ ἡμέτερον σῶμα] *om.* VP_2 **40.2** γὰρ] *om.* VP_2

Transposition: **14.8/9** ἄλλη μορφῇ ἄλλη φωνῇ *trsp.* VP_2 ἄλλη φωνῇ P_1

Despite the numerous individual readings of these two mss., and despite their lacunas (V 26.4/37.1; P_2 3.1/9.3), which reduce the number of visible conjunctive errors, the errors cited above are best explained by positing a common ancestor (β) of these two textual witnesses. As with α , this ms. β will have been a descendent of the archetype Ω .

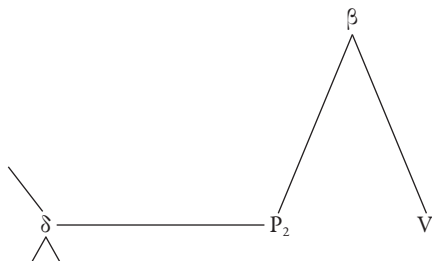
The relationship between P_2 and δ : In addition to the common ancestry of V and P_2 , there is also some relationship between P_2 and δ . Here are the more significant common errors:

1.37 ἡσαίας βοᾷ *trsp.* P_2AP_3O **12.2** ἐδέξατο ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ] *om.* $P_1P_2AP_3O$
15.7 δέκα] καὶ *add.* P_2AP_3O **15.24** ἐπεφάνη] ἐφάνη P_2P_3O

The omission of οὐχί – εἰκὼν at 39.5/6 by VP_2AP_3O as well as the following readings may also belong here:

12.15 ἀξιῶμα] τὸ *add.* P_2AP_3O **18.23** τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμα] τὸ πνεῦμα
τὸ ἄγιον P_2AP_3O **23.6** εἰ] καὶ *add.* P_2AP_3O *Pg* **24.12** συζητῇ]
ζῇται P_2A ζητῇ P_3O **29.24** σταυρώσει]* τρώσει P_2AP_3O **35.13**
ἀπεστάλησαν] δὲ *add.* P_2AP_3O

These common errors between P_2 and δ seem to indicate that while P_2 was copied from β , it also had access to δ .



R: In addition to its major omissions (24.1/25.15; 28.5/32.1; 38.3/39.27), the text transmitted by this ms. is further characterized by some fifty minor omissions, a score of minor additions, a few transpositions, around a dozen variants, and a considerably reworked passage of some length, (37.4/12), all of which are unique to this ms. In addition to these unique features of the text, several errors in common with V and/or P₂ but with no other mss. suggest that R also descends from β:

22.8/9 ἐγὼ – πόλει] *om.* VR 23.14/15 ἀνεπλήρωσε] ἐπλήρωσε VP₂R
 26.1 βλεπόντων²] *om.* VP₂R 26.12 Ἱερουσαλὴμ] ταύτη P₂R 27.9
 μακεδονίου] πρὸς *add.* P₂ φρονοῦντας πρὸς *add.* R 27.10 ἐστίν]
 οὔσα P₂R 33.8 ὄντες] *om.* P₁P₂R.

The only places where V and R, given their respective lacunas, overlap are: 22.1/24.1; 25.15/26.4; 37.1/38.3 (37.4/12, however, is largely rewritten in R); 40.1/2. This small amount of overlapping preserved text is likely the reason that we do not see more errors in common between V and R. As with P₂, there are also several errors in common between R and AP₃O or R and P₃O:

23.7 δῆλον] ἄκουσον συνετῶς *add.* AP₃O ἄκουσον *add.* R 23.13
 μόνον] *om.* AP₃OR 33.7 ἔλεγον] ἔλεγον οὖν AP₃OR λέγοντας ὑμῖν P₂
 33.9 ἡμῖν] ἡμᾶς P₃OR 36.23 τοῦτο] δῆλον *add.* AP₃OR.

These errors suggest a contamination in the tradition of R: the ms. descends from β but also had access to δ, the ancestor of A, P₃, and O.

M, V and P₂: It is necessary to emphasize that M is not only the oldest but also the best witness because it has undergone far fewer interventions than the other manuscripts; these manuscripts, in fact, confirm the text as preserved by M. Although V has numerous unique variants, the great majority of them are of an orthographical nature. Among approximately forty instances in which V preserves variants not found elsewhere, many such instances involve synonyms of the words preserved by M, while only a few such instances supply a substantially different text: 1.2 διψῶμεν] διώκομεν V 10.1 τῶν πράξεων] ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ V 39.23 μέγας ἱερὺς] μέγας βασιλεὺς V. Similarly, the forty or so omissions do not supply a substantially different text: they pertain to articles, particles, and instances of haplography, or *parablepsis*. Such omissions are due to inattention on the part of the copyist and perhaps to an antigraph of inferior quality. Finally, the five unique additions also show that the text of V is not substantially different than that of M. These additions aim to “improve” the text by adding a definite article, a particle, or other elements that facilitate public reading:

8.2 προγνώσεως] τὸν *add. V* 39.25 αὐτοῦ] ἡ *add. V* 25.2 μὴ] δὴ
add. V 15.26 πέμπτον] φαίνεται *add. V* 19.4 δώσω] φησί *add. V*
 38.19 ἐνέχυρον] αὐτοῦ *add. V*

All of this is not to deny that V and P₂ descend from a common ancestor β, but rather to suggest on the one hand that the differences between β and α are relatively minor and on the other hand that P₂ and R significantly adapted the texts they inherited. For P₂ not only presents a shorter recension of the sermon, as arguably does V, it also offers a text rather different than that common to M and V. In fact, in comparison with M, the ms. P₂ is characterized by no fewer than 170 omissions (some of which are quite large in size), an equivalent number of variants, around fifty additions, and thirty inversions. Notable examples include:

Errors of omission: 3. 1/9. 3 ἡρέμα – τὰν *om. P₂* 11. 16 αὐτὸς – συνέθηκεν] *om. P₂* 13. 4/6 καθ' ὑπερβολὴν – οὗς ἐξελέξατο] *om. P₂* 13. 12/14. 3 καὶ γὰρ – θεοῦ] *om. P₂* 15. 29 εἴτα – τιθερίδος] *om. P₂* 16.6/11 ἵνα βεβαιώσω – οἰκονομίας] *om. P₂*.

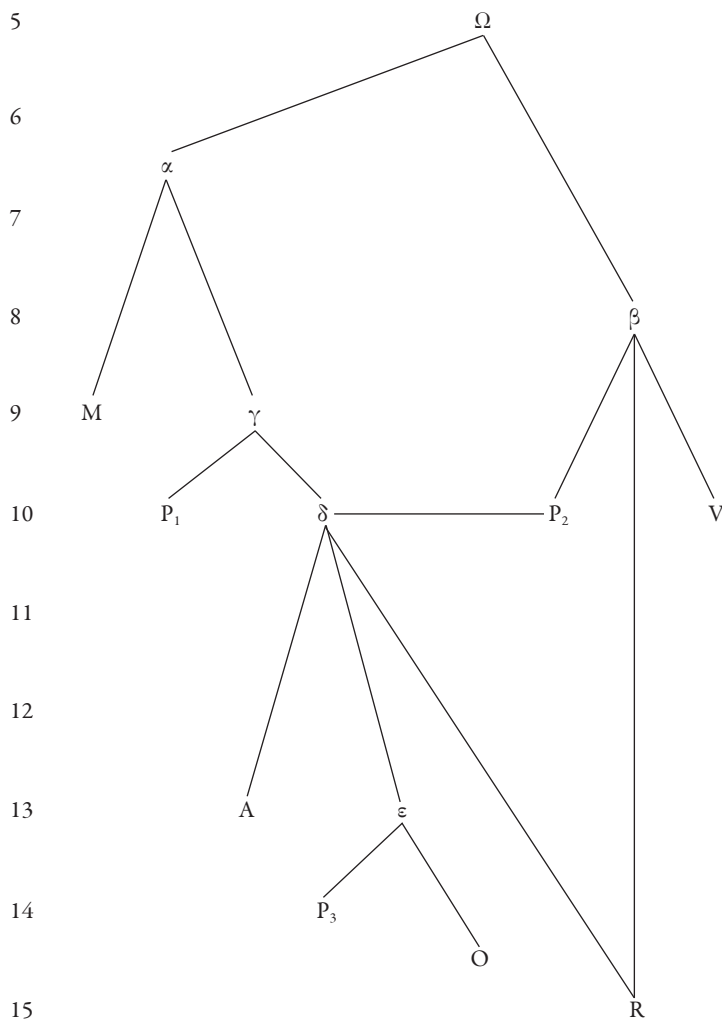
Variants: 1.28 τοῦ λόγου] μόνον τούτων *P₂* 2.3 θελήσαντες] διψήσαντες *P₂* 2.7/9 τῶν εἰρημένων – ἀποδίδομεν] ὡς ἄνθρωποι ὠκλάσαμεν ἀποδοῦναι *P₂* 2. 11 χρόνοις] τόποις *P₂* 9.13 ἀνάληψις] χάρις *P₂* 10.2 ἀντλήσω] ζητήσω *P₂* 11.21 σύνταγμα] σύγγραμμα *P₂* 11. 27 ὥφθη δὲ αὐτοῖς] ἐκεῖ αὐτοῖς ὥφθη *P₂* 15.10 πρὸ γὰρ] πρῶτον *P₂* 15.13 διασφάλλωμεν] διαφύγωμεν *P₂* 15.16 δύο τούτων] δέκα *P₂* 15.19 σίμωνι] κεφᾶ *P₂* 15.33/35 ἔχεις – ἔδομον] εἴτα τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν ὕγδοον *P₂* 15.35/36 τοῖς ἐδομ-
 μήκοντα δέκατον] εἴτα *P₂* 18.4 ἀποστελῶ] πέμπει *P₂*

Additions: 11.15 εὐαγγέλιον] συνέταξεν τις δὲ ὁ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον *add. P₂* 11.29 εἰμι] πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας *add. P₂* 11.44 λόγον] κατὰ πλάτος *add. P₂* 11.47 ἐξελέξατο] διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου *add. P₂* 13.11 ζῶντα] αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν εἰπὼν *add. P₂* 16.4 πατρός] ἦν ἡκούσατέ μου *add. P₂*

Errors of transposition: 1.8/9 κληθῆναι χριστοῦ *trsp. P₂* 1.16/17 εἰ γλῶσσαι προφητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων *trsp. P₂* 1.27 ψελλίζοντας τοὺς παῖδας *trsp. P₂* 11.4/5 μερίζεται ἐννοίας *trsp. P₂* 11.10 εὕρεσκειται οὖν *trsp. P₂* 11.38 τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐπιφάνειαν *trsp. P₂* 15.11 ἐρχόμεναι ἀπὸ θεάς *trsp. P₂* 15.33 τὰς γυναῖκας πρῶτον *trsp. P₂* 11.40/41 τοὺς περὶ κλεώπαν τρίτον ... τοὺς δέκα τέταρτον ... τοὺς ἑνδεκα πέμπτον ... τοὺς πενταχοσίους ἕκτον *trsp. P₂*.

In conclusion, this study has permitted us to demonstrate the existence of a manuscript α that is the source of M and γ. We have also established that

V descends from β and that P_1 and δ are descendents of γ , while P_2 and R are both probably descendents of β and had independent access to δ . From this latter ms., δ , descend A on the one hand and ε on the other. The ms. ε is in turn the common ancestor of P_3 and O. Our textual analysis of this sermon ultimately affirms that the text transmitted by M is the most satisfactory.



2. Decisions and principles of the present edition:

This edition favors the text common to the oldest manuscripts (MVP₂) when they agree. Unique readings are therefore usually eliminated: those of P₃ frequently chosen by Migne and Kecskeméti, those of P₂ sometimes

favorable by Montfaucon or the PG, and those of V, which exhibits numerous instances of haplography. We have also excluded the readings common to AP₃O because such readings are the product of a later, eleventh-century intervention, the purpose of which was to facilitate public reading. When the descendants of α differ from the descendants of β , we tend to favor the former: M or MP₁ or MP₁AP₃O, when the text of the thirteenth- and the two fourteenth-century witnesses agrees with that of the oldest two. In cases where we have felt compelled to depart from these stemmatological principles of selection, we offer an explanation in the form of notes following the Greek text. These notes correspond to an asterisk (*) in the critical apparatus. In this way, we offer to contemporary readers a text that approaches, as nearly as possible, an ancient state of the sermon, namely, the archetype Ω .

3. The indirect tradition

In his *Amphilochia* (qs. 123-129), Photius provides us with the only known instance of this sermon's indirect transmission. Because Photius appears to have dealt rather freely with his source, it is difficult to rely on the testimony of Photius in establishing the text of the sermon. For this reason we have decided not to include the testimony of Photius in the textual apparatus or to locate it on the stemma. It is nonetheless worthwhile to examine what textual affinities the testimony of Photius may have with the groups of mss. in the direct tradition.

Photius and P₂:

8 Omissions: **10.9** δὲ] *om.* P₂Ph **10.11** τὸν μακάριον παῦλον] τὸν παῦλον P₂Ph **11.3/4** ἄλλοι δὲ ὅτι λουκᾶς] ἄλλοι λουκᾶς P₂Ph **15.11** καὶ *om.* P₂P₃Ph **15.31** εἶπεν ὅτι ὥφθη] εἶπεν ὥφθη P₂Ph **18.14** τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον] πνεῦμα ἄγιον P₂Ph **18.20** προφήτου ἰωήλ] προφήτου P₂Ph **37.20** ἐν σαρκὶ] σαρκὶ P₂Ph

4 Transpositions: **10.12** μέλους ἐνός] ἐνός μέλους P₂Ph **15.11** ἀπὸ θέας ἐρχόμεναι] ἐρχόμεναι ἀπὸ θέας P₂Ph **15.26/27** ἀδελφοῖς πεντακοσίοις] πεντακοσίοις ἀδελφοῖς P₂Ph **18.23** τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμα] τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον P₂P₃O Ph

5 Variants: **15.11/12** ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ... εἰς τὴν ἐμμανὸς] εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ... εἰς ἐμμανὸς P₂ εἰς τε τὴν ὁδὸν ... εἰς ἐμμανούμ Ph **18.4** ἀποστελῶ] πέμπει P₂Ph **20.14** δίδωσι] δῶ P₂Ph **23.11** νίψασθαι ἡ] νίψασθαι εἰ μὴ P₂Ph

1 Addition: **37.18** ὅτι] καὶ *add.* P₂RPh

Photius and M γ :

The text of Photius does not entirely conform to P₂. So, for example, P₂ omits εἶτα τοῖς ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς Τιθεριᾶδος (15.29), but this reading, which is present in M and γ , also appears in the text of Photius. The same can be said for several other readings of P₂. Since not all of these readings are found in the extracts of Photius and since Photius sometimes agrees with M and γ , the source of Photius's text is likely on the one hand the tradition preserved by M and γ and on the other hand an ancestor of P₂.

4. The previous editions

This sermon was published for the first time in 1721 by Bernard de Montfaucon in the third volume of the complete works of John Chrysostom (p. 758-775) in the section devoted to spuria. There the sermon appears with a Latin translation under the title *In ascensionem domini nostri Jesus Christi et in principium Actorum II*. After first supposing he had identified the lost second sermon that John had devoted to commenting on the beginning of the Acts of the Apostles, Montfaucon subsequently changed his mind and considered CPG 4187 a cento which preserved parts of Chrysostom's lost sermon.¹¹⁷ As previously discussed, a portion of the text that we edit here (26.4/37.1) is omitted in this *editio princeps*. Montfaucon considered it an interpolation of poor quality, and he describes the content as "paginas quisquiliis plenas." In a note, moreover, he adds: "est [...] longissimum septem octove paginarum quod nugacem graeculum facit."¹¹⁸ In the nineteenth century, T. Fix, L. de Sinner, and F. Dübner significantly revised Montfaucon's edition of the sermon for a new publication with the Gaume brothers in 1837 in volume III of *editio Parisina altera* of the complete works of John Chrysostom (p. 914-935). It is this second edition that Migne and his associates faithfully reprinted in 1862 in PG 52, col. 773-792. For the omitted fragment to be rehabilitated and considered an integral part of the sermon, it was necessary to await the 1978 thesis of Judit Kecskeméti, defended at the Sorbonne under the direction of M. Harl.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ "Putavi eam esse secundam quam Chrysotomus habuerat de inscriptione Actorum [...] verum re postea diligentius perpensa et accuratius examinata, comperi esse centonem variis ex homiliis" (B. DE MONTEFAUCON, *monitum*, in *opera omnia*, vol. 3, p. 757).

¹¹⁸ See B. DE MONTEFAUCON, *monitum*, in *opera omnia*, vol. 3, p. 758 (PG 52 col., 773-774) and the note in vol. 3, p. 772 (=PG 52 col. 788, Latin note a).

¹¹⁹ J. KECSKEMÉTI, *Homélie inédite*, *op. cit.*, n. 5, p. 84-87; 177-204.

4. 1 The Edition of 1721: Montfaucon reports having collated V, P₂, and P₃,¹²⁰ which is confirmed by our study. He was certainly not above adopting readings unique to any of these mss., such as the following readings, which were unique, as far as Montfaucon knew, to either P₂ or P₃:

Readings “unique” to P₂: **1.3/4** καὶ τῇ βίᾳ κρατούμενοι] *om.* P₂ M_fPg **1.7** αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος] αὐτὸς P₂ M_fPg ἐκεῖνος AP₃O **1.9** ὁ²] καὶ P₂ M_fPg **1.12** οὗτος ὁ τοσοῦτος] ὁ τοιοῦτος P₂ M_fPg **1.15** καθὼς καὶ] καθὼς καὶ ὁ AP₃O εἰ P₂ M_fPg **1.33** οὐδὲν] οὐ P₂ M_fPg **1.33** δι’ ἀνθρωπίνης γλῶττης] ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη γλῶσσα P₂ M_fPg **1.38** ἡρέμα καὶ κατὰ] *om.* P₂ M_fPg **2.1** ἔφθη] ἔφθην εἰπὼν V ἔφη P₂ M_fPg **9.6/7** ἐλαιῶνος] ἐλαιῶν P₂ M_fPg **10.11** μακάριον] *om.* P₂ M_fPg **11.11** πεποίημαι] πεποίηται P₁P₂ M_fPg **13.12/15** καὶ γὰρ – ἐπιφοίτησις] *om.* P₂ M_fPg **15.6/7** ἐνταῦθα ὅτε] ἐνθα P₂ M_fPg **15.13** ἀκριβῶς] *om.* P₂ M_fPg **15.24** γυναιξὶ] πρῶτον *add.* P₂ M_fPg **15.25** πέτρῳ] δεύτερον *add.* P₂ M_fPg **15.25** κλεώπαν] τρίτον *add.* P₂ M_fPg **15.26** θωμᾶ] τέταρτον *add.* P₂ M_fPg **18.15** ὡς εἰς ἐξ ὑμῶν] *om.* P₂ M_f ὡς ἐξ ὑμῶν A ὡς Pg **24.4** γυμνάζουσι καὶ] γυμνάζοντες P₂ M_fPg **24.30/31** ὁ οὖν υἱὸς] ὁ υἱὸς οὖν *trsp.* P₂ M_fPg οὖν ὁ υἱὸς V **24.36** παῦλος] *om.* P₂ M_f οὖς *add.* AP₃O Pg **40.10** μεριζόμενοι – ὑπονοίαις] *om.* P₂ M_f

Readings “unique” to P₃: **1.10** παρ’ αὐτοῦ] παρὰ θεῶ P₂ παρ’ αὐτῷ AP₃O M_fPg **9.9/10** ἦν δὲ τὸ ὅρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν] τῶν ἐλαιῶν *om.* P₂ *om.* P₁P₃O M_fPg **10.9** τῶν] λοιπῶν *add.* AP₃O M_fPg **10.13** ἀλλὰ] πράξεις *add.* P₁AP₃O M_fPg **12.18** εὐαγγέλιον] πρῶτον ὁ λοῦκας *add.* AP₃O M_fPg **12.18/19** τῷ αὐτῷ] τὸ αὐτὸ V τῷ αὐτῷ θεοφιλεῖ AP₃O M_fPg **17.15** ἔδονται] ἐδοῦνται V αἰδοῦνται καὶ πείθονται AP₃O M_fPg **19.6** πλευρᾶς] ἐξεληθὼν *add.* A ἐξεληθὼν *add.* P₃O M_fPg **19.7** πλευρᾶς] ῥεῦσαν *add.* AP₃O M_fPg **19.8** ἀποστόλων] κατεληθὼν *add.* A κατεληθὼν *add.* P₃O M_fPg **19.12** ἐμήν] τί οὖν *add.* AP₃O M_fPg **19.16** μου] ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα *add.* AP₃O M_fPg **19.24/25** τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων εἰρήνην, τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων τὰ ἀγαθὰ *trsp.* AP₃O M_fPg **20.7** ὥδε] τοίνυν *add.* AP₃O M_fPg **23.6** ἀλλὰ] ὅτι *add.* AP₃O M_fPg **23.7** ὅτε] ὅτι V γοῦν *add.* AP₃O M_fPg **24.35** υἱοῦ] κεῖνται *add.* AP₃O M_fPg **38.3** ἀγίου] δύνανται *add.* AP₃O M_fPg **38.12** ἀνεψιὸς] τάττεται *add.* AP₃O M_fPg **38.16** ὅτι] μόνον *add.* AP₃O M_fPg **38.19** ἄνω] ἡγουν τὸ σῶμα ὃ ἐξ’ ἡμῶν προσελάβετο *add.* AP₃O M_fPg **38.19** καὶ] κάτω *add.* AP₃O M_fPg **38.25** δὲ] *om.* P₁P₂ καὶ AP₃O M_fPg **40.12** ἀνθρώπους] μὲν *add.* AP₃O M_fPg **40.12** πεφανερώμεθα] οἳ εἰς ἐμὲν *add.* AP₃O M_fPg **40.15** ἀκουόντων] ἀκουσάντων παρὰ χριστοῦ AP₃O M_fPg

¹²⁰ See B. DE MONTFAUCON, *opera omnia*, vol. 3, p. 758 (PG 52 col., 773 Latin).

While the unique readings of P_2 that Montfaucon adopts involve a mix of additions, omissions, and variants, the unique readings of P_3 that he adopts are largely additions. Be that as it may, when a choice is necessary, Montfaucon generally prefers the readings common to V and P_2 . Where P_2 is absent (§ 3.1/9.3), he relies almost exclusively on the text of V rather than that of P_3 . And of course, most consequentially, Montfaucon chose to reject the testimony of P_2 and P_3 and instead follow V in omitting 26.4/37.1. The preference for V, however, is not without its compensating merits. In many cases, the readings of V that Montfaucon adopts prove to have been shared by M; adopting these readings avoided many of the peculiarities of P_2 and of the elements of P_3 designed to facilitate public reading. In this way, Montfaucon succeeded in partly restoring a truly ancient state of the text. Below are some examples of readings that are common to M and V, which Montfaucon adopts, and which avoid peculiarities either of P_2 or of P_3 or of both:

1.14 ἀτονεῖ] καὶ ναρκᾷ *add.* P_2 1.30 τῶν παίδων τὰ ψελλίσματα *trsp.* P_2 1.37 ἡσάϊας βοᾷ *trsp.* P_2AP_3O 2.3 θελήσαντες] διψήσαντες P_2 4.12 προφητῶν] διὰ δικαίων *add.* AP_3O Pg 6.9 σὺ] κύριε *add.* AP_3O Pg 6.15 ἐξουσίαν] ὁ σωτὴρ *add.* AP_3O Pg δίδωσι] τοῖς ἀποστόλοις *add.* AP_3O Pg 6.27 ἐστι] ὁ χριστός *add.* AP_3O Pg 7.38 θεοῦ] ἀγαθότητι καὶ *add.* AP_3O Pg 9.3 φωνήν] ποίαν δὴ ταύτην *add.* AP_3O Pg 9.13 ἀνάληψις] χάρις P_2 10.2 ἀντλήσω] ζητήσω P_2 10.3 θησαυρούς] τῆς ἀγίας γραφῆς *add.* AP_3O Pg 11.2 γὰρ] ἀγνοοῦντες τὸν συγγραφέα *add.* AP_3O Pg 11.16 αὐτὸς καὶ – συνέθηκεν] *om.* P_2 13.2 μέχρι] ἕως P_2 14.1/3 πρόσσεχε – θεοῦ] *om.* P_2 15.2 ὅτι] μετὰ τῇν ἀνάστασιν *add.* AP_3O Pg ἀποστόλοις] ὁ σωτὴρ *add.* AP_3O Pg 15.3 ἀνελήφθη] πρὸς τὸν πατέρα διατί *add.* AP_3O Pg 15.24 ἐπεφάνη] ἐφάνη P_2P_3O 15.25 δέκα] τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων *add.* AP_3O Pg 16.4/5 ἀγαθότητος] ὡς τῆς ἀφάτου φιλανθρωπίας *add.* AP_3O Pg 16.6/11 ἵνα – οἰκονομίας] *om.* P_2 21.8 μανθάνης] μανθάνεις P_1 Pg ἀκούης P_2 23.7 δῆλον] ἄκουσον συνετῶς *add.* AP_3O Pg 24.12 αἰώνιον] προαιώνιον P_2 Pg 24.17 οὐ πάσης τινός] οὔτε μὴν πάσης τινός AP_3O οὐ πάσης τῆς P_2 24.29 περὶ τῆς θείας] περὶ θείας P_3O ἐπὶ τοῦ δεσπότη P_2 37.7 ἰησοῦν] τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ *add.* AP_3O *om.* P_2 38.4 λεγέτω] λέγω P_3O λέγεται P_2 40.5 τύχωμεν] τυγχάνωμεν P_2P_3O

However interesting the choices of the *editio princeps* may be, they ultimately render the text too dependent on readings unique to V. Among the readings of V that Montfaucon has retained, more than fifty count as unique. Note that he sometimes preserves the manuscript's orthographical variants without standardizing them:

1.36 ἡμῖν] ὁ θεὸς *add. VM_fPg* 3.1 δὲ] *om. VM_f* 3.1 προδιαλαβόντες] προσδιαλαβόντες *VM_f* 3.11 τὰ²] *om. VM_f* 3.11 μέμνησθε] μεμνήσθαι *VM_f* 4.6 εἰσάγων] ἄγων *VM_f* 4.11...19 αὐθεντίας] αὐθεντείας *VM_f* 5.5 ἡ *om. VM_f* 5.24 προειρημένα] εἰρημένα *VM_f* 5.27 ἰούδα] ἰούδας *VM_f* 5.29 ἐξῆρται] *om. VM_f* 6.14 ἀφῆτε] ἀφεῖτε *VM_f* 7.7 ὁ θωμᾶς] *om. VM_f* 7.21/22 τῆς εἰρήνης] *om. VM_f* 8.14 εἶδες] ἴδες *VM_f* 9.4 τοῦ] *om. VM_f* 9.7 ὁμονύμω] *om. VM_fPg* 11.6 σημαίνει] σημειοῦται *VM_fPg* λέγει] *om. VM_fPg* 11.9 ὅτι] λόγον *P₃O om. VA_f M_f* 11.10 γὰρ] μὲν *VM_f* 11.13 ἐν] *om. VM_f* 11.38 ὅτε] *om. VM_fPg* τότε *P₂* 12.15 κράτιστε] *om. VM_fPg* 12.17 λέγει] λέγων *VM_f* λέγει ὁ παῦλος *P₂* 13.4 διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου] *om. VM_f* 13.5 συνταξάμενος] συνταξάμενου *VM_f* 13.6 ἐαυτὸν] αὐτὸν *VM_fPg* 14.14 τῆς] *om. VM_f* 15.6 ποτὲ δὲ τισίν] *om. VM_f* 15.14 καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις γυναιξί] καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις *P₂* καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς *VM_fPg om. AP₃O* 15.34 δέκα] *om. VM_f* 16.4 πολλή^ς] *om. VM_f* 16.7 τὸ θαῦμα τῆς ἀναστάσεως] τῷ θωμᾶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν *VM_fPg* 18.3 εἶπες] εἶπας *VM_fPg* 18.8 ἐπηγγείλατο] ὁ πατὴρ *add. AP₃O Pg om. VM_f* 18.9 ἐπαγγελιομένου] ἐπαγγελιομένην *VM_fPg* ἐπαγγελιαμένην *P₂* 18.13 προεπαγγελιάμενος] προεπηγγελιάμενος *VM_f* 19.4 καὶ³] *om. VM_f* 20.1 φησίν] *om. VM_f* 20.22 τῷ¹] *om. VM_f* ἀναπληροῖ] πληροῖ *VM_f* 21.6/7 ἀλλ' οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ἡμέρας] *om. VM_f* 22.11 καὶ¹] *om. VM_f* 24.12 οὖν] *om. VM_f* 24.14 αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν *VM_f* 24.26 ἐνεδέχετο] ἐνδέχεται *VM_f* 24.32 εἰ] οὖν *add. VM_fPg* 25.8 αὐτούς] *om. VM_fPg* 37.3 εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν] *om. VM_f* 38.27 τάφοις] τάφῳ *VM_fPg* 39.23 μέγας ἱερεὺς] μέγας βασιλεὺς *VM_f* μέγας βασιλεὺς *add. Pg* 39.24 εἶδε] ἴδεν *VM_f* 39.25 αὐτοῦ] αὐτὴ *P₃O* αὐτοῦ ἡ *VM_fPg* 40.21 καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ μεσάσαντες] *om. VM_f*

Based on the earliest mss. known to the learned Benedictine, the edition of 1721 presents an eclectic text, with a pronounced tendency to favor the ms. V.

4. 2. The editions of 1837 and 1862: The *editio Parisina altera* reprinted by the PG presents a rather different text; it is longer and standardized, counting no fewer than 168 additions in comparison with the text of Montfaucon, as well as forty variants, two inversions, and only three omissions. Examples follow:

Additions: 4.2 ὅπου] τοῖνον *add. AP₃O Pg* 4.12 προφητῶν] διὰ δικαίων *add. AP₃O Pg* 5.9 με] ὁ πατὴρ καὶ γὰρ πέμπω ὑμᾶς *add. AO Pg* 6.15 δίδωσιν] τοῖς ἀποστόλοις *add. AP₃O Pg* 6.17 ἐξουσίαν] παρὰ βασιλέως *add. AP₃O Pg* 6.29 σωτήρ] τοῖς ἀποστόλοις *add. AP₃O Pg* 7.14 καὶ βάλω – ἤλων] *om. M_f* 7.38 θεοῦ] ἀγαθότητι καὶ

add. AP₃O Pg 9.2 φωνήν] ποίαν δὴ τὰ τὴν *add. AP₃O Pg* 9.3/4 δεῦτε – σωτήρ] *om. VP₁O M_f* 10.3 θησαυρούς] τῆς ἀγίας γραφῆς *add. AP₃O Pg* 10.10 πέτρος] τοίνυν *add. AP₃O Pg* 11.2 γὰρ] ἀγνοοῦντες τὸν συγγραφέα *add. AP₃O Pg* 11.13 διδάσκειν] ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι *add. AP₃O Pg* 13.4 διὰ πνεύματος ἀγίου] *om. V M_f* 13.5 Εὐαγγέλιον] ἀπ' ἀρχῆς φησὶν *add. AP₃O Pg* 15.2 ὅτι] μετὰ τῇ ἀνάστασιν *add. AP₃O Pg* 15.3 ἀνελήφθη] πρὸς τὸν πατέρα διατί *add. AP₃O Pg* 15.6 ποτέ δὲ τισὶν] *om. V M_f* 16.4/5 ἀγαθότητος] ὡ τῆς ἀφάτου φιλανθρωπίας *add. AP₃O Pg* 18.3 σου] δέσποτα *add. AP₃O Pg* 20.4/5 μετὰ γὰρ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας] *om. M M_f* 20.19 ἀναμείνατε] ἐκεῖ *add. AP₃O Pg* 21.6/7 ἀλλ' – ἡμέρας] *om. V M_f* 21.7 εἰδέναι] ὁ σωτήρ *add. AP₃O Pg* 24.2 ἐρωτᾷν] πάντοτε *add. AP₃O Pg* 25.10 προπετής] κολάζομαι *add. AP₃O Pg* 37.2 ἀνεφέρετο] εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν *add. AP₃O Pg* 38.6 οὐρανοῦ] κατιόν *add. AP₃O Pg* 38.8 ἄρραβῶνα] βέβαιον *add. A* βέβαιον ποῖον ἄρραβῶνα *add. P₃O Pg* 38.9 ἀμφιδόλλεις] αἰρετικέ *add. AP₃O Pg* 38.27 τὸ ἡμέτερον σῶμα] τὸ ἄγιον σῶμα *P₁ om. VP₂ M_f* 39.15 ἔλεγον] οἱ ὄχλοι *add. AP₃O Pg* 40.5 οὖν] καὶ ἡμεῖς ἅπαντες ἀγαπητοὶ *add. AP₃O Pg* 40.10 μεριζόμενοι – ὑπονοίαις] *om. P₂ M_f* 40.19 πῆξαι] εἰρήνην βραβεῦσαι *add. AP₃O Pg*

Variants: 3.1 προδιαλαβόντες] προσδιαλαβόντες *V M_f* 4.6 εἰσάγων] ἄγων *V M_f* 5.24 προειρημένα] εἰρημένα *V M_f* 9.5/6 ἡμετέραν πόλιν] ἡμέραν πάλιν *V Pg* καὶ *add. P₂* 14.3 ἐφαίνετο] ἐπεφαίνετο *P₂ Pg* 18.8 ἐπηγγείλατο] προεπηγγείλατο *AP₃O Pg* 24.12 αἰώνιον] προαιώνιον *P₂ Pg*

Omissions: 5.23 τῇν] *om. AP₃O Pg* 15.30/32 οὐ περὶ – πᾶσι] *om. V Pg* 17.8/9 ἐχθροί²¹] *om. Pg*

Although the 1837 edition makes certain improvements on the edition of 1721, not least of which is a fuller reporting of variant readings in the footnotes, the revision's uncritical adoption of many of the readings of *P₃* render it a less reliable edition than its predecessor.

4. 3 The first edition of the fragment by J. Kecskeméti: As for the edition of the fragment preserved in the witnesses *MP₁P₂AP₃O*, and partly in *R*, the manuscripts *MP₁AO* and *R* seem not to have been known to the editor with the result that only two manuscripts, *P₂* and *P₃*, were collated.¹²¹ When they present divergent readings, the editor almost always chooses to follow *P₃*. Only a dozen or so readings offered by *P₂* are retained by Kecskeméti:

¹²¹ See J. KECSKEMÉTI, *Homélie inédite*, *op. cit.*, n. 5, p. 178.

27.6 δὲ MP_1P_2K] *om.* AP_3O 27.9 μακεδονίου] πρὸς *add.* P_2K
 28.11 ἄκουε MP_1P_2AOK] ἤκουε P_3 28.21 τίς MP_1P_2AK] τῆς
 P_3O 28.21/22 ἀποστελλομένου] ἀπεσταλλένου P_2K 30.2/3 ἀπὸ
 – βασιλείαν MP_1P_2K] *om.* AP_3O 30.13 ...17 μνᾶ P_2K] μνᾶς MP_1A-
 $P_3O^{a. corr.}$ 33.6 μάρτυρας] τοὺς *add.* P_2K 34.11 ἐμφαίνει] καὶ *add.*
 P_2K 35.6 οὐρανόν] ἀνέγνωμεν *add.* P_2K 36.36 κυρίου MP_1P_2O
 K] καὶ *add.* AP_3O .

5. Conclusion

While the number of extant mss. in which this sermon is preserved suggests that it was not extremely popular during the period of its transmission, the text is nevertheless better attested than many other extant festal sermons, to say nothing of the countless festal sermons that have perished or were never reduced to writing in the first place. Severian's Saturday Ascension sermon persisted in being of some liturgical as well as scholarly (Photius) interest. And while to a greater or lesser degree each ms. and edition discussed above has obscured aspects of Severian's original communication, each has also made an important contribution to the sermon's transmission and thus to our knowledge of its reception. Even the highly idiosyncratic, partial text of R has the merit of showing that Severian's thoughts were considered worth repackaging long after his death and of attesting, however imperfectly from a textual standpoint, the large portion of the sermon omitted by V. As for the editors, although Montfaucon followed V in that omission, the text he did print is not infrequently superior to its successor, the edition of 1837. That edition, despite following the large omission of V and Montfaucon and despite adopting many minor readings "unique" to P_3 , did have the compensating merits both of alerting readers to a number of variant readings that Montfaucon did not report and of achieving a very wide distribution in the form of the PG. For her part, Kecskeméti's reliance on P_3 , while open to criticism in small matters, had the great merit of resurrecting the portion of the sermon – so important to assessing the sermon's significance – omitted by V and the previous editors. With only a little presumption then, we can say that all these witnesses agree in recommending Severian's sermon to wider contemporary attention, which we trust this first complete, critical edition of the sermon will facilitate.¹²²

¹²² In order to make the Greek text accessible to contemporary readers, this edition employs standardized orthography, accentuation, and punctuation, rather than attempting to approximate the divergent practices of the manuscripts. Because a translation of this sermon will be included in R. Bishop and J. Leemans's forthcoming English anthology of Greek Ascension and Pentecost sermons from late antiquity, a translation has not been provided here.

Summary

In addition to being an important source for the exegetical history of Acts 1, the sermon we edit here, *In ascensionem et in principium Actorum* (CPG 4187), is an essential witness to the Constantinopolitan celebration of Christ's ascension at the beginning of the fifth century. The sermon also sheds light on the conflict between Severian and John Chrysostom, and it fills out our knowledge of Severian's Christology. Ours is the first complete critical edition of the Greek text. Bernard de Montfaucon's *editio princeps* (1721) followed a single manuscript in omitting a substantial portion of the sermon, an omission which was replicated in the *Patrologia Graeca*. This omitted portion was finally restored to its author in the 1978 dissertation of Judit Kecskeméti, where it was edited on the basis of two Parisian manuscripts. Our edition is based on eight manuscripts copied between the ninth and the fifteenth centuries. The introduction treats the sermon's history of interpretation as well as its extent and integrity, adding several arguments to Kecskeméti's demonstration of the relationship between the portion she edited in 1978 and the edition of 1721. The introduction subsequently takes up the location of the sermon's delivery, identifies commonalities between this sermon and Severian's oeuvre in order to confirm his authorship, and proposes a date of delivery. Finally we study the transmission of the text, including its direct and indirect manuscript tradition, as well as its editorial history. In this way we hope to facilitate the wider scholarly attention that the erstwhile bishop of Gabala's homiletical effort deserves.

L'homélie *In ascensionem et in principium Actorum* (CPG 4187) est importante à plusieurs titres. Source essentielle pour la liturgie de la fête de l'Ascension à Constantinople au début du V^e siècle, ce texte constitue aussi un témoignage indispensable pour l'histoire de l'exégèse des *Actes des Apôtres*. Il apporte en outre un éclairage sur le conflit entre Jean Chrysostome et Sévérien. Enfin, il permet de compléter nos connaissances sur la christologie de ce prédicateur. La présente édition critique offre pour la première fois le texte dans son intégralité. En effet, Bernard de Montfaucon en 1721 dont le travail a été repris dans la PG, n'a suivi qu'un seul manuscrit qui omettait une grande partie du sermon. Ce fragment manquant a été restitué à son auteur en 1978 par Judit Kecskeméti à partir de deux manuscrits parisiens. Notre édition est fondée sur huit manuscrits copiés entre le IX^e et le XV^e siècle. L'introduction évoque tout d'abord les recherches menées antérieurement, puis apporte de nouveaux arguments à la démonstration de Judit Kecskeméti concernant les relations entre le texte édité en 1721 et le fragment restitué en 1978. Ensuite sont examinés le lieu et la date de la prédi-

cation et le sermon est replacé dans l'ensemble de l'œuvre de Sévérien afin d'en faire ressortir les points communs. Enfin nous étudions l'histoire de la transmission du texte, sa tradition directe et indirecte ainsi que l'histoire des éditions. Nous espérons que la présente édition contribuera à faire connaître davantage et comme le mérite son auteur, l'œuvre de Sévérien de Gabala.

Richard W. BISHOP
⟨richbishop3@gmail.com⟩

Nathalie RAMBAULT
⟨nathalie.rambault@ac-poitiers.fr⟩

Conspectus Siglorum

Direct Tradition

<i>M</i>	Moscow, GIM, <i>Synod. gr.</i> 110	9 th c.
<i>P</i> ₁	Paris, BNF, <i>gr.</i> 582	10 th c.
<i>V</i>	Vatican, BAV, <i>Ottoboni gr.</i> 14	10 th c.
<i>P</i> ₂	Paris, BNF, <i>gr.</i> 1447	10 th -11 th c.
<i>A</i>	Athos, <i>Karakallou</i> 5	13 th c.
<i>P</i> ₃	Paris, BNF, <i>gr.</i> 1186	14 th c. (1306)
<i>O</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, <i>Barocci</i> 241	14 th c. (2 ^d ¼)
<i>R</i>	Rome, Bibl. Angelica, <i>gr.</i> 125	15 th c.

Indirect Tradition

Amphil. L. G. WESTERINK (ed.) *Amphilichiorum Pars Prima*, Vol. 5 of *Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia*, Leipzig 1986 (BSGRT), p. 132-138 (*Amphilochia* 123-129).

Editions

§ 1.1/26.4 and 37.1 ad finem:

M_f Joannis Chrysostomi Opera omnia quae extant ... opera et studio D. Bernardi de Montfaucon, vol. 3, Paris 1721, p. 758-775.

Pg PG 52, col. 773-792, Paris, 1862 (= *Joannis Chrysostomi Opera omnia*, vol. 3, Paris, 1837, p. 914-935).

§ 26.4/37.1:

K J. KECSKEMÉTI, *Sévérien de Gabala. Homélie inédite sur le Saint-Esprit* (CPG 4947) (diss.), Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1978, p. 177-204.

Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου
ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου
λόγος εἰς τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

- | 1. Πλοῦτος ἡμῖν καὶ θησαυρὸς καὶ πηγὰὶ τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, αἱ τοῦ 773
Σωτῆρός εἰσιν οἰκονομίαι, ἃς καὶ λέγειν διψῶμεν, καὶ κηρύττειν σπεύδο-
μεν, εἰπεῖν δὲ κατ'ἄξιαν οὐκ ἰσχύομεν. Ἀλλὰ τῷ πόθῳ συνεχόμενοι, καὶ
τῇ βίᾳ κρατούμενοι, καὶ τὴν ἀσθένειαν ὁμολογοῦντες, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τινα
5 εὐδιον λιμένα καταφεύγομεν ἐπὶ τὴν προφητικὴν ἐκείνην φωνήν· Τίς
λαλήσει τὰς δυναστείας τοῦ Κυρίου, ἀκουστάς ποιήσει πάσας τὰς ἀνέ-
σεις αὐτοῦ; Εἰ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ μέγας προφήτης, ὃ τὰ ἄδηλα καὶ τὰ
κρύφια τῆς ἐαυτοῦ σοφίας ὁ Θεὸς ἐγνώρισεν, ὁ καταξιωθεὶς πατήρ Χρι-
στοῦ κληθῆναι, Δαυὶδ ὁ μακάριος, ὁ μέγας ἐν προφήταις, ὁ ἐνδοξος ἐν
10 βασιλεῦσιν, ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ φίλος, ὁ τετιμημένην ἔχων παρ'αὐτοῦ καρδίαν,
ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν Θεὸν εἰπεῖν· Εὗρον Δαυὶδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαί, ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν
καρδίαν μου· εἰ οὗτος ὁ τοσοῦτος καὶ τηλικούτος, ἀπιδὼν εἰς τὸ μέγεθος
τῆς θεογνωσίας, ἔλεγεν· Ἐθανμαστώθη ἡ γνῶσίς σου ἐξ ἐμοῦ, ἐκραται-
ώθη, οὐ μὴ δύνωμαι | πρὸς αὐτήν· εἰ ὁ προφήτης ἀτονεῖ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος 774
15 βλέπων τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως· καθὼς καὶ Παῦλος ἡ θεολόγος καὶ οὐράνιος
σάλπιγξ βοᾷ· Ὁ βάθος πλούτου καὶ σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως Θεοῦ· ὡς ἀνε-
ξερεύνητα τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστοι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ· εἰ προφη-

1. 5/7 Ps. 105,2 7/8 Ps. 50,8 11/12 Act. 13,22 13/14 Ps. 138,6 16/17
Rom. 11,33

Tit. τοῦ – κωνσταντινουπόλεως] *om.* *M* χρυσοστόμου] χρυσοστόμου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ
μεγάλου φωστῆρος *A* χρυσοστόμου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου *O* αὐτοῦ *M* λόγος]
ὁμιλία *AP₃O* *om.* *Pg* εἰς τὴν] τοῦ θωμᾶ ἀπιστίαν καὶ εἰς τὴν *add.* *AP₃O* κυρίου]
καὶ σωτῆρος *add.* *M* χριστοῦ] ἔχων διήγησιν πολλὴν καὶ θαυμαστήν *add.* *P₂* τοῦ ἀλη-
θινοῦ θεοῦ δέσποτα εὐλόγησον *add.* *A* τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ *add.* *P₃^{in marg.}* τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ
εὐλόγησον πάτερ *add.* *O*

1. 2 εἰσιν] *om.* *P₂* ἃς] *om.* *P₂* διψῶμεν] διώκομεν *V* 2/3 σπεύδομεν] σπεύ-
δωμεν *V* 3 πόθῳ] πλῆθει *AP₃O* 3/4 καὶ τῇ βίᾳ κρατούμενοι] *om.* *P₂* *M_fPg* 5
καταφεύγομεν] καταφεύγωμεν *V* φωνὴν ἐκείνην *trsp.* *P₂AP₃* φωνήν] *om.* *O* 6
κυρίου] ἡ *add.* *AP₃O* 6/7 ἀνέσεις] αἰνέσεις *A* 7 αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος] αὐτὸς *P₂* *M_fPg*
ἐκεῖνος *AP₃O* ὃ] *VP₂* 8 ἐαυτοῦ] αὐτοῦ *P₂* ὁ¹] *om.* *P₂* 8/9 κληθῆναι χρι-
στοῦ *trsp.* *P₂* ὁ²] καὶ *P₂* *M_fPg* 10 ὁ τετιμημένην] ἐπιτιμημένην *V* παρ'αὐτοῦ]
παρὰ θεῷ *P₂* παρ'αὐτῷ *AP₃O* *M_fPg* 11 αὐτόν] *om.* *P₂* εἰπεῖν] εἶπε *add.* *A* 12
οὗτος ὁ τοσοῦτος] ὁ τοιοῦτος *P₂* *M_fPg* ἀπιδὼν] ἀπειδὼν *VP₂A* 13 ἐκραταιώθη]
ἐκρατίωθη *V* 14 δύνωμαι] δύνομαι *VP₂* ἀτονεῖ] καὶ ναρκᾷ *add.* *P₂* 15 τῆς
αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως] *om.* *P₂* καθὼς καὶ] καθὼς καὶ ὁ *AP₃O* εἰ *P₂* *M_fPg* ἡ] ὁ *P₂* *M_fPg*
καί²] ἡ *P₂* ἡ *add.* *M_fPg* 17/18 εἰ γλῶσσαι προφητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων *trsp.* *P₂*

- τῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων γλῶσσαι, τοσαῦτα χέουσαι νάματα, ἐξ ὧν ἐπλήσθη ἡ
σύμπασα γῆ τοῦ γινῶναι τὸν Κύριον, ὡς ὕδωρ πολὺ κατακαλύψαι θαλάσ-
20 σας· εἰ τοσοῦτοι καὶ τηλικοῦτοι ποταμοὶ ῥέοντες, καὶ πέλαγος εὐσεθείας
συνιστῶντες, ὡμολόγησαν τὴν ἡτταν, ἵνα δείξωσι τοῦ κηρυττομένου τὴν
δύναμιν· ποῦ φανήσεται λόγου βραχυτάτου ψεκᾶς, τοσοῦτου πελάγους
σοφίας προκειμένου; Ἀλλ' οὐ δεῖ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς θεολογίας ὀρῶντας
ναρκᾶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν πρόθεσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ βλέποντας, κατατολμᾶν τῆς
25 θείας διδασκαλίας. Βραθεύει γὰρ ὁ Θεός, οὐ τῇ ἀξίᾳ τῶν λεγομένων,
ἀλλὰ τῷ πόθῳ τῶν κηρυττόντων, καὶ τῇ ἀγάπῃ τῶν ἀκουόντων. Καὶ
ὥσπερ φιλόστοργοι πατέρες, ἐπειδὴν ἴδωσι τοὺς παῖδας ψελλίζοντας καὶ
χωλεύοντας τῇ λέξει, οὐ πρὸς τὸ ἄναρθρον βλέπουσι | τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλὰ 775
πρὸς τὸν πόθον τῆς φύσεως, καὶ πάσης αὐτοῖς ῥητορικῆς μεγαλοφωνίας
30 καὶ φιλοσόφου μετεωρολογίας, ἡδύτερά ἐστι τὰ τῶν παιδῶν ψελλίσματα·
οὕτω καὶ ὁ Θεός, οὐκ εἰς τὰς γλώσσας ἡμῶν ψελλίζουσας περὶ θεολογίας,
ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν πόθον καὶ εἰς τὴν διάθεσιν βλέπει, ὅτι πίσκει κηρύττομεν, καὶ
ἀγάπῃ ἀνυμνοῦμεν. Οὐδὲν γὰρ δύναται δι' ἀνθρωπίνης γλῶττης τρανῶς
λαλεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἂν λαλήσωμεν περὶ Θεοῦ, ψελλίζοντες λαλοῦμεν. Διὰ
35 τί; Ἐπειδὴ καὶ Παῦλος βοᾷ· Ἐκ μέρους γινώσκουμεν, καὶ ἐκ μέρους προ-
φητεύουμεν. Ὅμως δὲ εἰ καὶ ψελλίζομεν, ἐνεχείρισεν ἡμῖν τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς
εἰρήνης. Διὰ τοῦτο βοᾷ Ἡσαΐας· Καὶ αἱ γλῶσσαι αἱ ψελλίζουσαι μαθήσο-
νται λαλεῖν εἰρήνην. Φέρε τοίνυν ἡρέμα καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ψελλίσωμεν πρὸς
τὸν κοινὸν ἡμῶν Πατέρα καὶ Δεσπότην, τὸν καταξιώσαντα εἰπεῖν τοῖς
40 ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς· Τεκνία· εἰ γὰρ τέκνα καλεῖ, τῶν τέκνων ψελλίζόντων
ἀνέχεται.

18/20 Is. 11,9

35/36 I Cor. 13,9

37/38 Is. 32,4

40 Io. 13,33

18 τοσαῦτα] τοιαῦτα P_2 χέουσαι] χέουσι V^a . corr. in marg. P_3O λέγουσαι P_2 19 πολὺ] πολλὰ P_3 20 εἰ] οἱ A οἱ add. O ποταμοὶ] ποταμῶν O 21 ὡμολόγησαν] ὁμολογοῦσιν $V M_f$ 22 βραχυτάτου] βραχυτάτη AP_3O 23 οὐ δεῖ] οὐδὲ P_2 μέγεθος] πέλαγος P_3O 24 βλέποντας] ὀρῶντας AP_3O κατατολμᾶν] τολμᾶν P_2 24/25 τῆς θείας διδασκαλίας om. P_2 25 ὁ θεός] χριστὸς P_2 λεγομένων] λεγόντων P_2 27 ὥσπερ] οἱ add. $P_2 Pg$ ἴδωσι] εἴδωσιν MV ψελλίζοντας τοὺς παῖδας $trsp.$ P_2 28 ἄναρθρον] ἄρθρον P_2 τοῦ λόγου] μόνον τούτων P_2 29 καὶ] om. AP_3O αὐτοῖς] αὐτῆς AP_3 30 τῶν παιδῶν τὰ ψελλίσματα $trsp.$ P_2 31 καὶ] om. P_2 ὁ] φιλόστοργος add. AP_3O οὐκ] ἀποβλέπει add. P_2 οὐχὶ M^a . corr. AP_3O εἰς] om. AP_3O 32 εἰς²] om. $P_2 AP_3O$ βλέπει] om. P_2 33 οὐδὲν] οὐ $P_2 M_f Pg$ δι' ἀνθρωπίνης γλῶττης] ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη γλῶσσα $P_2 M_f Pg$ 34 λαλεῖσθαι] λαλήσαι $P_2 M_f Pg$ ὅσα] ὡς V 35 καὶ¹] om. P_2 ὁ add. $M_f Pg$ 36 ψελλίζομεν] ἀλλ' add. AP_3O ἐνεχείρισεν] ἐνεχείρησεν V ἡμῖν] ὁ θεὸς add. $V M_f Pg$ 37 τοῦτο] καὶ add. AP_3O Ἡσαΐας βοᾷ $trsp.$ $P_2 AP_3O$ αἱ¹] om. P_2 αἱ²] om. $P_2 P_3O$ 38 ἡρέμα καὶ κατὰ] om. $P_2 M_f Pg$ μικρὸν] μικρὰ $P_2 M_f Pg$ 40 τεκνία] μου add. P_2

2. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔφθη ἀνελθεῖν εἰς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ ἡ ἀνάληψις αὐτοῦ ἡ πολυύμνητος ἐκηρύχθη, οὐκ ἀποκλείεται χρόνω ἡ χάρις, οὐδὲ περιγράφεται ἡμέραις ἡ θεολογία. β'. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ θελήσαντες ἀνελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ὅρος τῶν Ἑλαιῶν ἐνεποδίσθημεν, ὡς οἶδεν ὁ Χριστός, προθέμενοι μὲν, κωλυ-
 5 θέντες δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀκαταστασίαν τοῦ ἁέρος καὶ τὸ συνεχὲς τοῦ πλήθους· λέγω δὲ ταῦτα, ἵνα πᾶσαν ὑπόληψιν λύσω τῶν μάτην ἐγκαλεῖν βουλο-
 μένων· ἐπειδὴ περὶ πρὸς τὸ πλήθος ἰδόντες τῶν εἰρημένων, ταχέως συνε-
 στείλαμεν τὸν λόγον, ἵνα μὴ τῷ πλήθει τῶν λεγομένων καταχώσωμεν
 10 ὑμῶν τὴν μνήμην, σήμερον ἀποδίδομεν τὴν ὀφειλὴν. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἐπέτρεπε τὸν μὴ ποιήσαντα τῷ πρώτῳ μηνὶ τὸ Πάσχα, τῷ δευτέρῳ μηνὶ τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἀποδιδόναι. Δεῖ δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ὅτι Θεοῦ λόγος, οὐ χρόνοις, οὐχ ἡμέραις περιγράφεται, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν δέχεται κήρυγμα, καὶ σταυροῦ, καὶ πάθους, καὶ ἀναστάσεως, καὶ ἀναλήψεως, καὶ δευτέρας παρουσίας.

3. γ'. Ἡρέμα δὲ προδιαλαβόντες μικρά τινα τῶν θείων ῥημάτων ἐν τοῖς ὑπαναγνωσθεῖσι σήμερον, καὶ τὰς εὐαγγελικὰς πηγὰς ἀντλήσαντες, οὕτως ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν. Οὔσης ὀψίας τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, καὶ τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων, ὅπου ἦσαν οἱ μαθηταὶ συνηγμέ-
 5 νοι, ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς. Ἀφ' οὗ ὁ Σωτὴρ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐπραγματεύσατο ἡμῖν, σπανίως φαίνεται, ἐν ἄλλαις ἡμέραις ἐπιφανεῖς τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς Κυριακῆς. Ὡς περὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐκάστῳ σαββάτῳ παρέβαλλε τῇ συναγωγῇ, ἵνα πληρώσῃ τὸν νόμον· οὕτως ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐπραγμα-
 10 τεύσατο, καὶ τὸν ἄρραδῶνα τῷ κόσμῳ ἤνεγκεν, ἐσπούδαζε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς Κυριακῆς, ἐν μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, ἵνα πᾶσι τὸν θεμέλιον τῆς

3. 3/5 Io. 20,19

2. 1 καὶ¹] *om.* AP_3O ἔφθη]* ἔφθην εἰπὼν V ἔφθη P_2 M_fPg ἀνελθεῖν] ἀνελείφθη V
 2 ἐκηρύχθη] κηρύχθη P_2 ἀποκλείεται] ἀποκλύεται A δὲ *add.* P_2 χρόνω] χρόνων
 P_2 ἢ] *om.* P_2 3 δὲ] *om.* P_2 θελήσαντες] διψήσαντες P_2 4 ὁ] *om.* P_2 5
 διὰ] τε *add.* P_2 ἀκαταστασίαν] κατὰστασιν P_2 6 ὑπόληψιν] ὑποψίαν P_2 6/7
 τῶν μάτην – βουλομένων] *om.* P_2 7 ἐπειδὴ περ] ἐπειδὴ AP_3O πρὸς] *om.* P_2 8
 τὸν λόγον] *om.* AP_3O 7/9 τῶν εἰρημένων – σήμερον] ὡς ἄνθρωποι ὁ κλάσαμεν P_2
 9 ἀποδίδομεν] δίδομεν A ἀποδοῦναι P_2 10 ἐπέτρεπε] ἐπιτρέπει P_2 11 ὀφειλὴν]
 ὀφιλὴν V ἀποδιδόναι] ἀποδοῦναι P_2 ὑμᾶς] *om.* P_2 εἰδέναι] ἀγαπητοὶ *add.*
 AP_3O χρόνοις] τόποις P_2 12 κατὰ *om.* P_2 πᾶσαν ἡμέραν] πᾶσα ἡμέρα P_2
 13 ἀναστάσεως] ἀναστᾷ P_3

3. 1 – 9.3 ἡρέμα – φωνήν] *om.* P_2 1 δὲ] *om.* $V M_f$ προδιαλαβόντες] προσδιαλαβό-
 ντες $V M_f$ 4/5 συνηγμένοι] διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν ἰουδαίων *add.* AP_3O 5 ἀφ' οὗ] γὰρ
add. AP_3O 9 ἐσπούδαζε] σπούδαζε A ἐσπούδασε VPg

ἀγίας Κυριακῆς. Τέλος γὰρ εἶχε τὰ τῶν σαββάτων, ἀρχὴν δὲ ἐλάμβανε τὰ
τῆς Δεσποτικῆς ἡμέρας, ἡγουν τῆς ἀναστάσεως, ὡς μέμνησθε τῶν πρώην
εἰρημένων. Πῶς ὁ μακάριος Ματθαῖος περιγράφων τὰ σάβδατα, ἀρχὴν δὲ
εἰσάγων τῶν ἀγίων Κυριακῶν, ἔλεγεν· Ὁψὲ σαββάτων; Τέλος γὰρ ἦν, καὶ
15 ὁψὲ τῶν πρώτων σαββάτων· Ἐπιφωσκούσης, εἰς μίαν σαββάτων. Ἐφάνη
τοῖνυν, ἀναστὰς τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἀγίας ἑορτῆς
τῆς | ἀναστασίμου.

776

4. Τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων, ὅπου ἦσαν οἱ μαθηταί συνηγμένοι διὰ τὸν
φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἔστη εἰς τὸ μέσον. Ὅπου ἀκμά-
ζει φόβος, παραγίνεται ὁ λύων τὸν φόβον· ὅπου ἀκμάζει τὰ τῆς ζάλης,
ἐπιλάμπει τὰ τῆς γαλήνης· ὅπου βλέπει τὸ σκάφος χειμαζόμενον τῆς
5 εὐσεβείας, προσφέρει τὴν κυβερνητικὴν ἐπιστήμην· τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα
λύων, τὸ δὲ σκάφος εἰς γαλήνην εἰσάγων, πρὸς τὸ ἀκμάζον πάθος τοῦ
φόβου τὸ φάρμακον φέρει. Ἔστη εἰς τὸ μέσον· καὶ τί φησιν; Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν.
Μὴ στασιαζέτω ἡ διάνοια ὑμῶν, μὴ θορυβεῖσθω ὁ λογισμός, μὴ πολεμεῖ-
σθε ταῖς ἐννοίαις τοῦ φόβου· Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν. Εἰρήνη πόλεμον ἀφανίζει, φόβον
10 καταλύνει, ἔχθραν ἐξορίζει· Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν. Ἐδόθη πολλάκις εἰρήνη παρὰ
Θεοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τοῦ προσώπου τῆς αὐθεντίας, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀγ-
γέλων, διὰ προφητῶν· μόνος ὁ Σωτὴρ δι' ἑαυτοῦ φανεῖς ἔδωκεν εἰρήνην.
Ἐδόθη τῷ Δανιὴλ εἰρήνη, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀγγέλου. Ὡφθη τῷ Δανιὴλ ἄγγελος
καὶ εἶπεν· Εἰρήνη σοι, ἄνερ ἐπιθυμῶν, ἰσχυε καὶ ἀνδρίζου, ὁ Κύριος μετὰ
15 σοῦ. Ὡφθη καὶ τῷ Γεδεὼν ἄγγελος καὶ εἶπεν· Εἰρήνη σοι. Ἄγγελοι τοῖνυν
ἔδωκαν εἰρήνην, οὐδέπω δὲ ὁ Δεσπότης τῶν ἀγγέλων· ἀλλὰ δι' ἐκείνων
μὲν ἔπεμπεν, ἐταμιεύετο δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν εἰρήνην τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν. Οἱ
δὲ προφητῆται δεξάμενοι πολλάκις παρὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐδίψων
ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προσώπου τῆς αὐθεντίας δεξασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην. Διὸ ἐδόξα

14/15 Mt. 28,1

4. 1/2 Io. 20,19

7 Io. 20,19

14/15 TDan. 10,19

15 Iud. 6,23

11 τέλος] μὲν add. AP₃O σαββάτων] ἐπιφαίνεσθαι ἵνα πῆξῃ τὸν θεμέλιον τῆς ἀγίας
κυριακῆς τέλος μὲν γὰρ εἶχε τὰ τῶν σαββάτων add. A τὰ²] om. V M_f 12 μέμνη-
σθε] μεμνησθαι VA M_f 13 πῶς] ὅπως AP₃O περιγράφων] ἐπιγράφων V M_f Pg
14 τῶν] σαββάτων O 16 τῇ²] om. O

4. 2 ὅπου] τοῖνυν add. AP₃O Pg 3 τὸν] om. M_f 5 προσφέρει] προσφέρει MA
6 εἰσάγων] ἄγων V M_f 10/11 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρὰ Θεοῦ trsp. AP₃O 11 τοῦ]
om. M_f Pg αὐθεντίας] αὐθεντίας V M_f 12 προφητῶν] διὰ δικαίων add. AP₃O Pg
13 ὥφθη] γὰρ add. AP₃O 14 εἶπεν] αὐτῷ add. AP₃O 15 τῷ] τὸ V 17 ἑαυ-
τῷ] αὐτῷ P₃ εὐαγγελικὴν] ἀγγελικὴν P₃O 18 παρὰ] περὶ A 19 προσώπου]
τῆς εἰρήνης add. V M_f Pg αὐθεντίας] αὐθεντίας V M_f 19/20 διὸ – πρὸς] M^{al. m.}
19 διὸ] καὶ add. P₃O Pg

- 20 Ἡσαΐας· Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, εἰρήνην δὸς ἡμῖν· μὴ δι' ἐτέρων, ἀλλὰ διὰ
 σαυτοῦ εἰρήνην δὸς ἡμῖν. Εἴτα πρὸς τὴν δέξιν ἢ ἀντιφώνησις· *Εἰρήνην*
τὴν ἐμὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν. Καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὴν
πλευράν. Ὡςπερ γὰρ στρατηγὸς ἐπανελθὼν ἀπὸ πολέμου, καὶ τραύμασι
 νικηφόροις λάμπων, οὐκ αἰσχύνεται τοῖς τραύμασι· στεφάνων γάρ ἐστι
 25 λαμπρότερα· οὕτω καὶ ὁ Σωτὴρ, τραύματα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀναδεξά-
 μενος καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ γένους, οὐ κρύπτει τὰ πάθη, ἀλλ' ἐκκαλύπτει,
 ἵνα δείξῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀνδρείαν. Ἐδειξε τὰς χεῖρας ἐν αἷς ἦν ὁ τύπος τῶν
 ἥλων, ἔδειξε καὶ τὴν πλευράν· χεῖρας δι' ὧν ἡμᾶς ἔπλασε, πλευράν ἐξ ἧς
 ἀνέδλυσεν ἡμῖν τῶν μυστηρίων τὴν πηγὴν. Ἐδειξε τὰς χεῖρας, ἵνα πληρο-
 30 φορήσῃ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, ἵνα πληροφορήσῃ τοὺς ἀμφιβάλλοντας ὅτι ὄντως
 ὁ παθὼν ἀνέστη, ὅτι ὄντως τὸ ἀποθανόν καὶ ταφέν σῶμα ἐγήγερται.
δ'. Ἐχώρησαν οὖν οἱ μαθηταὶ ἰδόντες τὸν Κύριον. Ἐδόθη εἰρήνη, ἐλύθη
 ὁ φόβος, ἦνθησεν ἡ χάρις. Εἶπεν οὖν αὐτοῖς πάλιν· *Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν. Διὰ τί*
πάλιν; Ὅπου βούλεται πῆξαι τὰ δῶρα τῆς χάριτος, διπλασιάζει τὰς εὐλο-
 35 γίας· ὥςπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ· *Εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε, καὶ πληθύνων πλη-*
θυνῶ σε· οὕτω δίδωσιν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ εἰρήνῃ τοῖς ἐγγύς καὶ τοῖς μακράν.

5. Καθὼς ἀπέσταλκέ με ὁ Πατὴρ, καὶ γὰρ πέμπω ὑμᾶς. Πρόσεχε παρα-
 καλῶ. Ὅρα πῶς εἰς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον σχῆμα ἀρπάζει τὴν οἰκονομίαν. Οὐκ
 εἶπε· Καθὼς ἐγέννησέ με ὁ Πατὴρ· ὅπου γὰρ ἀποστολή, τὸ ἀνθρώπινον
 σχῆμα ἐνδείκνυται. Συνεχῶς δὲ τοῦτο ἐπισημαίνόμεθα, ἐπειδὴ τὴν οἰκο-
 5 νομίαν ἐρμηνεύει. Ὅπου, φησί, γυμνὴ ἢ φύσις, Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν κηρύτ-
 τει. Καθὼς ἀπέσταλκέ με. Πῶς δὲ ἀπέσταλκέ σε; Πρόσεχε παρακαλῶ.
 Ἀπεστάλης, Δέσποτα, ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· οἱ ἀπόστολοι οὐκ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· πῶς,
 καθὼς ἀπέστειλέ σε ὁ Πατὴρ, ἀποστέλλεις; Οὐ τὸν τρόπον λέγω, φησί,

20 Is. 26,12 21/23 Io. 14,27; 20,20 32 Io. 20,20 33 Io. 20,21 35/36
 Gen. 22,17 36 Is. 57,19

5. 1 Io. 20,21

20 κύριε] κύριος M_f 22 αὐτοῖς] καὶ *add.* P_3O 24 ἐστι] εἰσι AP_3O 25 τραύμα-
 τα] τραῦμα V 26 κοινοῦ γένους] γένους τοῦ κοινοῦ V ἐκκαλύπτει] διατί *add.*
 AP_3O 27 ἑαυτοῦ] αὐτοῦ M 28 χεῖρας δι' ὧν ἡμᾶς ἔπλασε πλευράν] *om.* $V M_fPg$
 ἐξ ἧς] *om.* A 29 ἡμῖν ἀνέδλυσεν *trsp.* AP_3O ἔδειξε] τοίνυν *add.* AP_3O 30 ἀμ-
 φιβάλλοντας] ἀμφιβολοῦντας $V M_fPg$ 31 παθὼν] ἀποθάνων O καὶ ταφέν] *om.* O
 32 οὖν] *om.* M_f 33 οὖν] ὁ Ἰησοῦς *add.* P_3O πάλιν αὐτοῖς *trsp.* AP_3O 34 δι-
 πλασιάζει] καὶ *add.* $AP_3O M_fPg$ τὰς] τῆς P_3 36 οὕτω] ὅπως V εἰρήνην]
 εἰρήνη P_3

5. 1 πρόσεχε] προσέχετε AP_3O 5 ἐρμηνεύει] εἰρηνεύει V ἡ] *om.* $V M_f$ 6 με]
 ὁ πατὴρ *add.* AP_3O πρόσεχε] προσέχετε AP_3O 7 ἀπεστάλης] ἀπέστειλε A ἀπε-
 στάλη P_3O δέσποτα] δεσπότης VP_3O οἱ ἀπόστολοι – οὐρανοῦ] *om.* M_fPg 8
 ἀποστέλλεις] ἀποστέλεις V φησί, λέγω *trsp.* $V M_fPg$

- | τῆς ἀποστολῆς, τὸ Καθὼς ἀπέστειλέ με, ἀλλὰ τὴν δύναμιν. Ἀπεστάλην 777
 10 εἰς τὸ παθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου· ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς, ἵνα τοῖς ὑμετέροις
 πάθῃσι τὴν οἰκουμένην στεφανώσω. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἴσχυεν ἡ θνητὴ φύσις
 ἀρκέσαι πρὸς τὴν ὁμοιότητα τὴν Δεσποτικὴν, λέγει· Καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν,
 ἐνεφύσησεν· ὃ ἔλειπε τῇ φύσει, προσέδωκε τῇ χάριτι· καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν,
 ἐνεφύσησε καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Λάβετε Πνεῦμα ἅγιον. Πρόσεχε. Διὰ τί ἐνε-
 15 φύσησεν ὁ Σωτὴρ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις κατ'αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἀναστά-
 σεως; Ἄρα γὰρ ἐκτὸς τοῦ ἐμφυσήματος, οὐχ ἱκανὸς ἦν δοῦναι Πνεῦμα
 ἅγιον; Ἀλλ'ἐπειδὴ, τὸν πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον πλάττων, ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ
 πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν, ἀπώλεσε δὲ
 τοῦ ἐμφυσήματος τὴν χάριν διὰ τὴν παράδοσιν, καὶ ἀπολέσας τὴν ζωο-
 20 ποιὸν δύναμιν, εἰς χοῦν διελύθη, καὶ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ κατέλυσε τὴν αὐτοῦ
 δημιουργίαν· ἀνανεῶν τοίνυν τὸ πλάσμα, καὶ ἀποδιδούς τὸ ἀρχαῖον
 δῶρον, ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀποστόλων, τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐκείνην
 καὶ τὴν ζωτικὴν δύναμιν ἀποδιδούς τῷ πλάσματι. Ὅμοῦ δὲ ἐπληροῦτο
 καὶ τὰ τῷ προφήτῃ προειρημένα. Ὁ γὰρ μακάριος Ναοὺμ ὁ προφήτης,
 25 προειδὼς ὅτι ὁ Σωτὴρ ἀνιστάμενος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν μέλλει ἐμφυσᾶν τοῖς
 ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις, καὶ πληροῦν αὐτοὺς θείου χαρίσματος, διαμαρτύρε-
 ται τῷ λαῷ λέγων· Εὐορτάζε, Ἰούδα, τὰς εὐορτάς σου, ἀπόδος τῷ Θεῷ τὰς
 εὐχάς σου· οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ προσθῶσιν ἐλθεῖν εἰς παλαιώσιν. Συντετέλεσται,
 ἐξῆρται. Ἀνέθῃ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὁ ἐμφυσῶν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπόν σου, καὶ ἐξαι-
 30 ρούμενός σε ἐκ θλίψεως. Τὰ δύο εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸν φόβον ἔλυσε καὶ
 ἐνεφύσησε δούς Πνεῦμα. Εἶπεν· Ὁ ἐμφυσῶν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπόν σου καὶ
 ἐξαιρούμενός σε ἐκ θλίψεως.

12/14 Io. 20,22

17/18 Gen. 2,7

27/32 Nah. 2,1/2 (1,15/2,1)

9 με] ὁ πατὴρ καὶ γὰρ πέμπω ὑμᾶς *add. AO Pg* σε ὁ πατὴρ ἀποστέλλεις οὐ τὸν τρόπον λέγω
 φησὶ τῆς ἀποστολῆς τὸ καθὼς ἀπέστειλέ με ὁ πατὴρ καὶ γὰρ πέμπω ὑμᾶς *P₃* ἀπε-
 στάλην] ἐγὼ *add. AP₃O Pg* 11 ἴσχυεν] ἴσχυεν *AP₃O Pg* 12 καὶ τοῦτο] *inc. P₁*
 13/14 ὃ ἔλειπε – ἐνεφύσησε *om. V M_fPg* 14 πρόσεχε] προσέχετε *AP₃O* 15 τοῖς
 ἀποστόλοις] *om. P₁* κατ'αὐτὴν]* κατὰ τὴν *MP₁AP₃O* δὲ] *om. M_fPg* τὴν] *om. V*
 16 οὐχ] οὐκ *V* 17 ἀλλ'] *om. AP₃O* 18 ὃ] *om. VAP₃O M_fPg* ἄνθρωπος]
om. AP₃O 19 ἀπολέσας] ἀπώλεσας *VAO* 20 τῷ] *om. V* 21 ἀνανεῶν τοίνυν]
 διὰ τοῦτο ἀνανεῶν *AP₃O* 22 τὰ πρόσωπα] τὸ πρόσωπον *VP₃O* 23 τὴν] *om. AP₃O*
Pg 24 τῷ προφήτῃ] τῶν προφητῶν *V* προειρημένα] εἰρημένα *V M_f* 25 ὁ
 σωτὴρ] *om. P₃* 26 αὐτοῖς] αὐτοῖς *VP₁* 26/27 διαμαρτύρεται] διαμαρτύρεται *P₃*
 27 Ἰούδα] Ἰούδας *V M_f* ἀπόδος] ἀπόδος *V* 28 ἐλθεῖν] *om. P₁* 29 ἐξῆρται]
 ἐξήρτηται *P₁ om. V M_f* 29/30 ἐξαιρούμενός] ἐξερούμενός *V* 30/32 τὰ δύο – θλί-
 ψεως] *om. V M_fPg* 30 ἐπειδὴ] γὰρ *add. AP₃O* 31 ἐνεφύσησε] ἀνεφύσησε *P₃*

6. Εἶτα τότε λέγει· *Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν, καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν, ἐνεφύσησε καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Λάβετε Πνεῦμα ἅγιον*. Ἐπειδὴ εἶδε τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ὀκλάζουσαν πρὸς τοὺς πόνους, καὶ παραιτουμένην πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας δι' ἀσθένειαν, ἀναπληροῖ τὸ λείπον τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἵνα κάμνουσαν αὐτὴν τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ ἡμῶν, παραμυθῆσθαι· καὶ ὥσπερ σίδηρόν τινα, ἐστόμωσεν αὐτὴν τῇ θείᾳ χάριτι, ἵνα ὁ μὴ ἔχη ἐκ φύσεως, δέξεται παρὰ τῆς χάριτος, καὶ προσέλθῃ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Πνεύματος νευρουμένη. *Λάβετε Πνεῦμα ἅγιον· καθὼς ἀπέσταλκέ με ὁ Πατήρ, καὶ γὰρ πέμπω ὑμᾶς*. Ἀλλὰ σὺ, ἐξελθὼν ὡς Δεσπότης, εἶδες ἁμαρτωλοὺς καὶ ἡλέησας· συνεχώρησας τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἡμῶν. Ἀνωτέρα ἢ χάρις· ἐμπίπτομεν εἰς τὴν ἄδυσσον τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων· οἱ ἁμαρτάνοντες πολλοί, φιλανθρωπίας χρεῖα πολλῆς. Οὐκ ἔχομεν τὴν αὐθεντίαν· πῶς δυνάμεθα κατὰ σὲ ἀποσταλῆναι; Διὰ τοῦτο, ἵνα πληρωθῇ τό, *Καθὼς ἀπέστειλέ με ὁ Πατήρ, καὶ γὰρ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς*, λέγει· *Ἄν τινων ἀφῆτε τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ἀφίενται· ἂν τινων κρατῆτε, κεκράτηνται*. Ἦν ἔχει ἐξουσίαν, δίδωσιν. Ὡσπερ γὰρ οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἐστίν ἄρχοντα πιστευθῆναι ἔθνος, μὴ λαβόντα συγχωρήσεως καὶ θανάτου καὶ τιμωρίας ἐξουσίαν, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Σωτὴρ, μέλλων καθιστᾶν αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας τῆς οἰκουμένης, δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τιμωρίας ἐξουσίαν καὶ συγχωρήσεως, τό, *Ἄν τινων ἀφῆτε τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ἀφίενται· ἂν τινων κρατῆτε, κεκράτηνται*. Ἐν γὰρ ἐστὶ τῶν ἀμηχάνων, ἢ μαρτυρῆσαι γενναίως, ἢ κηρυῖσαι σπουδαίως, ἢ πρᾶξαι τι τῶν μεγάλων καὶ δυσκατορθώτων, ἐὰν μὴ ἡ Πνεύματος ἀγίου δύναμις νευρώσῃ τὸν τόνον τοῦ μάρτυρος· ἄλλως γὰρ οὐ δύνανται μάρτυρες εἶναι. Μάρτυρα δὲ λέγω νῦν, οὐ μόνον τὸν διὰ παθῶν τελειούμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τῷ λόγῳ μαρτυροῦντα τῆς χάριτος. Πᾶς γὰρ κήρυξ ἀληθείας, μάρτυς ἐστὶ Θεοῦ. Διὸ περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ λέγει τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον· *Καὶ ἐμαρτύρησεν*

6. 1/2 Io. 20,21/22 8/9 Io. 20,22,21 13/15 Io. 20,23 24 cfr Hebr. 2,10
26/27 cfr Io. 1,32,34; 5,33

6. 1 εἶτα] *om. V M_f Pg* 2 εἶδε] οἶδε *P₃* 3 διὰ] τὴν *add. AP₃* 5 παραμυθῆσθαι] παραμυθῆσεται *VP₃* 6 δ] καὶ *A* ἔχη] ἔχει *AP₃ O* παρὰ] περὶ *A* 9 σὺ] κύριε *add. AP₃ O Pg* 10 ἡλέησας] ἐλέησας *M_f* 11 ἐμπίπτομεν] ἐμπίπτων *Va. corr. in marg.* ἐμπίπτωμεν *VP₁* ἐκπίπτομεν *P₃* ἁμαρτημάτων] ἡμεῖς *add. AP₃ O Pg* 12 ἔχομεν] ἔχωμεν *V* 14 ἀποστέλλω] πέμπω *AP₁* ἀφῆτε] ἀφεῖτε *V M_f* 15 ἀφίενται] αὐτοῖς *add. AP₃ O Pg* κρατῆτε] κρατεῖτε *VP₁ M_f* κεκράτηνται] καὶ κράτηνται *V* ἐξουσίαν] ὁ σωτὴρ *add. AP₃ O Pg* δίδωσιν] τοῖς ἀποστόλοις *add. AP₃ O Pg* 16 γὰρ] *om. M_f* ἔθνος] *om. A* 17 συγχωρήσεως] συγχωρήσει *P₃* ἐξουσίαν] παρὰ βασιλείως *add. AP₃ O Pg* 18 αὐτοῖς] αὐτοῦς *V* 19 συγχωρήσεως] συγχωρήσει *P₃* ἀφῆτε] ἀφεῖτε *V M_f* 20 ἀφίενται] αὐτοῖς *add. AP₃ O Pg* κρατῆτε] κρατεῖτε *VP₁ M_f* κρατῆται *O* 21 μαρτυρῆσαι] μαρτυρήσαντα *P₁* 22 δυσκατορθώτων] δυσκατορθώτωντων *P₁ O M_f Pg* δύναμις] *om. O* 23 ἄλλως] ἄλλος *P₃* 24 τὸν] τῶν *V* 25 Θεοῦ] *om. P₃* 26 ἐμαρτύρησεν] ὁ *add. AP₃ O*

Ἰωάννης τῇ ἀληθείᾳ λέγων, ὅτι Οὗτός ἐστι. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ οὐ τὸ πάσχειν, ἀλλὰ τὸ βοᾶν. Ἀμήχανον μάρτυρας γενέσθαι θείου λόγου, μὴ παρὰ Πνεύματος ἁγίου νευρωθέντας. Διὸ λέγει ὁ Σωτὴρ ἀναλαμβάνόμενος·
 30 δὲ μέναιτε ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἕως ἂν ἐνδύσησθε δύναμιν ἐξ ὕψους, καὶ λήψετε δύναμιν ἐπελθόντος τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἔσεσθέ μοι μάρτυρες. Ἄνευ γὰρ τοῦ λαβεῖν Πνεύματος δύναμιν οὐχ οἶόν τέ ἐστι μάρτυρα γενέσθαι.

7. ε'. Θωμᾶς δὲ εἷς ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα, ὁ λεγόμενος Αἰδύμος, οὐκ ἦν μετ' αὐτῶν. Ἦν δὲ οἰκονομία μεγίστη Χριστοῦ, τὸ ἀπολειφθῆναι τὸν Θωμᾶν, ἵνα ἡ ἐκείνου ἀμφιβολία, ἐνεργέστερον παραστήσῃ τὴν ἀνάστασιν. Εἰ μὴ γὰρ Θωμᾶς ἀπελείφθη, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπόλειψιν ἀμφέβαλλε, καὶ
 5 τῇ ἀμφιβολίᾳ πληροφορίαν ὁ Σωτὴρ προσήνεγκεν, ἔμελλεν ἔτι σκανδαλίζειν πολλοὺς τὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως θαῦμα· ἀλλ' ἐγένετο ἡ ἐκείνου ἀμφιβολία, πάντων τῶν πιστῶν θεραπεία. Ὅτε οὖν ἦλθεν ὁ Θωμᾶς, ἔλεγον αὐτῷ οἱ ἄλλοι μαθηταί· Ἐωράκαμεν τὸν Κύριον. Οἱ μὲν σεμνύνονται ἐφ' οἷς ἐθεάσαντο· ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ ἀντιλογίᾳ τινὶ κατεχόμενος, καὶ οὐκ ἀπι-
 10 στίχ· τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἀμφιβολία· καὶ διψῶν πληροφορηθῆναι, οὐκ εἶπεν· Ἀμήχανον τοῦτο γενέσθαι. Πρόσεχε ἀκριβῶς. Οὐκ ἀπηρνήσατο τὴν ἀνάστασιν· οὐκ εἶπεν· Ἀδύνατα λέγετε, ἀμήχανα πράγματα ἀπαγγέλλετε· ἀλλ' ἐζήτησε πληροφορίαν λέγων· Ἐὰν μὴ ἴδω ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ τὸν τύπον τῶν ἥλων, καὶ βάλω τὸν δάκτυλόν μου εἰς τὸν τύπον τῶν ἥλων, καὶ
 15 βάλω τὴν χειρὰ μου εἰς τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ, οὐ μὴ πιστεύσω. Οὐκ εἶπεν οὐ μὴ πιστεύσω παντελῶς, ἀλλ' ἂν μὴ πληροφορηθῶ, οὐ μὴ πιστεύσω. Καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀκτώ. Ὅρα πῶς τῇ ἄλλῃ Κυριακῇ ἐφίσταται· ἀπὸ γὰρ

29/30 Lc. 24,49 31/32 Act. 1,8

7. 1 Io. 20,24 8 Io. 20,25 13/15 Io. 20,25 17/20 Io. 20,26 22/23 Io. 20,27

27 ἐστίν] ὁ χριστός *add.* AP₃O Pg 27/28 τὸ ... τὸ] τῷ ... τῷ *M^{p. corr.} Pg* 28 ἀμήχανον] οὖν *add.* AP₃O Pg 28/29 πνεύματος ἁγίου] τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος AP₃O Pg 29 νευρωθέντας] εὐρεθέντας *P₁* σωτὴρ] τοῖς ἀποστόλοις *add.* AP₃O Pg ἀναλαμβάνόμενος] ἀναθαινόμενος *A* 30 ἂν] οὐ *P₁* 31/32 ἐφ' ὑμᾶς – πνεύματος *om.* *V M_f Pg* 32 δύναμιν] ἦντινα *add.* *V^{in marg.} M_f Pg* 33 μάρτυρα] μάρτυρας *V M_f Pg* γενέσθαι] μὴ δεξαμένους *add.* *V M_f Pg*

7. 2 αὐτῶν] αὐτὸν *P₁* τὸ] τοῦ *M* τὸν] *om.* *M_f* 3 ἐνεργέστερον] ἐναργέστερον *V M_f Pg* 4 διὰ] *om.* *V* ἀπόλειψιν ἀμφέβαλλεν] ἀπόλειψιν ἀμφίβαλε *A* ἀπόληψιν ἀμφέβαλεν *V M_f Pg* 5 ὁ σωτὴρ πληροφορίαν *trsp.* *P₃O* 7 ὁ θωμᾶς] *om.* *V M_f* 8 σεμνύνονται] ἐσεμνύνοντο *V M_f Pg* 10 ὅσον] ἡ *V M_f Pg* 11 πρόσεχε] πρόσεχετε *AP₃O* 12 οὐκ] οὔτε μὴν *AP₃O* ἀπαγγέλλετε] ἐπαγγέλλετε *P₁* 13 ἴδω] εἶδω *VP₁* καὶ γὰρ *add.* *AP₃O* 14 καὶ βάλω – ἥλων] *om.* *M_f* 15 μου] *om.* *M_f* 15/16 οὐκ – πιστεύσω²] *om.* *P₁ M_f Pg* 17 ἐφίσταται] *om.* *M_f*

- Κυριακῆς εἰς Κυριακὴν, ὁκτὼ ἡμέραι εἰσί. Καὶ μεθ'ἡμέρας ὁκτὼ τῆς ἀναστάσεως, ἦλθε πάλιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων καὶ ἔστη εἰς
 20 τὸ μέσον, καὶ εἶπεν· Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν. Ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖ δεύτερον εἶπεν· Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν, ὧδε μίαν εἶπεν, ἵνα ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας Τριάδος, ὁλόκληρον τὸ δῶρον τῆς εἰρήνης ἐργάσῃται· Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν. Εἶτα λέγει τῷ Θωμᾷ, φέρε τὸν δάκτυλόν σου ὧδε. Πρόσεχε παρακαλῶ. Οὐκ ἀναμένει ὁ Σωτὴρ ἀκοῦσαι παρὰ τῶν μαθητῶν τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν τοῦ Θωμᾶ· οὐ πρῶτον ἐδιδάχθη, καὶ τότε διδά-
 25 σκει· ἀλλ'ἵνα πείσῃ αὐτὸν ὅτι παρῇν καὶ μὴ φαινόμενος, καὶ ἵνα ἐξετα- στῆς τῆς ἀμφιβολίας γένηται, λέγει Θωμᾶ· Φέρε τὸν δάκτυλόν σου ὧδε, ὡς εἶπας, καὶ ἴδε τὰς χεῖράς μου, καὶ φέρε τὴν χεῖρά σου, καὶ βάλε εἰς τὴν πλευράν μου· καὶ μὴ γίνου ἄπιστος, ἀλλὰ πιστός. Δείκνυσιν ὅτι ὁ πληρο-
 30 φορίαν ζητῶν, οὐ πιστός· ὁ δὲ πίστει δουλεύων, πιστός. | Ὅμοιον ἐστι 779 τὸ ἐρευνᾶν πλευρὰν Χριστοῦ καὶ τύπους ἡλων, τῷ λέγειν· Πῶς ἐγεννήθη; Μᾶλλον δὲ οὐχ ὅμοιον. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπεζήτει ἰδεῖν τύπους ἡλων, ἐν σαρκὶ ὁρωμένους καὶ αἰσθήσει ὑποπίπτοντας, ἐπεθύμει ἰδεῖν πρᾶγμα γεγεννημέ- νον, ὃ καὶ προῆδει. Σὺ δὲ πολυπραγμονῶν φύσιν ἀθεώρητον, οὐσίαν ἀκα-
 35 ἀτάληπτον, γέννησιν ἄρρητον, τὸν γεννήσαντα ἄφραστον, τὸν γεννηθέντα ἀκατάληπτον, οὐ χειρὸν παρανομεῖς; Οὐκ εἰ ἀπίστου χείρων; Εἰ πλευρὰν ἐρευνήσας ὁ μακάριος Θωμᾶς ἤκουσε· Μὴ γίνου ἄπιστος· σὺ ἐρευνῶν τὴν ἀσώματον φύσιν, τὴν ἀκατάληπτον δύναμιν, μὴ γίνου ἄπιστος, ἀλλὰ πιστός. Ὅμως εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀνεξικακίᾳ, ὅτι ὁ τοῦ Θωμᾶ δάκτυλος ἐγένετο κάλαμος εὐσεθείας, ἀνατρέπων τὰ αἰρετικὰ δίκτυα, καὶ
 40 ἐμφράττων αὐτῶν τὰ στόματα τῶν τολμώντων λέγειν, ὅτι σχήματι ἐνε- δύσατο σῶμα, καὶ σχήματι ἀπέθανεν. Ὁ δὲ δάκτυλος ὁ τοῦ Θωμᾶ οὕτω διέλυσε τῶν αἰρετικῶν τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ὁ δάκτυλος, πρὸς ὃν

26/28 Io. 20,27

35 I Tim. 5,8

18 κυριακῆς]* κυριακὴν *MVP₁A* κυριακ *P₃* 21/22 τῆς εἰρήνης] *om. V M_f* 22
 τῷ] τὸ *MO* 23 πρόσεχε] πρόσεχετε *O* 26 λέγει] τῷ *add. AP₃O Pg* ὧδε]
 πρόσεχε παρακαλῶ οὐκ ἀναμένει ὁ σωτὴρ ἀκοῦσαι παρὰ τῶν μαθητῶν τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν
 τοῦ θωμᾶ οὐ πρῶτον ἐδιδάχθη καὶ τότε διδάσκει ἀλλ'ἵνα πείσῃ αὐτὸν ὅτι παρῇν καὶ μὴ
 φαινόμενος καὶ ἵνα ἐξεταστῆς τῆς ἀμφιβολίας γένηται λέγει θωμᾶ φέρε τὸν δάκτυλόν σου
 ὧδε *add. P₁* 27 ἴδε] εἶδε *M_f* καὶ²] *om. P₃* 28 ὁ] *om. AP₃O* 29 ζητῶν]
 ζητεῖ *AP₃* ζητεῖς *O* πιστός] πίστωσιν *AP₃O* ὁ δὲ πίστει δουλεύων πιστός] *om. P₁*
 δουλεύων] βουλεύων *O* 30 τό] τῷ *A* χριστοῦ πλευρὰν *trsp. P₃O* τῷ] τὸ *V*
 30/31 τῷ λέγειν – ἡλων] *om. P₁* 31 δὲ] *om. M_f* 33 ὃ καὶ] καὶ ὃ *trsp. A* ὃ *P₃O*
 προῆδει] προειδῇ *P₁* σὺ] οὐ *O* 34 ἄρρητον] ἄρρηκτον *P₃* 35 χεῖρον] χείρων
MAP₃O εἰ¹] *om. P₁* χείρων] χεῖρον *VP₁* 36 ἄπιστος] ἀλλὰ πιστός *add. VAP₃O*
 37 μὴ γίνου ἄπιστος] οὐ πολλῶ μᾶλλον τοῦτο ἀκούσῃ *AP₃O* 37/38 ἀλλὰ πιστός] *om.*
AP₃O 38 τῇ...ἀνεξικακίᾳ] τὴν...ἀνεξικακίαν *V* θεοῦ] ἀγαθότητι καὶ *add. AP₃O Pg*
 39 αἰρετικὰ] ἱερατικὰ *P₁* 41 σῶμα] ὁ κύριος *add. AP₃O Pg* σχήματι] σχῆμα *O*
 42 ὃν] ὢν *P₁*

οὐκ ἤρκεσαν οἱ μάγοι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων λέγοντες· Δάκτυλος Θεοῦ ἐστὶν οὗτος. Ἐπρεπε τότε καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Θωμᾷ μετὰ τὴν πληροφορίαν, εἰπεῖν τὸ
 45 τοῦ Δαυὶδ· Ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θλίψεώς μου τὸν Θεὸν ἐξεζήτησα, καὶ ἐπειδὴ χερσὶν ἠρεῦνα, εἰπεῖν τὸ ἐπαγόμενον· Ταῖς χερσί μου, νυκτός, ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἠπατήθην. Μὴ γίνου ἄπιστος, ἀλλὰ πιστός.

8. Ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τύπου θεασάμενος τὸν παθόντα, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς προγνώσεως Θεὸν λέγει· Ὁ Κύριός μου καὶ ὁ Θεός μου. 9. Ἀκουέτωσαν οἱ αἵρετικοί. Εἰ ἀληθῶς παραιτεῖται καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁμότιμος τοῦ πατρός, τίνος ἔνεκεν οὐκ ἀποπέμπεται τὴν ὑπερβαίνουσαν αὐτῷ τιμὴν; Ἦκου-
 5 σεν οὖν παρὰ τινος, Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, καὶ λέγει· Τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; Οὐδεὶς ἀγαθός, εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ Θεός. Καίτοι τὸ ἀγαθόν, ὄνομα καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν πολιτεύεται. Ἀγαθὸς ἀκοῦσαι κατὰ τὴν σὴν ὑπόνοιαν παρητήσατο· Θεὸς καὶ Κύριος ἀκοῦσαι οὐ πολλῶ μᾶλλον ὥφειλε παραιτήσασθαι; Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, καὶ λέγει· Τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; Ὡδε, Ὁ Κύριός μου καὶ ὁ Θεός
 10 μου, καὶ οὐκ εἶπε· Τί με λέγεις Κύριον καὶ Θεόν; Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ, ἐπειδὴ ἀνάξιος αὐτοῦ ἦν ἡ φωνή· οὐ γὰρ εἶπε, Κύριε ἀγαθέ, ἀλλὰ, Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ· τὸ εὐτελὲς ἀπεπέμψατο, καὶ τὸ ἔνδοξον ἀπεδέξατο. Ἐκεῖ ἐμέμψατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐμέμψατο, ὅτι βράδιον εἶπεν. Ἐμέμψατο αὐτόν, οὐχ ὅτι εἶπεν, Ὁ Κύριός μου, ἀλλ' ὅτι βράδιον λέγει. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν εἶδες καὶ
 15 ἐπίστευσας, μακάριοι οἱ μὴ ἰδόντες, καὶ πιστεύσαντες. Εἷς ἐνεκλήθη, καὶ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐμακαρίσθημεν· ὁ γὰρ μακαρισμὸς οὗτος, ἐπὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς καὶ τοὺς μεθ' ἡμᾶς διαβαίνει, ὅτι μὴ παραλαβόντες ὄψει τὰ θαύματα, ἀλλὰ πίστει δεχόμενοι, κοινωνοὶ γινόμεθα τοῦ μεγάλου τούτου καὶ ἐνδόξου μακαρισμοῦ.

43/44 Ex. 8,19

45/47 Ps. 76,3

8. 2 Io. 20,28

5/6 Mc. 10,17/18

14/15 Io. 20,29

44 καὶ om. A

45 δαυὶδ] εἰρημένον add. P₁ ῥητόν add. AP₃O Pg47 οὐκ] οὐχ P₁

8. 1 ἐκεῖνος] δὲ add. AP₃O Pg 2 προγνώσεως] τὸν add. V M_f λέγει] αὐτόν κα-
 λεῖ AP₃O Pg 3 παραιτεῖται] ὁ υἱὸς add. AP₃O Pg τοῦ πατρός] τῷ πατρὶ V M_f Pg
 6 τὸ] om. P₁ ἀγαθόν] ἀγαθός V M_f Pg 7 ἀγαθός] ἀγαθέ V M_f Pg κατὰ] παρὰ
 P₁ 7/8 θεός καὶ κύριος] ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου AP₃O 8 παραιτήσασθαι]
 παραιτήσασθε V 9 ὥδε] ὁ δὲ P₁ 10 καὶ!] om. P₃O 11 ἦν αὐτοῦ trsp. AP₃O
 12/14 ἐκεῖ – λέγει] om. AP₃O 14 εἶδες] ἴδες V M_f 16 μακαρισμός] μακάριος
 MO^{a. corr.} 17 διαβαίνει καὶ τοὺς μεθ' ἡμᾶς trsp. V M_f Pg διαβαίνει O 18 γινόμεθα]
 γένομεθα AP₃O

9. ζ'. Ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἱστορίας, ἣν ἐπιτόμως διεδράμομεν, μεταβαίνωμεν, εἰ μὴ ἀπεκάμετε πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν εἰρημένων, εἰς ἄλλην προφητικὴν φωνήν· Δεῦτε, ἀναδῶμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Κυρίου. Ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ὄρους τῶν Ἐλαιῶν ἀνελήφθη ὁ | Σωτὴρ. Δεῦτε, ἀναδῶμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Κυρίου, 780
- 5 καὶ εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰακώβ. Ἐτίμησε δὲ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ τοῦ ὄρους· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἐξ ὄρους τοῦ λεγομένου ἑλαιῶνος ἀνελήφθη ὁ Σωτὴρ, καὶ ὧδε ὁμονύμως ἡ λεγομένη ἑλαία πεφύτευται, καὶ τῇ ἐγγύτητι καὶ τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ πιστουμένη τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἱστορίαν. Καὶ γὰρ ἀνήγαγεν ὁ Σωτὴρ τοὺς μαθητάς εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν. Ἦν
- 10 δὲ τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν ἀπέναντι Ἱερουσαλήμ. Κάκεινῃ καὶ ταύτῃ πρόσεχε τοίνυν. Δεῦτε, ἀναδῶμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Κυρίου· συνανέλθωμεν τῷ πόθῳ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ· καὶ ἴδωμεν τίνα ἡμῖν ἐπραγματεύσατο ἡ σωτήριος ἀνάληψις.

10. η'. Βούλομαι οὖν αὐτὴν τὴν βίβλον τῶν Πράξεων κατὰ μέρος ἐκ τῶν προοιμίων ἐξιχνιάσαι, ἵνα μεθ' ὑμῶν ἀντλήσω τὰ θεῖα νόματα, καὶ ἐρευνήσωμεν κοινῇ τοὺς θησαυρούς, ὡς ἔμποροι τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ὡς σπεύδοντες πλουτεῖν ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ. Πράξεις, φησί, τῶν ἀποστόλων. Καὶ αὕτη ἡ
- 5 ἐπιγραφὴ πᾶσαν ἐμφαίνει τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ ἔστι τὸ προοίμιον, ὅλης τῆς πραγματείας τὸ ἐπάγγελμα. Οὐδὲ γὰρ πάντων τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμφέρονται τῇ βίβλῳ αἱ πράξεις· ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἀκριβῶς ζητήσῃ, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῆς βίβλου, Πέτρου ἐκφαίνει θαύματα καὶ διδασκαλίαν,

9. 3/5 Mich. 4,2

10. 4 *titulus Actorum Apostolorum*

10. 4 cfr Ph., *Amphil.* 123, l. 5 8/9 cfr Ph., *Amphil.* 123, l. 6/7

9. 1 ἀλλ' ἀπὸ] ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ V ἀλλ' ἐπὶ P_1 μεταβαίνωμεν^{add.}] * μεταδῶμεν V M_fPg μεταβαίνομεν MP_1AP_3O 3 φωνήν] ποίαν δὴ ταύτην *add.* $AP_3O Pg$ 3/4 δεῦτε – σωτήρ] *om.* $VP_1O M_f$ 3 κυρίου] θεοῦ P_2 4 τοῦ] *om.* V M_f 5 Ἰακώβ] ἡμῶν V ἐτίμησε] ἐπετίμησε A ἐτίμα P_2 καί²] *om.* P_2P_3O 5/6 ἡμετέραν πόλιν] ἡμέραν πάλιν V Pg καὶ *add.* P_2 6 ὁμωνυμίᾳ] ὁμονομοίᾳ V 6/7 ἑλαιῶνος] ἑλαιῶν $P_2 M_fPg$ 7 ὁμονύμως] *om.* V M_fPg 8 τῇ²] *om.* AP_3O ὁμωνυμίᾳ] ὁμονοιμίᾳ V 9 ἀνήγαγεν] ἀνῆγεν P_2 9/10 ἣν δὲ τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἑλαιῶν] τῶν ἑλαιῶν *om.* $P_2 om. P_1P_3O M_fPg$ 10 κάκεινῃ ... ταύτῃ *e. corr.* M_f] * κάκεινης ... ταύτης $MVP_1P_2AP_3O$ 11 τοῦ] *om.* V 13 ἀνάληψις] χάρις P_2

10. 1 οὖν] δὲ P_2 τῶν πράξεων] ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ V τῶν πράξεων ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ M_fPg ἐκ τῶν προοιμίων] *om.* P_2 2 ὑμῶν] ἡμῶν A ἀντλήσω] ζητήσω P_2 νόματα] νοήματα P_2 3 θησαυροῦς] τῆς ἀγίας γραφῆς *add.* $AP_3O Pg$ 4 πράξεις] πράξις P_1 αὕτῃ] * αὐτῇ $MVP_2AP_3O M_fPg$ 5 τὸ] *om.* $P_2 M_fPg$ 6 τὸ] *om.* V τῶν] *om.* M_f 7 ἐμφέρονται] ἐν *add.* $P_2 Pg$ αἱ πράξεις] ἐπράξεις P_3 τις] τῆς P_1 ζητήσῃ] ζητήσῃ P_2 8 πέτρου] μόνου *add.* AP_3O ἐκφαίνει] ἐμφαίνει P_2AP_3O

- ὀλίγην δὲ τῶν ἀποστολῶν· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, εἰς Παῦλον κενοῦται πᾶσα
 10 ἡ πραγματεία. Πέτρος μνημονεύεται καὶ Παῦλος, καὶ πῶς πάντων τῶν
 ἀποστολῶν αἱ πράξεις; Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Παῦλον, δοξαζο-
 μένου μέλους ἐνὸς συνδοξάζεται πάντα τὰ μέλη, οὐκ ἐπέγραψεν ὁ ἱστορι-
 ογράφος, Πράξεις Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀποστολῶν· κοινὸν γὰρ
 τὸ ἐγκώμιον, κοινὸν καὶ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα.

- 11.** Ζητοῦμεν οὖν τίς ὁ συντάξας ταύτην τὴν βίβλον τῶν Πράξεων· πολ-
 λοὶ γὰρ εἰς πολλὰς καὶ διαφόρους ἐμερίσθησαν ἐννοίας, οἱ μὲν εἰπόντες ὅτι
 Κλήμης ὁ Ῥωμαῖος συνέταξεν αὐτάς, ἄλλοι δὲ λέγουσι, Βαρνάβας, ἄλλοι
 δὲ ὅτι Λουκᾶς ὁ εὐαγγελιστής. Ἐπεὶ οὖν εἰς διαφόρους ἐννοίας μερίζε-
 5 ται τὰ τῶν λογισμῶν αὐτῶν, ἐρμηνέα λάβωμεν τὸν συγγραφέα, τίς ἐστί
 καὶ τί πραγματεύεται, καὶ εἰ εἰς ἑαυτὸν σημαίνει τὸν λόγον. Λέγει τοί-
 νυν· Τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον ἐποίησάμην περὶ πάντων, ᾧ Θεόφιλε. Εἰπὼν,
 Πρῶτον, πέμπει ἡμῶν τὰς ἐννοίας ζητῆσαι ποῖον πρῶτον λέγει λόγον.
 Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτον μόνον συνέταξεν, οὐκ ἂν εἶπε· Τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ὅτι ἐποι-
 10 ησάμην. Ἰδοὺ οὖν εὐρίσκεται οὗτος ὁ λόγος δεύτερος· τὸν γὰρ πρῶτον
 ἤδη πεποίημαι· ποῖον δὲ πρῶτον ἐποίησεν, αὐτὸς λέγει· Τὸν μὲν πρῶτον
 λόγον ἐποίησάμην περὶ πάντων, ᾧ Θεόφιλε, ᾧ ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν
 τε καὶ διδάσκειν. Οὐ Πράξεις συνέταξεν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ, ἀλλ' Εὐαγγ-

11. 7 Act. 1,1 11/13 Act. 1,1

9/10 Ph., *Amphil.* 123, l. 7/8 11/12 Ph., *Amphil.* 123, l. 9/10 12/13 Ph., *Amphil.*
 123, l. 10/11

11. 2/4 Ph., *Amphil.* 123, l. 17/18

9 δὲ] *om.* P_2 δὲ καὶ AP_3O M_fPg τῶν] λοιπῶν *add.* AP_3O M_fPg 9/10 ἡ πᾶσα παραγ-
 ματεία *trsp.* AP_3O 10 πέτρος] τοῖνυν *add.* AP_3O P_g 11 πράξεις] καλοῦνται *add.*
 AP_3O P_g μακάριον] *om.* P_2 M_fPg 12 ἐνὸς μέλους *trsp.* P_2 οὐκ ἐπέγραψεν] οὐκ
 ἔγραψεν P_2 οὐκ ἐτι γράφει O 13 πράξεις] πράξεων V *om.* AP_3O ἀλλὰ] πράξεις
add. P_fAP_3O M_fPg 13/14 γὰρ τὸ ἐγκώμιον κοινὸν καὶ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα] γὰρ τὸ ἐγκώμι-
 ον κοινὸν τὸ ἐπάγγελμα VP_2 κοινὸν τὸ ἐπάγγελμα M_fPg

11. 1 οὖν] πρῶτον *add.* AP_3O δὲ P_2 2 γὰρ] ἀγνοοῦντες τὸν συγγραφέα *add.* AP_3O P_g
 3 αὐτάς] τὰς πράξεις P_2 4 δὲ ὅτι] *om.* P_2 μερίζεται ἐννοίας *trsp.* P_2 5 τὰ]
 τὸ P_2 αὐτῶν] αὐτὸν P_2 6 εἰ] *om.* AP_3O εἰς] *om.* P_2 σημαίνει τὸν λόγον]
om. P_2 σημαίνει] σημειοῦται V M_fPg λέγει] *om.* V M_fPg 6/7 τοῖνυν] *om.* VP_2
 M_fPg 7 εἰπὼν] γὰρ *add.* P_2 8 λέγει λόγον] *om.* P_2 9 τὸν μὲν] *om.* P_2 ὅτι]
 λόγον P_3O *om.* VA M_f 10 ἰδοὺ] *om.* P_2 εὐρίσκεται οὖν *trsp.* P_2 γὰρ] μὲν V
 M_f πρῶτον A^{ap} 11 πεποίημαι] πεποίηται P_fP_2 M_fPg πρῶτον¹] λόγον *add.*
 P_3O ἐποίησεν] ὃν ἐποίησω P_2 λόγον *add.* A 13 διδάσκειν] ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι *add.*
 AP_3O P_g 13/15 οὐ πράξεις – διδάσκειν] *om.* P_1 13 ἐν] *om.* V M_f 13/14
 εὐαγγέλιον] εὐαγγέλια V πρῶτον λόγον *add.* P_2 P_g

- γέλιον· οὐχ ὧν ἐποίησε Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος, ἀλλ' ὧν ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποι-
 15 εἶν τε καὶ διδάσκειν. Δῆλον οὖν ὅτι ὁ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον συντάξας Λουκᾶς,
 αὐτὸς καὶ τὰς Πράξεις συνέθηκεν. Ἀλλὰ πρόσχες, ἴδωμεν εἰ αὐτός ἐστι.
 Τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον ἐποίησάμην περὶ πάντων, ὃ Θεόφιλε, ὧν ἤρξατο
 ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν, ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας ἐντειλάμενος τοῖς
 ἀποστόλοις διὰ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, οὗς ἐξελέξατο, ἀνελήφθη· ἀντὶ τοῦ, 781
 20 Εἶπον τὰς πράξεις τοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἕως τῆς ἀναλή-
 ψεως. Πρόσεχε παρακαλῶ. Τὸ μὲν πρῶτόν μου, φησίν, σύνταγμα, περιέ-
 χει τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τὰς διδασκαλίας, καὶ ἔφθασε μου ὁ πρῶτος
 λόγος ἕως τῆς ἀναλήψεως. Εὐρίσκεις τοίνυν μήτε Ματθαῖον ὅλως, μήτε
 Μάρκον εἰ μὴ ἐν μέρει, μήτε Ἰωάννην πληρώσαντας τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ἕως
 25 τῆς ἀναλήψεως, ἀλλὰ μόνον Λουκᾶν. Ματθαῖος μὲν γὰρ τέλος ἔχει τοῦ
 Εὐαγγελίου τοῦτο· Οἱ δὲ ἑνδεκα μαθηταὶ ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῆς
 Γαλιλαίας, ὅπου συνετάξατο αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς. Ὡφθη δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ προ-
 σεκύνησαν αὐτῶ· καὶ εἶπε· Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. Καὶ
 ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος. Καὶ τοῦτο τέλος
 30 τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου, τὸ δὲ πῶς ἀνελήφθη, οὐκ εἶπε. Μάρκος ὁμοίως λέγει·
 Καὶ ἐξηλθον αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου, καὶ οὐδενὶ ἀπήγγειλαν οὐδέν·
 ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ. Καὶ μεθ' ἕτερα λέγει περὶ τῆς ἀναλήψεως ἐν συντόμῳ
 οὕτως· Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κύριος, μετὰ τὸ λαλῆσαι αὐτοῖς, ἀνελήφθη εἰς τὸν
 οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐξεληθόντες ἐκήρυ-
 35 ξαν πανταχοῦ, τοῦ Κυρίου συνεργοῦντος καὶ τὸν λόγον βεβαιοῦντος διὰ
 τῶν ἐπακολουθούντων σημείων. Ἀμήν. Τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου.

17/19 Act. 1,1/2 26/29 Mt. 28,16/20 31/32 Mc. 16,8 33/36 Mc. 16,19/20

25/26 Ph., *Amphil.* 123, l. 24/25 29 cfr Ph., *Amphil.* 123, l. 25 33/34 Ph., *Amphil.* 123, l. 27/28

14 οὐχ ὧν] οὐκ ὄν P_2 ἐποίησε] σημείων *add.* AP_3O 15 ὅτι] εὐαγγέλιον συντάξεν
 τίς δὲ *add.* P_2 ὁ] *om.* VP_1O συντάξας] ὁ *add.* O 16 αὐτὸς καὶ – συνέθηκεν]
om. P_2 πρόσχες] *om.* P_2 ἴδωμεν] εἴδωμεν A 18 ἄχρι ἧς] ἄχρις P_1 20 εἶ-
 πον] εἰπὼν VP_1 τὰς] τὰ M πράξεις] πράξις P_1 21 πρόσχε] *om.* P_2 προσέχε-
 τε $V M_1Pg$ παρακαλῶ] *om.* P_2 μὲν] *om.* P_2 σύνταγμα] σύγγραμμα P_2 22
 κυρίου] χριστοῦ P_2 καί²] *om.* P_2 μου] μὲν $V M_1Pg$ οὖν P_2 24 μέρει] τινὶ *add.*
 P_1 24/25 μῆτε ἰωάννην – λουκᾶν] τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πληρώσαντας ἀλλὰ μόνον λουκᾶν
 ἕως τῆς ἀναλήψεως P_1 24 ἰωάννην] ὄλον *add.* P_2 25 ἀλλὰ] εἰ μὴ P_2 λουκᾶν]
 κατὰ πλάτος *add.* P_2 26 μαθηταὶ] ἀπόστολοι P_2 27 ὥφθη δὲ αὐτοῖς] ἐκεῖ αὐτοῖς
 ὥφθη P_2 29 εἰμι] πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας *add.* $P_2 Pg$ καί] *om.* AP_3O τοῦτο] τὸ
add. P_2 30 εἶπε] Ματθαῖος *add.* P_2 μάρκος ὁμοίως] ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ μάρκος AP_3O
 33 ἀνελήφθη] καὶ *add.* P_3 34 καί] *om.* P_3 ἐκάθισεν] ἐκάθησεν MP_1A 36 ση-
 μείων] σημείον M ἀμήν] *om.* P_1 τέλος] καὶ τούτου *add.* AP_3O

Οὐκ ἐγένετο δὲ ἀναλήψεως μνήμη κατὰ πλάτος ἐν Μάρκῳ. Ἰωάννης τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Τιβεριάδος ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ Σωτῆρος εἶπεν, ὅτε λέγει τῷ Πέτρῳ· Πέτρε, φιλεῖς με; Καὶ ἐπλήρωσε τὴν διάλεξιν. Ἀπέστη Ἰωάννης δέ, καὶ οὐκ ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀναλήψεως· ἀλλὰ λέγει· Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ
 40 ἄλλα σημεῖα ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἅτινα ἐὰν γράφηται καθ' ἓν, οὐδὲ αὐτὸν οἶμαι χωρῆσαι τὸν κόσμον τὰ γραφόμενα βιβλία. Οὔτε οὖν Ἰωάννης ὅλως, οὔτε Ματθαῖος ὅλως, οὔτε Μάρκος κατὰ πλάτος, ἐμνημόνευσαν ἀναλήψεως. Αὐτὸς μέντοι ὁ Λουκᾶς, ἕως τῆς ἀναλήψεως διέδραμε τὸν λόγον.
 45 Διὰ τοῦτο λέγει· Τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον ἐποίησάμην περὶ πάντων, ὃ Θεόφιλε, ὃν ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν, ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας ἐντειλάμενος τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, οὓς ἐξελέξατο, ἀνελήφθη.

12. Θ'. Τίς δέ ἐστιν ὁ Θεόφιλος οὗτος; Κατὰ τοὺς τότε χρόνους ἡγεμὼν ἦν· καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ὧν, ἐδέξατο τὸ κήρυγμα καὶ ἐδέξατο ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ· ὥσπερ ὁ ἀνθυπατός ποτε τῆς Κύπρου, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀνθυπατεύειν ἐδέξατο τὸ κήρυγμα Παύλου· οὕτω καὶ ὁ Θεόφιλος ἡγεμὼν ὧν τὸ τηνικαῦτα, ἐδέ-
 5 ξατο τὸ κήρυγμα διὰ τοῦ Λουκᾶ. Ἀξιοῖ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν μακάριον Λουκᾶν συντάξαι αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων. Ἐδίδαξάς με, φησί, τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Σωτῆρος· δίδαξόν με καὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν μαθητῶν. Διὰ τοῦτο προσφωνεῖ αὐτῷ τὸν δεύτερον λόγον· καὶ γὰρ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν πρὸς Θεόφιλον ἐγράφη. Πόθεν τοῦτο δῆλον; Αὐτὸς λέγει· Ἐπει-
 10 δὴ περ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορη-

38/39 Io. 21,25 40/42 Io. 20,30; 21,25 45/47 Act. 1,1/2

12. 9/14 Lc. 1,1/4

40/42 cfr Ph., *Amphil.* 123, l. 31/33

37 δέ] *om.* MVP_1P_2 ἀναλήψεως] ἀνάληψις P_2 μνήμη – Μάρκῳ] μνήμη ἐν Μάρκῳ κατὰ πλάτος AP_3O μνήμη ἐν Μάρκῳ P_1 κατὰ πλάτος ἐν μνήμῃ Μάρκῳ P_2 38 τοῦ σω-
 τῆρος ἐπιφάνειαν *trsp.* P_2 ὅτε] *om.* $VMPg$ τότε P_2 39 ἀπέστη] καὶ ἔστη $P_2 MPg$
 40 οὐκ] οὐδ' ὅλως AP_3O μὲν] *om.* P_2A 40/41 οὖν – ἄλλα] *om.* P_2 41 ἐποίησεν
 σημεῖα *trsp.* P_2 ὁ Ἰησοῦς] *om.* P_2 γράφηται] γράφητε VP_1 γράφονται P_3O γράφον-
 ται P_2 καθ' ἓν] *om.* P_2 42 τὸν κόσμον χωρῆσαι *trsp.* $VP_2AP_3O MfPg$ οὖν]
 ὁ *add.* P_3O ὅλως] ὅλος P_1 43 οὔτε ματθαῖος ὅλως] οὔτε Ματθαῖος V *om.* P_1
 κατὰ πλάτος] *om.* P_1 ἐμνημόνευσαν] ἐμνημόνευσεν P_2 44 ἀναλήψεως²] τοῦ χρι-
 στοῦ *add.* AP_3O διέδραμε] ἔδραμεν P_2 λόγον] κατὰ πλάτος *add.* $P_2 Pg$ 45
 περὶ πάντων ἐποίησάμην *trsp.* P_3O 47 ἐξελέξατο] διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου *add.* P_2

12. 1 ἐστιν] *om.* P_2 οὗτος] λέγεται ὁ θεόφιλος P_2 τότε $A^{sup. L}$ χρόνους] και-
 ροὺς AP_3O 2 ἦν] ἐγένετο P_2 ὧν] *om.* P_1 καί²] *om.* P_1P_2 ἐδέξατο ἐν τῇ
 ἀρχῇ] *om.* $P_1P_2AP_3O MPg$ 3 αὐτῷ τῷ] τὸ P_2 αὐτῷ τὸ V 4 τὸ²] τῷ A 5 ἀξιοῖ]
 ἀξιοῖς P_3 6 ἀποστόλων] λέγων *add.* AP_3O 7 τοῦ] χριστοῦ καὶ *add.* P_2 με]
 λοιπὸν *add.* $AP_3O Pg$ μαθητῶν] αὐτοῦ *add.* $AP_3O Pg$ 8 αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν καὶ P_2 καὶ
add. Pg τὸ²] τοῦ P_1 9 ἐγράφη] γράφει P_2 πόθεν] ὅθεν P_2 δῆλον] *om.* P_2
 αὐτὸς] ὁ λοῦκας *add.* $AP_3O Pg$ *om.* P_2 λέγει] *om.* P_2

- μένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων, καθὼς παρέδωσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρεταὶ τοῦ λόγου γενόμενοι· ἔδοξε καὶ μοι παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριδῶς καθεξῆς, γράψαι σοι, κράτιστε | Θεόφιλε, ἵνα γνῶς περὶ ὧν 782 κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. Τὸ δὲ κράτιστε, ὡς λαμπρότατε· τότε
- 15 γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τοῦτο ἐχρημάτιζε τὸ ἀξίωμα κράτιστε. Πόθεν τοῦτο δῆλον; Φῆστος ὁ ἡγεμὼν λέγει Παύλῳ· Μαίνῃ, Παῦλε· ὁ δέ, Οὐ μαίνομαι, κράτιστε Φῆστε, τῷ ἡγεμόνι λέγει· οὕτω καὶ ἐνταῦθα· Κράτιστε Θεόφιλε. Εἰπὼν οὖν τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον καὶ προσφωνήσας Θεοφίλῳ, τῷ αὐτῷ προσφωνεῖ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον.

13. Τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον ἐποιησάμην περὶ πάντων, ὃ Θεόφιλε, ὧν ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν. Καὶ ἐποιήσω τὸν λόγον μέχρι τίνος; Ἀχρι ἧς ἡμέρας ἐντειλάμενος τοῖς ἀγίοις ἀποστόλοις, οὓς ἐξελέξατο διὰ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἀνελήφθη. Καθ' ὑπέρβατόν ἐστι· Συνέταξα τὸ
- 5 Εὐαγγέλιον ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνελήφθη, συνταξάμενος τοῖς ἀποστόλοις οὓς ἐξελέξατο. Πρόσεχε παρακαλῶ. Οἷς καὶ παρέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ζῶντα, μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν αὐτόν. Ὅρα εὐαγγελιστοῦ παρηρσίαν· οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσιν ἀπολιμπάνεται τῆς θεολογίας. Οὐκ εἶπεν, οἷς ἐμφανίζων, ἀλλ' οἷς παρέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ζῶντα. Λύσατε γὰρ, φησί, τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον, καὶ ἐν
- 10 τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐγερῶ αὐτόν. Οἷς καὶ παρέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ζῶντα, μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν αὐτόν, ἐν πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα ὁπτανόμε-

16/17 Act. 26,24/25

13. 1/4 Act. 1,1/2 6/7 Act. 1,3 9/12 Io. 2,19; Act. 1,3

- 11 ἐν] *om.* VP_2A παρέδωσαν] παρεδόθησαν P_3 12 γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου *trsp.* $P_2 Pg$ γενόμενοι] γενάμενοι V 13 σοι] *om.* P_2 γνῶς] ἐπιγνῶς P_2 14 ὡς] ἀντὶ τοῦ AP_3O τὸ *add.* $P_2 Pg$ λαμπρότατε] σημαίνει *add.* AP_3O 15 ἀξίωμα] τὸ *add.* $P_2 AP_3O$ κράτιστε] *om.* $V M_f Pg$ πόθεν] ὅθεν P_2 *om.* A 16/17 τοῦτο – κράτιστε] *om.* A 16 δῆλον] *om.* P_2 ὁ] *om.* MP_1 λέγει] τῷ *add.* P_2O μαίνῃ] μαίνει V 17/18 τῷ ἡγεμόνι – θεόφιλε] *om.* A 17 λέγει] λέγων $V M_f$ λέγει ὁ παῦλος P_2 18 εὐαγγέλιον] πρῶτον ὁ λοῦκας *add.* $AP_3O M_f Pg$ προσφωνήσας θεοφίλῳ] προσφωνήσας V προσφωνήσας αὐτὸ θεοφίλῳ πάλιν $M_f Pg$ προσφωνήσας αὐτῷ θεοφίλῳ πάλιν AP_3O 18/19 τῷ αὐτῷ] τὸ αὐτὸ V τῷ αὐτῷ θεοφίλῳ $AP_3O M_f Pg$ 19 καὶ] *om.* P_2 τοῦτον τὸν λόγον] τὸν δεύτερον λόγον ποῖον δὴ τοῦτον AP_3O τὸν δεύτερον ποῖον δὴ τοῦτον $M_f Pg$
13. 2 τὸν] *om.* P_2 μέχρι] ἕως P_2 3 ἀγίοις] *om.* $VP_2 M_f Pg$ ἀποστόλοις] *om.* $M^a. corr.$ 4 διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου] *om.* $V M_f$ 4/6 καθ' ὑπέρβατόν – ἐξελέξατο] *om.* P_2 5 εὐαγγέλιον] ἀπ' ἀρχῆς φησὶν *add.* $AP_3O Pg$ ἀνελήφθη] συν *add.* P_3 συνταξάμενος] συνταξάμενου $V M_f$ 6 πρόσεχε παρακαλῶ] *om.* AP_3O ἑαυτὸν] αὐτόν $V M_f Pg$ 7 ὅρα] ὅρας P_2 ταῖς] *om.* M_f 7/8 πράξεσι] τῶν ἀποστόλων *add.* $AP_3O Pg$ 8 θεολογίας] σὺ *add.* P_3 οἷς] καὶ *add.* A 8/10 οἷς παρέστησεν – αὐτόν] *om.* P_1 9 ζῶντα] αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν εἰπὼν *add.* P_2 γὰρ φησὶ] *om.* P_2 10 καὶ] *om.* $MV M_f$

ρος αὐτοῖς, καὶ λέγων τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ· Καὶ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς
 χθρὲς ἦν ἡ ἀνάληψις, ἐπειδὴ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραι πληροῦνται ἀπὸ τῆς
 ἀναστάσεως μέχρι τῆς ἀναλήψεως· τῇ γὰρ πεντηκοστῇ οὐκ ἦν ἀνάληψις,
 15 ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐπιφοίτησις.

14. ι'. Πρόσεχε παρακαλῶ. Ἐν πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις δι' ἡμερῶν τεσ-
 σαράκοντα ὀπτανόμενος αὐτοῖς, καὶ λέγων τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ
 Θεοῦ. Οὐ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς. Μετὰ
 γὰρ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, πολλὴν περιέθηκε τῇ σαρκὶ ἄξιοπιστίαν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ
 5 συνεχὲς τῆς ὕψεως, ἐκλύσῃ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως. Ἐδει γὰρ αὐτὸν
 ἀναστάντα, λοιπὸν τύποις θεϊκοῖς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, οὐκ αὐτοψίας συνηθεῖα·
 διὰ τοῦτο λέγει· Ἐν πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα. Οὐκ
 αὐτοψία γὰρ ἦν, ἀλλὰ τεκμήρια τοῦ αὐτὸν εἶναι· ἐφαίνετο γὰρ ἄλλη φωνή,
 ἄλλη μορφῇ, ἄλλω σχήματι. Ἐπέστη πολλάκις τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, καὶ οὐκ
 10 ἐγνωρίζετο. Ἐπέστη ἀλιεύουσι τοῖς περὶ Πέτρον, καὶ λέγει· Τεκνία, μὴ
 τι προσφάριον ἔχετε; Καὶ οὐκ ἐπέγνωσαν, οὐ τὴν μορφὴν, οὐ τὴν φωνήν.
 Καὶ λέγει· Βάλετε εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τοῦ πλοίου, καὶ εὐρήσετε· καὶ βαλό-
 ντες, ἡλίευσαν πολλά. Μὴ καταλαβόντες οὖν ἀπὸ ὕψεως, ἀπὸ τεκμηρίων
 τῆς δυνάμεως κατέλαβον. Διὸ καὶ ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς Ἰωάννης λέγει τῷ
 15 Πέτρῳ· Ὁ Κύριός ἐστιν, οὐκ ὅψει πληροφορηθεῖς, ἀλλὰ τῷ τεκμηρίῳ τῆς
 δυνάμεως. Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Λουκᾶς βοᾷ· Ἐν πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις δι' ἡμερῶν
 τεσσαράκοντα ὀπτανόμενος αὐτοῖς, καὶ λέγων.

15. Οὐχ ἀπλῶς ὀπτανόμενος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ καιρὸν φαινόμενος. Εὐρίσκομεν
 δὲ ἐπιτηρησάμενοι ἀκριβῶς, ὅτι ἐνδέκατον ὥφθη τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις,

14. 10/11 Io. 21,5 12 Io. 21,6 15 Io. 21,7

12/15 καὶ γὰρ – ἐπιφοίτησις] *om.* $P_2 M_f Pg$ 13 ἡ] *om.* $AP_3 O$

14. 1/3 πρόσεχε – θεοῦ] *om.* P_2 3 τῶν τεσσαράκοντα] *om.* P_2 ἐφαίνετο] ἐπε-
 φαίνετο $P_2 Pg$ 5 ἐκλύσῃ] ἐκλύσει VP_3 ἔδει] ἐπειδὴ $P_3 O$ 6 τύποις] *om.* P_2
 θεϊκοῖς] θεϊκῶς P_2 8 τεκμήρια] τινὰ *add.* $AP_3 O Pg$ γὰρ] αὐτοῖς *add.* $AP_3 O Pg$
 8/9 ἄλλη μορφῇ ἄλλη φωνῇ *trsp.* $VP_2 M_f Pg$ ἄλλη φωνῇ P_1 10 ἀλιεύουσι] ἀλιεύουσιν
 ἐν MA ἡλίευσιν ἐν P_1 ἡλίευσιν V^a *corr. in marg.* τοῖς] αὐτοῖς $P_3 O$ *om.* A λέγει] αὐτοῖς
add. $AP_3 O Pg$ 11 ἔχετε] ἔχεται M ἔχητε $VP_3 O$ ἐπέγνωσαν] ἔγνωσαν P_2 οὐ
 τὴν μορφὴν] *om.* P_2 οὐδὲ P_2 12 μέρη] μέρει M πλοίου] τὸ δίκτυον *add.*
 $AP_3 O Pg$ εὐρήσετε] εὐρήσητε P_1 13 πολλὰ] πολὺ P_2 οὖν] δὲ αὐτὸν $AP_3 O$
 αὐτὸν *add.* Pg ἀπὸ] τῆς *add.* A 14 τῆς] *om.* $V M_f$ διὸ] *om.* P_2 ὁ $A^{sup} .l$
 15 τῷ] *om.* $V M_f Pg$ τὸ $P_2 A$ τεκμηρίῳ] τεκμήριον P_2 τῆς] *om.* $M_f Pg$ 16
 τοῦτο] καὶ *add.* A 17 αὐτοῖς] αὐτὸς Pg λέγων] καὶ *add.* $AP_3 O$

15. 1 ἀλλὰ] καὶ *add.* P_2 καιρὸν] καιροὺς τινὰς $AP_3 O$ 2 ὅτι] μετὰ τῇν ἀνάστασιν
add. $AP_3 O Pg$ ἀποστόλοις] ὁ σωτὴρ *add.* $AP_3 O Pg$

- καὶ τότε ἀνελήφθη. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἑνδεκα εἶχεν μαθητάς· τοῦ Ἰούδα ἐκβληθέντος καὶ ἀπολέσαντος τὸν ἴδιον τόπον καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν διὰ τὴν κακὴν
 5 προδοσίαν ἣν εἰργάσατο· ἑνδέκατον ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, οὐ πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ, ἀλλὰ διαφόρως, ποτὲ μὲν τισί, ποτὲ δὲ τισίν· ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα
 ὅτε | ἐφάνη τοῖς δέκα, οὐ παρῆν ὁ Θωμᾶς· πάλιν ἐφάνη, παρόντος Θωμᾶ. 783
 Ζητοῦμεν δὲ τὸν ἀριθμόν, πῶς συνίσταται εἰ ἑνδέκατον ἐφάνη διὰ τοὺς
 ἑνδεκα ἀποστόλους. Ἐφάνη πρῶτον τῇ Μαρίᾳ ἐν τῷ μνήματι, καὶ ταῖς
 10 ἄλλαις γυναῖξί. Πρὸ γὰρ πάντων αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτὸν εἶδον, ἃς καὶ ὁ
 μακάριος Ἡσαΐας προσκαλεῖται· *Γυναῖκες ἀπὸ θέας ἐρχόμεναι, δεῦτε καὶ
 ἀπαγγείλατε ἡμῖν*. Ἐπεφάνη τοίνυν ταῖς γυναῖξιν. Ὁ βουλόμενος λογο-
 θετεῖν ἀκριβῶς, ὁράτω μήπου διασφάλλωμεν τὸν ἀριθμόν. Πρῶτον, ταῖς
 15 γυναῖξί, Μαρίᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις γυναῖξιν· ἔπειτα, Πέτρῳ· εἶτα, τοῖς περὶ
 Κλεώπαν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ὅτε εἰς τὴν Ἐμμαοὺς ἀπίεσαν, ὅτε ἐν τῇ κλάσει τοῦ
 ἄρτου ἐφανερώθη. Πόθεν δὲ τοῦτο δῆλον, ὅτι πρὸ τῶν δύο τούτων ὥφθη
 τῷ Πέτρῳ λέγει· Εἰσῆλθον οἱ δύο ἀπὸ ἐσπέρας οἱ περὶ Κλεώπαν, ὥστε
 ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς μαθηταῖς, ὅτι Εἶδομεν τὸν Κύριον. Καὶ εὗρον τοὺς ἀπο-
 20 στόλους λέγοντας, ὅτι Ὅντως ἠγγέθη ὁ Κύριος, καὶ ὥφθη Σίμωνι. Ἐν
 ὅσῳ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ δύο τὴν θέαν, προέλαβεν ἡ φήμη, ὅτι Πέτρος εἶδε

15. 7 cfr Io. 20,19/25; Lc. 24,36/49 cfr Io. 20,24/29; Mc. 16,14/18; Lc. 24,36/49; I
 Cor. 15,5 11/12 Is. 27,11 15/16 Lc. 24,35 19 Lc. 24,34

15. 9/10 cfr Ph., *Amphil.* 124, l. 7 11/12 Ph., *Amphil.* 124, l.8/9 14/16 Ph.,
Amphil. 124, l. 9/11

3 ἀνελήφθη] πρὸς τὸν πατέρα διατί add. *AP₃O Pg* γὰρ] om. *P₃O* εἶχεν ἑνδεκα *trsp.*
V M_fPg 4 τὸν ἴδιον τόπον καὶ] om. *P₂* τὴν] ἴδιαν] add. *P₂* 5 ἣν εἰργάσατο]
 om. *P₂* ἐπιφαίνεται] ἐπιφαίνεται καὶ *AP₃* φαίνεται *P₂* ἀποστόλοις] καὶ add. *AP₃O*
Pg 6 ποτὲ δὲ τισίν] om. *V M_f* 6/7 ἐνταῦθα ὅτε] ἐνθα *P₂ M_fPg* 7 ἐφάνη¹] ὥφθη
P₂ δέκα] καὶ add. *P₂AP₃O M_fPg* ὁ] om. *P₂* θωμᾶς] καὶ add. *P₂* ἐφάνη²]
 ὥφθη *P₂* 8 δὲ] οὖν *P₂* 9 τῇ] om. *P₁* μαρίᾳ] ἔγουν τῇ θεοτόκῃ add. *AP₃O*
 μνήματι] ἀπερχομένη add. *AP₃O Pg* 10 πρὸ γὰρ] πρῶτον *P₂* εἶδον] ἴδον *M_V*
M_f 11 ἐρχόμεναι ἀπὸ θέας *trsp.* *P₂* καὶ] om. *P₂P₃* 12 ἐπεφάνη] ἐφάνη *AP₃O*
 τοίνυν] om. *P₂* 12/13 λογοθετεῖν] om. *P₂* 13 ἀκριβῶς] om. *P₂ M_fPg* ὁράτω]
 ὁρᾶτο *M^a. corr.* θεωρεῖτω *P₂* μήπου] μήπω *V M_fPg* διασφάλλωμεν] διαφύγωμεν
P₂ 13/14 ταῖς γυναῖξί μαρίᾳ] τὸν περὶ μαρίαν γυναῖξιν *P₃* ταῖς περὶ μαρίαν γυναῖξιν
AO 14 καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις γυναῖξί] καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις *P₂* καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς *V M_fPg* om. *AP₃O*
 εἶτα] ἔπειτα *P₁* 15 ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ] εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν *P₂* τὴν] om. *P₂* ἀπίεσαν] ἀπῆεσαν
AP₃O Pg ὅτε] ὅτι *M_f* 16 δὲ] om. *P₂* τοῦτο] τοῦτον *A* ὅτι] πέτρῳ add. *P₂*
 πρὸ τῶν] προτῶν *P₂* δύο τούτων] δέκα *P₂* 17 τῷ πέτρῳ] ὅτε *P₂* λέγει] om.
P₂ M_fPg ὁ εὐαγγελιστής add. *AP₃O* οἱ δύο] om. *P₂* ἐσπέρας] ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔγουν
 add. *AP₃O* 18 εἶδομεν] εἶδωμεν *M^a. corr.* *P₁* εἶδαν *P₂* καὶ] om. *P₃O* 19 ὁ] om. *A*
 σίμωνι] κεφῶ *P₂* 20 ὅσῳ] νόσῳ *V* οὖν add. *AP₃O Pg* τὴν θέαν] om. *P₂* εἶδε]
 οἶδε *P₃O^a. corr.*

- τὸν Κύριον. Τοῦτο καὶ Παῦλος ἐπισημαίνεται λέγων· Παρέδωκα γὰρ
 ὑμῖν ἐν πρώτοις, ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον, ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρ-
 τιῶν ἡμῶν, κατὰ τὰς Γραφάς, καὶ ὅτι ἀνέστη καὶ ὤφθη Κηφᾶ, εἶτα τοῖς
 ἑνδεκα. Πρῶτον Πέτρω· εἶτα ἐκείνοις. Ἐπεφάνη τοίνυν ταῖς γυναῖξιν· εἶτα
 25 Πέτρω· εἶτα τοῖς περὶ Κλεώπαν· εἶτα τοῖς δέκα μὴ παρόντος Θωμᾶ· εἶτα
 τοῖς ἑνδεκα παρόντος Θωμᾶ· ἰδοὺ πέμπτον. Εἶτα φαίνεται πάλιν ἀδελφοῖς
 πεντακοσίοις· ὁ γὰρ Παῦλος καὶ τοῦτο ἐπισημαίνων λέγει· Ἐπειτα ὡφθη
 ἐπάνω πεντακοσίοις ἀδελφοῖς ἐφάπαξ, ἐξ ὧν οἱ πλείους μένουσιν ἕως
 ἄρτι· ἰδοὺ ἕκτον. Εἶτα τοῖς ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς Τιβεριάδος· εἶτα
 30 ὡφθη Ἰακώβω κατὰ τὸν Παῦλον· ἔπειτα τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν. Οὐ περὶ
 τῶν ἑνδεκα λέγει· προλαβὼν γὰρ εἶπεν ὅτι ὡφθη Κηφᾶ· εἶτα τοῖς ἑνδεκα·
 εἶτα τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα, ἥτοι τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσι. Πρόσεχε παρακαλῶ.
 Ἔχεις οὖν πρῶτον τὰς γυναῖκας· τὸν Πέτρον· τοὺς περὶ Κλεώπαν· τὴν
 ὀπτασίαν τῶν δέκα, ἕκτος τοῦ Θωμᾶ· τοὺς ἑνδεκα παρόντος τοῦ Θωμᾶ·
 35 τὴν τῶν πεντακοσίων· ἰδοὺ ἕκτον· ἑβδομον, τοῖς ἑπτὰ· ὄγδοον, Ἰακώβω·
 ἑννατον, τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα· δέκατον, εἰς τὸ ὅρος τῆς Γαλιλαίας· ἐνδέκα-

21/24 I Cor. 15,3/5 27/29 I Cor. 15,6 29 cfr Io. 21,1/23 29/30 cfr I Cor.
 15,7 32 cfr I Cor. 15,7; Lc. 10,1.17 36 cfr Mt. 28,16/20; Mc. 16,14/18 36/37
 cfr Lc. 24,50/53; Act. 1,9/11; Mc. 16,19

25/26 cfr Ph., *Amphil.* 124, l. 12/13 26/29 Ph., *Amphil.* 124, l. 14/15 cfr 29 cfr
 Ph., *Amphil.* 124, l. 18 31/32 Ph., *Amphil.* 124, l. 16/20 36/37 cfr Ph., *Amphil.*
 124, l. 21/22

21 κύριον] σωτήρα P_2 ἐπισημαίνεται] ἐπιμαίνεται O γὰρ] *om.* P_2 23 κατὰ
 τὰς γραφάς] *om.* P_2 εἶτα] ἔπειτα P_2 24 ἑνδεκα]* δώδεκα M δέκα V 24/25
 εἶτα – πέτρω] *om.* V 24 ἐπεφάνη] ἐφάνη $P_2 P_3 O$ γυναῖξιν] πρῶτον *add.* $P_2 M_f P_g$
 25 πέτρω] δεύτερον *add.* $P_2 M_f P_g$ κλεώπαν] τρίτον *add.* $P_2 M_f P_g$ δέκα] τῶν θυ-
 ρῶν κεκλεισμένων *add.* $AP_3 O P_g$ θωμᾶ] τέταρτον *add.* $P_2 M_f P_g$ 26 παρόντος]
 καὶ τοῦ *add.* $AP_3 O P_g$ 25/26 εἶτα³ – θωμᾶ] *om.* V 26 πέμπτον] φαίνεται *add.*
 V πάλιν φαίνεται *trsp.* $M_f P_g$ πάλιν] ὁμοῦ P_2 26/27 πεντακοσίοις ἀδελφοῖς
trsp. P_2 27 παῦλος] πάλιν *add.* P_2 μέγας παῦλος $AP_3 O$ ἐπισημαίνων λέγει] ἐπι-
 σημαίνεται λέγων P_2 ἔπειτα] εἶτα P_1 28 πεντακοσίοις ἀδελφοῖς] πεντακοσίων
 ἀδελφῶν MP_1 ἐξ] ἐφ P_1 πλείους] πλείονες P_2 29 εἶτα¹] ὡφθη *add.* $AP_3 O P_g$
 εἶτα – τιβεριάδος] *om.* P_2 τιβεριάδος] ἀλιεύουσιν *add.* $AP_3 O P_g$ 30 παῦλον] ἑβ-
 δομον *add.* P_2 ἔπειτα] ἐπὶ P_1 εἶτα $VP_2 M_f P_g$ 30/32 οὐ περὶ – πᾶσι] *om.* $V M_f P_g$
 31 ἑνδεκα¹]* δώδεκα MP_1 γὰρ] *om.* P_3 ὅτι] *om.* P_2 ἑνδεκα²]* δώδεκα MP_1
 32 τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα ἥτοι *om.* P_1 εἶτα τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα – πᾶσιν] ἀποστόλους δὲ λέ-
 γει νῦν τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα P_2 ἥτοι^{add.}* εἶτα $MAP_3 O$ 33/35 ἔχεις – ἑβδομον] εἶτα
 τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν ὄγδοον εἶτα P_2 33 τοὺς] τοῖς $VP_1 A$ τὸ P_3 34 τῶν] τὴν V
 δέκα] *om.* $V M_f$ τοὺς] τὴν τῶν $P_3 O$ τοῖς P_1 εἶτα τοῖς A *om.* V 34 παρόντος τοῦ
 θωμᾶ] παρόντως θωμᾶ P_1 *om.* $VAP_3 O M_f P_g$ 35 πεντακοσίων] ἀδελφῶν *add.* $AP_3 O P_g$
 τοῖς] τοὺς M ὄγδοον ἰακώβω] *om.* P_2 ἰακώβω] ἰακώβον P_3 ἰακώβος O 36
 ἑννατον] ἑννατος O τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα δέκατον] τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα δέκατον M εἶτα P_2
 ἑβδομήκοντα δέκατον O εἰς τὸ ὅρος] ἥτοι τὴν θάλασσαν *add.* P_2 36/37 ἐνδέκα-
 τον] δέκατον P_2

τον, εἰς τὸ ὅρος τῶν Ἑλαιῶν. Εἰς τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Σωτῆρος πολλάκις ἐπαναλαβόντος τὴν εἰρήνην, ἄτοπὸν ἐστὶν ἡμᾶς μὴ ἐπαναλαβεῖν τὴν ψῆφον εἰς βεβαίωσιν. Ἐχθροὶ τοίνυν πρῶτον, τὰς γυναῖκας· δεύτερον, τὸν Πέτρον· τρίτον, τοὺς περὶ Κλεώπαν· τέταρτον, τοὺς δέκα· πέμπτον, τοὺς ἑνδεκα· ἕκτον, τοὺς πεντακοσίους· ἑβδομον, τοὺς ἑπτὰ· ὄγδοον, Ἰάκωβον· ἕννατον, τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα· δέκατον, ἐπὶ τὸ ὅρος τῆς Γαλιλαίας· ἐνδέκατον, ἐπὶ τὸ ὅρος τῶν Ἑλαιῶν.

16. **ια'.** Ὁπτανόμενος αὐτοῖς δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ λέγων τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ. Καὶ συναλιζόμενος αὐτοῖς παρήγγειλεν ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων μὴ χωρίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ περιμένειν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς. | Ὡς τῆς πολλῆς ἀνεξικακίας τοῦ Σωτῆρος! Ὡς τῆς πολλῆς ἀγα- 784
5 θότητος! Ἔστω, Δέσποτα, πρὸ τοῦ πάθους συνήσθιες καὶ συνανεκλίνου τοῖς μαθηταῖς· διὰ τί μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν συναλίζῃ; Ἵνα βεβαιώσω ἐν αὐτοῖς, φησί, τὸ θαῦμα τῆς ἀναστάσεως. Εἰ γὰρ τούτου γενομένου εἰσὶ τινες, ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαπιστοῦντες τὴν ἀνάστασιν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ συνέφαγε καὶ συνέπιεν αὐτοῖς, τίς ἂν ἔπειθεν αὐτῶν τὰ ἀρχαλίνωτα
10 στόματα, τολμώντων ῥαδίως λέγειν πάντα περὶ τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος οἰκονομίας;

17. Ἐντεῦθεν διδασκόμεθα τὴν θείαν καὶ μυστικὴν τράπεζαν τιμᾶν. Πολλάκις γὰρ ἂ μὴ κατώρθωσε λόγος, κατώρθωσε τράπεζα. Πολλάκις

16. 1/4 Act. 1,3/4

37 εἰς¹] εἴτα P_2 ἔλαιῶν] ἐνδέκατον *add.* P_2 εἰς τὴν ἀνάληψιν] *om.* P_2 ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀνέληφθη AP_3O σωτῆρος] οὖν *add.* AP_3O 37/38 τοῦ σωτῆρος— ἐστὶν] ἄτοπον δὲ ἐστὶν τοῦ σωτῆρος πολλάκις ἐπαναλαβόντος τὴν εἰρήνην P_2 38 μὴ] *A^{sup. L}* 39 τὰς γυναῖκας πρῶτον *trsp.* P_2 τὸν] τὸ P_3 δεύτερον τὸν πέτρον] πέτρον δεύτερον P_2 40 τοὺς περὶ κλεώπαν τρίτον *trsp.* P_2 τοὺς¹] τοῖς VP_1A τὸ O τοὺς δέκα τέταρτον *trsp.* P_2 τοὺς²] τοῖς VP_1 τοὺς ἑνδεκα πέμπτον *trsp.* P_2 τοὺς³] τοῖς V 41 τοὺς πεντακοσίους ἕκτον *trsp.* P_2 41/42 ἑβδομον — ἐβδομήκοντα] ἰάκωβον ἑβδομον τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἅπασιν ὄγδοον τοῖς ἑπτὰ ἕννατον P_2 41 τοὺς³] τοῖς VO τὸν A ἰάκωβον] ἰακώβω VP_1A 42 τοὺς] τοῖς V 42/43 δέκατον — ἐλαιῶν] εἰς τὸ ὅρος τῆς γαλιλαίας δέκατον εἰς τὸ ὅρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν ἐνδέκατον P_2

16. 2 παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς *trsp.* $V M_fPg$ 4 πατρός] σωτῆρος A ἣν ἠκούσατέ μου *add.* $P_2 Pg$ 4/5 ὡς τῆς πολλῆς ἀνεξικακίας — ἀγαθότητος] ὡς τῆς πολλῆς ἀγαθότητος ὡς τῆς πολλῆς ἀνεξικακίας P_2 4 πολλῆς²] *om.* $V M_f$ ἀγαθότητος] ὡς τῆς ἀφάτου φι- λανθρωπίας *add.* $AP_3O Pg$ 5 δέσποτα] *om.* P_2 καὶ συνανεκλίνου] συνανεκλίνῃ P_2 6 τοῖς μαθηταῖς] *om.* P_2 διὰ τί] καὶ *add.* P_1 συναλίζῃ] συναλίζει VP_2P_3 6/11 Ἵνα — οἰκονομίας] *om.* P_2 7 τὸ θαῦμα τῆς ἀναστάσεως] τῷ θαυμᾷ τὴν ἀνάστασιν $V M_fPg$ 9 τίς] τί O αὐτῶν] αὐτὰ AP_3O 10 στόματα] τῶν *add.* P_1

17. 1 ἐντεῦθεν] *om.* P_2 διδασκόμεθα] διδασκεις ἡμᾶς P_2 τὴν θείαν καὶ μυστικὴν] τιμᾶν $P_2^{sup. L}$ τράπεζαν] καὶ ἀδεῖσθαι *add.* P_2 2 πολλάκις] γὰρ *add.* P_3O

μυρίοι σύμβουλοι καὶ μίαν ἔχθραν οὐκ ἔλυσαν, καὶ μία τράπεζα πολέμους
κατέλυσεν. Ἀπὸ τοῦ προηγουμένου λάβε τὴν ἀπόδειξιν. Οὐ διελιμπάνο-
5 μεν ἔχθροὶ ὄντες τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκπεπολεμωμένοι πρὸς τὸν θεῖον λόγον, ὡς
λέγει Παῦλος· Ἐχθροὶ ὄντες κατηλλάγημεν τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ θανάτου
τοῦ Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. Ἐχθροὶ ἦμεν· ἀπεστάλη νόμος καὶ οὐ διήλλαξεν· ἦλθον
προφῆται, καὶ οὐκ ἔπεισαν· ἀλλ' ἔμειναν οἱ ἔχθροὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἔχθροὶ καὶ
πολέμιοι. Πολλοὶ τύραννοι κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας, πολλοὶ θεομάχοι κατὰ τῆς
10 εὐσεβείας, πολλοὶ λόγοι, πολλαὶ διδασκαλίαι, καὶ οὐκ ἔλυσαν τὸν πόλε-
μον. Ἦλθεν ὁ Χριστός· ἔπηξε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τράπεζαν· προέθηκεν ἑαυτὸν
εἰς βρῶσιν, καὶ εἶπε· Λάβετε, φάγετε· καὶ εὐθέως τὸν πόλεμον ἔλυσε,
καὶ εἰρήνην κατεδράδευσεν. Ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μαστίζει τοὺς θεομάχους, καὶ
οὐδεὶς ὑπακούει· τύπτει τοὺς τυράννους, καὶ οὐδεὶς πείθεται. Ἐνταῦθα
15 προτίθουσιν ἑαυτὸν εἰς βρῶσιν, καὶ πάντες ἔδονται. Μαστίζων οὐκ ἔπεισε,
καὶ ἐσθιόμενος πείθει. Ἐσθιόμενος λέγω κατὰ τὴν μυστικὴν τράπεζαν.
Ἐγὼ γάρ, φησὶν, εἰμὶ ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς καὶ ζωὴν διδοὺς τῷ
κόσμῳ.

18. Καὶ συναλιζόμενος ἐλάλει περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ παρήγ-
γειλεν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων μὴ χωρίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ περιμένειν τὴν
ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἣν ἠκούσατέ μου. Ἔστω, ἠκούσαμέν σου· εἶπες
γάρ· Ἀναβαίνω πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα μου, καὶ παρακαλῶ, καὶ ἀποστελῶ ὑμῖν
5 τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, τὸ παράκλητον. Σὺ εἶπας· ὁ Πατὴρ πότε ἐπηγ-

17. 6/7 Rom. 5,10 12 Mt. 26,26 17/18 Io. 6,41.33

18. 1/3 Act. 1,3/4 4 Io. 20,17 4/5 cfr Io. 14,16/17; 15,26

18. 1/3 cfr ΘΤ, *Amphil.* 125, l. 3/4 3/6 Ph., *Amphil.* 125, l. 5/7

3 μία] *om.* P_2 4 προηγουμένου] προηγησάμενου P_2 προηγουμένου δὲ AP_3O ἀπό-
δειξιν] ὑπόμνησιν P_2 4/5 διελιμπάνομεν] διαλιμπάνομεν P_3O 5 ἐκπεπολεμωμέ-
νοι] ἐκπεπολεμούμενοι P_1 ἐκπολεμούμενοι P_2 6 ἔχθροὶ] δὲ *add.* AP_3O 7 διήλ-
λαξεν] διηλλάγημεν P_2 8 οἱ] *om.* P_1P_2 ἔχθροὶ²] *om.* Pg 9 πολλοὶ²] *om.* P_2
10 τὸν] *om.* P_3 12 εἰς] *om.* P_2 καὶ εὐθέως] *om.* P_2 ἔλυσε τὸν πόλεμον *trsp.*
 P_2 13 καὶ¹] τὴν *add.* $AP_3O Pg$ κατεδράδευσεν] ἐδράδευσεν P_2 14 οὐδεὶς ὑπα-
κούει – καὶ $A^{sup. l.}$ ἐνταῦθα] δὲ *add.* $AP_3O Pg$ 15 ἔδονται] ἐδοῦνται V αἰδοῦνται καὶ
πείθονται $AP_3O M_Pg$ ἔπεισε] ἔπειθε AP_3O 16 ἐσθιόμενος¹] ἐσθιόμενος $M^{a. corr.} P_1$
ἐσθιόμενος²] ἐσθιόμενον $V M_Pg$ ἐσθιόμενος $M^{a. corr.} P_1$ 17 εἰμὶ φησὶν *trsp.* P_2

18. 1 συναλιζόμενος] αὐτοῖς *add.* $AP_3O Pg$ ἐλάλει] *om.* A ἐλάλει] *add.* τὰ P_1P_2A
 $P_3O M_f$ 3 σου] δέσποτα *add.* $AP_3O Pg$ εἶπες] εἶπας $V M_Pg$ 4 γάρ] μὲν O
παρακαλῶ] αὐτὸν *add.* $P_2 Pg$ ἀποστελῶ] ἀποστέλλω VA πέμπει P_2 5 τὸ πνεῦμα
τῆς ἀληθείας] *om.* P_2 τὸ²] τὸν P_2 εἶπας] ταῦτα *add.* $AP_3O Pg$ ὁ] δὲ *add.* Pg
πότε $A^{sup. l.}$

- γείλατο; Οὐκ εἶπεν, ἀναμένειν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν μου, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἣν ἠκούσατέ μου. Ὁ Πατὴρ ἐπηγγείλατο· ἐγὼ ὑπέμνησα. Καὶ ποῦ ἐπηγγείλατο; Ὅλον ἂν ἀναπτύξῃς τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, οὐχ εὐρίσκεις φωνὴν Πατρὸς ἐπαγγελλομένου τοῖς μαθηταῖς διδόναι Πνεῦμα ἅγιον. Καὶ
- 10 ποῦ ἐπηγγείλατο; Ἐν τοῖς προφήταις, ὡς λέγει Παῦλος· Παῦλος δοῦλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κλητὸς ἀπόστολος, ἀφορισμένος εἰς Εὐαγγέλιον Θεοῦ, ὃ προεπηγγείλατο διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ, ἐν Γραφαῖς ἀγίαις περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. **ιβ'.** Προεπαγγειλάμενος τοίνυν τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, προεπηγγείλατο καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον διδόναι. Ποῦ οὖν καὶ ἡ ἐπαγγελία; Ζητῶ
- 15 μεθ' ὑμῶν ὡς εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν· εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν ὢν, τῇ πίστει καὶ τῇ ἀγάπῃ τῇ περὶ τὸν Χριστόν. Εἶπον γὰρ πολλάκις πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην, ὅτι πρόδοτα καὶ ποιμένες, πρὸς ἀνθρωπίνην εἰσὶ διαίρεσιν· πρὸς δὲ τὸν Χριστόν, πάντες πρόδοτα. Καὶ γὰρ οἱ ποιμαίνοντες καὶ οἱ ποιμαινόμενοι, ὑφ' ἐνός τοῦ ἄνω ποιμένος ποιμαίνονται. Ποῦ οὖν ἐπηγγείλατο; Λέγει ὁ
- 20 Θεὸς διὰ τοῦ | προφήτου Ἰωήλ· Ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, λέγει Κύριος 785 παντοκράτωρ, ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα, καὶ προφητεύσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν, καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν. Ἴδου ἡ ἐπαγγελία. Ποῦ οὖν καὶ ἡ ἐκδοσις; Ὅτε ἦλθε τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα εἰς τοὺς ἀποστόλους, καὶ διένειμεν αὐτοῖς τῶν γλωσσῶν τὴν διαίρεσιν, καὶ ἐλάλουν γλώσσαις.
- 25 Ὑποπτεύοντο ὡς μεθύοντες, καὶ λέγει Πέτρος· Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, τί

10/13 Rom. 1,1/3
Act. 2,14/17

15/16 cfr I Tim. 1,14; II Tim. 1,13

20/22 Act. 2,17

25/29

10/13 Ph., *Amphil.* 125, l. 8/11

13/14 Ph., *Amphil.* 125, l. 11/12

19/22 Ph., *Am-*

phil. 125, l. 12/15

23/24 Ph., *Amphil.* 125, l. 15/16

6 εἶπεν] εἶπες γὰρ AP_3O τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν²] *om.* P_2 7 μου] *om.* MP_1 καὶ φησὶν *add.* AP_3O Pg ὁ πατὴρ ἐπηγγείλατο] *post* ὑπέμνησα *trsp.* P_2 ἐπηγγείλατο] προεπηγγείλατο AP_3O Pg 8 ποῦ] πότε P_2 ἐπηγγείλατο] ὁ πατὴρ *add.* AP_3O Pg *om.* V M_f ἀναπτύξῃς] ἀναπτεύξῃς M_f οὐχ] οὐκ A εὐρίσκεις] εὐρήσεις P_2 9 φωνὴν πατρὸς] τοῦ πατρὸς φωνὴν P_2 ἐπαγγελλομένου] ἐπαγγελλομένην V M_f Pg ἐπαγγειλάμενην P_2 διδόναι] *om.* P_2 9/10 καὶ ποῦ] ποῦ AP_3O ποῦ οὖν P_2 10 τοῖς] *om.* P_2 11 ἀφορισμένος] ἀφορισμένος VP_1P_2 13 προεπαγγειλάμενος] προεπαγγειλάμενος P_2 προεπηγγειλάμενος V M_f 14 τὸ¹ ... τὸ²] *om.* P_2 καὶ²] *om.* VP_2 M_f Pg ἐπαγγελία] τοῦ πνεύματος *add.* AP_3O Pg 15 ὡς εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν] *om.* P_2 M_f ὡς ἐξ ὑμῶν A ὡς Pg ὢν] εἰμὶ P_2 16 περὶ] πρὸς O εἶπον] εἰ A πον^α *corr.* P_3 γὰρ] τοίνυν AP_3O πρὸς - ἀγάπην] *om.* P_2 ὑμετέραν] ἡμετέραν O 17 πρὸς¹] τὴν *add.* P_3O Pg 18 ποιμαίνοντες] ποιμένες AP_3O 20 ἰωήλ] *om.* P_2 21 ἐπὶ] *om.* P_3 21/22 προφητεύσουσιν] προφητεύσωσιν P_1P_2 22 οἱ] *om.* P_3 θυγατέρες] θυγατέρας MP_2AP_3 ἰδὸν] οὖν *add.* V M_f Pg 23 καὶ¹] *om.* VP_2 M_f Pg τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα] τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον P_2AP_3O ἅγιον πνεῦμα M_f 24 ἐλάλουν] ἐν ἑτέρας *add.* AP_3O 25 ὑποπτεύοντο] δὲ *add.* P_2 Pg οἱ ἀπόστολοι *add.* AP_3O

προσέχετε τοῖς ἀνδράσι τούτοις ὡς μεθύουσι; Τρίτη γὰρ ὥρα ἐστὶν ἀκμὴν τῆς ἡμέρας. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου, Ἰωήλ, ὅτι Ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, λέγει Κύριος, ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα. Αὕτη ἡ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ Πατρὸς.

19. Ἀλλὰ πόθεν δῆλον ὅτι ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Πατρὸς ἦν ἡ ἐπαγγελία; Ἐπειδὴ οἶδα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν λαλοῦντα ἐν τοῖς προφήταις, πόθεν τοῦτο, εἰ ὁ Πατὴρ ἦν ὁ λέγων; Ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα, καὶ προφητεύσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν. Καὶ δώσω
 5 σημεῖα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω, καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ κάτω, αἶμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀτμίδα καπνοῦ. Εἶπον πολλάκις αἶμα τὸ ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς· σημεῖον γὰρ ἦν ἀπὸ νεκροῦ σώματος αἶμα προερχόμενον ἰδεῖν· αἶμα τὸ ἀπὸ πλευρᾶς, πῦρ τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων. Αἶμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀτμίδα καπνοῦ. Ὁ ἥλιος μεταστραφήσεται εἰς σκότος, καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἶμα, πρὶν ἔλθεῖν τὴν ἡμέραν
 10 Κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῇ. Ὅρα τὸν λαλοῦντα Θεὸν Πατέρα, πῶς τὸν Υἱὸν ἐρμηνεύει λέγων· Πρὶν ἔλθεῖν τὴν ἡμέραν Κυρίου καὶ οὐ λέγει· Τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμήν. Εἰ γὰρ σὺ δίδως σημεῖα, πῶς εἰς ἄλλον μεταφέρεις τὴν ἔννοιαν, λέγων· Πρὶν ἔλθεῖν τὴν ἡμέραν Κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῇ; Πρὸς εἰς. Ἴσως ἐρεῖ τις, τὸν προφήτην λέγειν ἐκ προσώπου ἰδίου.
 15 Πρὶν ἔλθεῖν τὴν ἡμέραν. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν εἰπεῖν τὸν προφήτην· Ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματός μου, πρὶν ἔλθεῖν τὴν ἡμέραν Κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῇ. Καὶ ἔσται, πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσῃται τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου, σωθήσεται. Τοῦτο οὖν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τοῖς προφήταις λέγει. Καὶ Παῦλος αὐτῷ ἐπιφέρει

19. 3/6 Act. 2,17/19 8/10 Act. 2,19/20 15/17 Act. 2,17.20/21

19. 5 cfr Ph., *Amphil.* 125, l. 18/20 7/10 Ph., *Amphil.* 125, l. 20/23

26 προσέχετε] προσέχε V μεθύουσι] μεθύοντας M^{a. corr.}VP₁ ἐστὶν ὥρα *trsp.* P₂
 28 ἐσχάταις] ταῖς *add.* A λέγει] ὁ *add.* O κύριος] παντοκράτωρ *add.* P₂

19. 1 ὅτι]* εἰ *add.* M εἰ P₂ 2 τὸν] σὸν O 4 προφητεύσουσιν] προφητεύσωσιν P₁P₂ οἱ] *om.* P₃ θυγατέρες] θυγατέραις M^{a. corr.}P₁ καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν] *om.* O καὶ³] *om.* V M_f δώσω] φησὶ *add.* V M_fPg 5 ἄνω ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ *trsp.* A
 6 εἶπον πολλάκις] *om.* V πλευρᾶς] ἐξεληθὼν *add.* A ἐξεληθὼν *add.* P₃O M_fPg ἦν] μέγιστον *add.* AP₃O M_fPg 7 αἶμα] *om.* Pg προερχόμενον] προσερχόμενον P₃ ἰδεῖν] *om.* P₂ πλευρᾶς] ῥεῦσαν *add.* AP₃O M_fPg 8 ἀποστόλων] κατεληθὼν *add.* A κατεληθὼν *add.* P₃O M_fPg ὁ] *om.* P₃O^{a. corr.} 10/14 ὅρα – ἐπιφανῇ] *om.* V 11 κυρίου] τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῇ *add.* P₁ 12 ἐμήν] τί οὖν *add.* AP₃O M_fPg γὰρ] *om.* AP₃O M_fPg 13 λέγων] *om.* P₂ 13/14 ἐπιφανῇ] λέγων *add.* P₂ 15 ἡμέραν] κυρίου *add.* AP₃O 16 μου] ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα *add.* AP₃O M_fPg 16/17 καὶ ἐπιφανῇ] *om.* P₂ 18 καὶ] *om.* P₂ αὐτῷ] αὐτὸ P₂ αὐτός A

- λέγων· Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Κύριος πάντων, πλουτῶν εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαλου-
 20 μένους αὐτόν. Πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσῃται τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου, σωθήσεται.
 Εἴτα δεικνὺς ὅτι εἰς Χριστὸν εἴρηται, λέγει· Πῶς οὖν ἐπικαλέσονται, εἰς
 ὃν οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν; πῶς δὲ πιστεύσουσιν, οὗ οὐκ ἤκουσαν; πῶς δὲ ἀκού-
 σονται, χωρὶς κηρύσσοντος; πῶς δὲ κηρύξουσιν, ἐὰν μὴ ἀποσταλῶσιν;
 καθὼς γέγραπται· Ὡς ὥραῖοι οἱ πόδες τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων τὰ ἀγαθὰ,
 25 τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων εἰρήνην!

20. Πρόσεχε παρακαλῶ. Παρήγγειλε, φησίν, αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων
 μὴ χωρίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ περιμένειν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἣν ἤκού-
 σατέ μου, ὅτι Ἰωάννης μὲν ἐβάπτισεν ὕδατι, ὑμεῖς δὲ βαπτισθήσεσθε ἐν
 Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας. Μετὰ γὰρ τεσσαράκο-
 5 ντα ἡμέρας, δέκα ἦσαν ἡμέραι ἕως τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς, ἐν ᾗ ἐπέφανε τὸ
 Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ ἐβάπτισε τοὺς ἀποστόλους, οὐχ ὕδατι, ἀλλὰ πυρί.
 | ιγ'. Ὡςδε λύεται τὸ ζήτημα τὸ παρὰ πολλῶν ζητούμενον. Ἐζήτησαν 786
 γὰρ πολλοί, εἰ πρὸ τοῦ πάθους τοῦ Σωτῆρος βεβαπτισμένοι ἦσαν οἱ ἀπό-
 στολοι τῷ βαπτίσματι τῷ εὐαγγελικῷ. Ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτε ἀποφαινόμεθα,
 10 οὔτε λογισμοῖς ἐγχειρίζομεν ἀνθρωπίνους τοσαύτην δικαιολογίαν, ἀλλὰ
 τοῖς γεγραμμένοις στοιχοῦμεν. Εὐρίσκομεν τοὺς ἀποστόλους λαβόντας
 βάπτισμα πρὸ τοῦ πάθους τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ. Ὁ
 Σωτὴρ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ πάθους οὐ δίδωσι βάπτισμα ἄλλο, ἵνα μὴ λύσῃ τὸ
 Ἰωάννου κήρυγμα, καὶ δώσῃ ἀφορμὴν τοῖς ἀντιλέγουσιν Ἰουδαίοις, ὅτι
 15 πρὸς ὕδριν τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου, ἐπεισῆγαγεν ἄλλο ἴδιον βάπτισμα·
 ἀλλ' ἔἴα αὐτοὺς ἔχειν τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ ὕδατος, τηρῶν αὐτοῖς τὴν χάριν
 τοῦ Πνεύματος. Διὰ τοῦτο ὡς μηδέπω λαβοῦσι Πνεῦμα λέγει· Λάβετε

19/20 Rom. 10,12/13 21/24 Rom. 10,14/15 cfr Is. 52,7

20. 1/4 Act. 1,4/5 17/18 Io. 20,22

20. 11/12 Ph., *Amphil.* 126, l. 2/3 12/15 Ph., *Amphil.* 126, l. 3/5

19 πάντων πλουτῶν] πάντα τὸν πλοῦτον P_2 22 πιστεύσουσιν] πιστεύσωσιν $P_1 P_2$
 22/23 ἀκούσονται] ἀκούσεται $AP_3 O^a. corr.$ 23 κηρύξουσιν] κηρύξωσιν $VP_1 P_2$ 24/25
 τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων εἰρήνην, τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων τὰ ἀγαθὰ *trsp.* $AP_3 O M_f Pg$ 24
 τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων τὰ ἀγαθὰ] *om.* V

20. 1 φησίν] *om.* $V M_f$ αὐτοῖς φησίν *trsp.* P_2 4 ἁγίῳ] καὶ πυρὶ *add.* $P_3 O$
 ταύτας] *om.* P_1 4/5 μετὰ γὰρ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας] *om.* $M M_f$ 4 γὰρ] τὰς *add.*
 P_1 *om.* P_3 5 ἦσαν] εἶσαν P_1 ἐν ᾗ] ἐνὶ P_1 6 οὐχ ὕδατι – πυρὶ] *om.* P_2 7
 ὥδε] τοίνυν *add.* $AP_3 O M_f Pg$ λύεται] λύετε M τὸ ... τὸ] *om.* P_2 τὸ²] *om.* $P_3 O$
 8 εἰ] οἱ A *om.* V 9 τῷ βαπτίσματι τῷ εὐαγγελικῷ] τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ εὐαγγελικὸν P_2
 10 ἀνθρωπίνους ἐγχειρίζομεν *trsp.* P_2 11 στοιχοῦμεν] στοιχῶμεν P_2 12 τοῦ²] *om.*
 MP_1 14 δώσῃ] δώσει $P_1 A$ δῶ P_2 16 ἔἴα αὐτοὺς] ἑαυτοὺς V αὐτοὺς P_2

Πνεῦμα ἅγιον. Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ φησιν· Ἀπέλθετε εἰς Ἱεροσό-
λυμα, καὶ ἀναμείνατε τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἣν ἠκούσατέ μου, ὅτι
20 Ἰωάννης μὲν ἐβάπτισεν ὕδατι, ὑμεῖς δὲ βαπτισθήσεσθε ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ,
οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας· οὐκέτι ὕδατι, ἔλαβον γάρ, ἀλλὰ Πνεύ-
ματι ἁγίῳ. Οὐκ ἐπεισάγει ὕδωρ τῷ ὕδατι, ἀλλ' ἀναπληροῖ τὸ λείπον τῷ
λειπομένῳ.

21. Ὑμεῖς δὲ βαπτισθήσεσθε ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας
ἡμέρας· ἀντὶ τοῦ, μετὰ δέκα. Τίς οὖν χρεῖα τῶν διαλειμμάτων; Τίς; Αἱ
δέκα ἡμέραι αἱ μεταξύ. Ἐγγυμνάζων τὴν πίστιν τῶν ἀποστόλων. Ἐσυ-
χαζούσης γὰρ τῆς χάριτος, καὶ μηδενὸς φαινομένου, ἐγγυμνάζετο αὐτῶν
5 ἡ πίστις, εἰ ἐκδέχονται ὡς ἀψευδῆ τὸν ἐπαγγελιάμενον. Ἐπηγγείλατο
καὶ εἶπεν· Οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ἡμέρας. Οὐ μὴν ὠρίσατο τὰς ἡμέρας, ἀλλ' οὐ
μετὰ πολλὰς ἡμέρας. Οὐ πάντα ἐπιτρέπει ἡμῖν εἰδέναι, ἀλλὰ δείκνυσιν
ἔχειν μέτρα Δεσποτικῆς τάξεως. Ἄ ἀκούεις, διδάσκου· ἃ μὴ μανθάνης,
μὴ περιεργάζου.

22. Ὑμεῖς δὲ βαπτισθήσεσθε ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ. Ὅτε οὖν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ
ἅγιον ἐπεφοίτησεν αὐτοῖς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς, ἐπλήρωσεν ὅλον
τὸν οἶκον οὗ ἦσαν, ἵνα τῷ Πνεύματι ὧσιν βεβαπτισμένοι, ὡς ἐν ὕδατι.
Συμπλέκει δὲ τῇ ἀοράτῳ ὅψει τὴν ὁρωμένην, τὴν τῶν γλωσσῶν. Ἐδοατί-

19/21 Act. 1,4/5

22. 2/3 Act. 2,2

20/22 Ph., *Amphil.* 126, l. 6/8

21. 2/3 Ph., *Amphil.* 126, l. 8/9 3/5 cfr Ph., *Amphil.* 126, l. 9/11

22. 4/6 Ph., *Amphil.* 126, l. 12/13

18 ἀπέλθετε] ἀπέλθατε *VAP₃O* 19 ἀναμείνατε] ἐκεῖ *add. AP₃O Pg* 20 ἐβάπτισεν]
βάπτισμα μετανοίας ἐν *add. P₁* 21 γὰρ ὕδατι ἔλαβον *trsp. P₁* 22 τῷ¹] *om. V M_f*
ἀναπληροῖ] πληροῖ *V M_f* 22/23 τῷ λειπομένῳ] τοῦ λειπομένου *P₁*

21. 2 δέκα] δέκατης *P₂* τίς²] τί *P₃O* 3 μεταξύ] μεταξύ *P₃* 5 τὸν ἐπαγγελιάμε-
νον] τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν *P₃O* 6 πολλὰς] ταύτας *add. AP₃O Pg* τὰς] τῆς *P₃* 6/7
ἀλλ' - ἡμέρας] *om. V M_f* 7 πολλὰς] τὰς *add. A* εἰδέναι] ὁ σωτήρ *add. AP₃O Pg*
8 μέτρα] μετὰ *AP₃O* τάξεως] διαστάσεως *P₁* ἃ¹] μὲν *add. AP₃O* ἃ²] δὲ *add.*
AP₃O Pg μανθάνης] μανθάνεις *P₁ Pg* ἀκούης *P₂*

22. 1 ὑμεῖς δὲ] ἡμεῖς δὲ *P₁ om. P₂* οὖν] δὲ *AP₃O* τὸ πνεῦμα] *inc. R* 2 ἐπλήρω-
σεν] ἐπλήρωσαν *Pg* 3/4 οὗ - γλωσσῶν] *om. R* οὗ ἦσαν] *om. P₂* ἦσαν] καθή-
μενοι *add VAP₃O M_fPg* 4 ὁρωμένην] λέγω δὴ *add. AP₃ Pg* λέγω δὲ *add. O*

- 5 σθησαν οὖν ἐν Πνεύματι. Καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ βαπτισθῆναι ἦν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον λαβεῖν, μαρτυρεῖ ἄλλη ἱστορία. Ἐγκαλουμένου γὰρ Πέτρου παρὰ τῶν μαθητῶν· Διὰ τί εἰσῆλθες πρὸς ἄνδρας Ἑλλήνας καὶ κατήχησας αὐτούς, καὶ βαπτίσματος καὶ μυστηρίων μετέδωκας; λέγει· Ἐγὼ ἤμην ἐν Ἰόππῃ τῇ πόλει, Κορνήλιος δέ τις ἑκατοντάρχης ἀπέστειλε πρὸς με·
- 10 καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐδίδασκον τὸν λόγον· ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ λαλεῖν με, ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ' αὐτούς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὡς καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐν ἀρχῇ. Καὶ ἴνα δείξῃ ὁ Πέτρος, ὅτι τὸ λαβεῖν τοὺς περὶ Κορνήλιον τὸ Πνεῦμα, βάπτισμα ἦν, λέγει εὐθέως· Ἐμνήσθητι τῶν ῥημάτων τοῦ Κυρίου, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ὅτι Ἰωάννης μὲν ἐβάπτισεν ὕδατι, ὑμεῖς δὲ βαπτισθήσεσθε ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.

23. 1δ'. Ἦσαν οὖν βεβαπτισμένοι πρὸ τοῦ πάθους οἱ ἀπόστολοι ὕδατι, καὶ λουούμενοι· ἦν δὲ τὸ λουτρὸν ἐκεῖνο εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ μετοχή Πνεύματος ἁγίου. Ἦλθε γὰρ, φησὶν, Ἰωάννης κηρύττων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο εἶχον οἱ
- 5 ἀπόστολοι, πόθεν εἰσόμεθα; Δειξόμεν τοῦτο. Οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶπεν ὅτι Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτισεν ὑμᾶς ὕδατι, ἀλλ' | ἐβάπτισεν. Οὐπω δὴλον εἰ τοὺς ἀπο- 787 στόλους ἐβάπτισε. Πόθεν οὖν τοῦτο δῆλον; Ὅτε ἀντέλεγε Πέτρος λέγων· Κύριε, οὐ μὴ μου νίψῃς τοὺς πόδας εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· ὁ Σωτὴρ ἔλεγεν· Ἐὰν μὴ νίψω σε, οὐκ ἔχεις μέρος μετ' ἐμοῦ. Ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Πέτρος· Κύριε, μὴ

8/11 Act. 11,5,15 13/14 Act. 11,16; cfr Act. 1,5

23. 3/4 Mc. 1,4 8/11 Io. 13,8/10 17 Io. 13,10 18/19 Act. 1,5

23. 1/3 cfr Ph., *Amphil.* 126, l. 13/15 5/7 cfr Ph., *Amphil.* 126, l. 16 9/11 Ph., *Amphil.* 126, l. 17/18

5 οὖν] γὰρ *AP*₃ μὲν *O* πνεύματι] ἁγίῳ *add.* *AP*₃*O* τὸ] *om.* *R* 5/6 πνεῦμα ἅγιον] τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα *R* 7 εἰσῆλθες] εἰσῆλθε *P*₃ 8 μυστηρίων] μυστηρίου *VA* μετέδωκας] μετέδωκε *O* 8/9 ἐγὼ – πόλει] *om.* *VR* 8 ἤμην] εἵμην *P*₁ 9 δέ] *om.* *R* ἑκατοντάρχης] ἑκατοντάρχος *P*₂ 10 δέ] *om.* *O* ἐπέπεσεν] ἔπεσεν *AP*₃ 11 καὶ¹] *om.* *V M_f* 12 λαβεῖν] λαλεῖν *V* τὸ²] *om.* *R* 13 λέγει εὐθέως] εὐθέως λέγει καὶ *P*₂ *Pg* τοῦ] *om.* *P*₁ ὡς] ὅς *P*₂

23. 1 οὖν βεβαπτισμένοι] *om.* *V* πάθους] τοῦ κυρίου *add.* *AP*₃*O* *Pg* 2 καὶ] *om.* *V* 3/4 ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ] κηρύττων *add.* *P*₃*O* *om.* *V* 4 καὶ] πόθεν τοῦτο δῆλον *add.* *R* 5 ἀπόστολοι] τὸ βάπτισμα *add.* *R* πόθεν εἰσόμεθα] *om.* *AP*₃*O* δεῖξομεν] δεῖξομεν *P*₁*AP*₃*O* *om.* *R* τοῦτο] φανερώς *AP*₃*O* *om.* *R* ὅτι] *om.* *R* 5/6 Ἰωάννης] μὲν *add.* *AP*₃*O* 6 ὕδατι ὑμᾶς *trsp.* *P*₃*O* ὑμᾶς] ἐν *add.* *R* ἀλλὰ] ὅτι *add.* *AP*₃*O* *M_fPg* ἐβάπτισεν] καὶ μόνον *add.* *AP*₃*O* μόνον *add.* *Pg* οὐπω] *om.* *P*₂ νῦν *add.* *R* δέ] *add.* *AP*₃*O* *Pg* 6/7 δῆλον – ἐβάπτισε] *om.* *P*₂ 6 εἰ] καὶ *add.* *AP*₃*O* *Pg* 7 δῆλον] ἄκουσον *add.* *R* ἄκουσον συνειδώς *add.* *AP*₃*O* *Pg* ὅτε] ὅτι *V* γοῦν *add.* *AP*₃*O* *M_fPg* λέγων] πρὸς τὸν χριστὸν *AP*₃*O* 8 νίψῃς τοὺς πόδας μου *trsp.* *P*₂ ὁ σωτὴρ ἔλεγεν] ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ σωτὴρ *AP*₃*O* 9 ὁ] *om.* *P*₁ πέτρος] καὶ εἶπε *add.* *AP*₃*O*

- 10 μόνον τοὺς πόδας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν. Ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Σωτὴρ· Ὁ λελουμένος οὐ χρειαν ἔχει νίψασθαι ἢ τοὺς πόδας μόνον. Ὁρᾷς πῶς ἐκύρωσε τὸ λουτρόν; Ὅπου μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὠνομάσθη Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱὸς καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, βάπτισμα μετανοίας μόνον ἐστίν· ὅπου δὲ ὠνομάσθη, βάπτισμα υἱοθεσίας. Ὁ Σωτὴρ οὐκ ἠθέτησε τὸ τῆς μετανοίας, ἀλλ' ἀνε-
 15 πλήρωσε, καὶ προσέθηκε τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος τῷ ἐν Τριάδι. Οἱ δὲ αἱρετικοὶ βάπτισμα Τριάδι κυρωθὲν ἠθέτησαν, ὅσον τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς. Οὐκ ἠδέσθησαν τὴν Δεσποτικὴν φωνήν· Ὁ λελουμένος οὐ χρειαν ἔχει νίψασθαι ἢ τοὺς πόδας μόνον. Ὑμεῖς δὲ βαπτισθήσεσθε ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας.

24. Εἶτα λοιπὸν τὸ λίχνον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως καὶ πολυπραγμόσυ-
 νον· ἐπειδὴ ἴδιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐρωτᾷ· Πότε ἡ συντέλεια; Πότε ἔρχεται ὁ Χριστός; Μετὰ πόσα ἔτη τὸ τέλος; Πότε ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ φαίνεται; Οἱ ἀπόστολοι τὸ ἀνθρώπινον πάθος γυμνάζουσι, καὶ ἄρχονται ζητεῖν
 5 παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος· Οἱ μὲν οὖν συνελθόντες ἐπηρώτων αὐτόν, λέγοντες· Κύριε, εἰ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, ἀποκαθιστάνεις τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ; Ἐπειδὴ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· Ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ, λέγουσιν· Εἰ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ; Ἐδοῦλοντο μαθεῖν εἰ τότε ἐγγύς ἐστιν ἡ προσδοκία, εἰ βραδύνει ἡ σωτηρία. Εἶτα ὁ Σωτὴρ· Οὐχ ὑμῶν ἐστι γινῶ-
 10 ναι χρόνους ἢ καιροὺς, οὓς ὁ Πατὴρ ἔθετο ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ. Τοῖς ἀποστόλοις οὐδὲ χρόνοι ἐπετράπησαν εἰς ἔρευναν, καὶ αἱρετικοῖς ἐπετράπη

24. 5/6 Act. 1,6 7 Mt. 25,31 9/10 Act. 1,7

14 Ph., *Amphil.* 126, l. 20/22

10 μόνον τοὺς πόδας] τοὺς πόδας μου μόνον R τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας *trsp.* P₃O
 11 ἢ] εἰ μὴ P₂ μόνον] *om.* P₂ 12 μὲν] *A^{sup. l} om.* R M₇Pg ὠνομάσθη] ὀνομά-
 σθη VP₁ καὶ] *om.* P₁ 13 μόνον] *om.* AP₃OR 13/14 ὅπου – υἱοθεσίας] καὶ R
 13 ὠνομάσθη] ὀνομάσθη VP₁ 14 υἱοθεσίας] μετανοίας AP₃O ὁ σωτὴρ οὐκ – με-
 τανοίας] *om.* P₃ 14/15 ἀνεπλήρωσε] ἐπλήρωσε VP₂R 15 τὸ] τῷ V πνεύμα-
 τος] *om.* V τῷ] τὸ P₂AP₃O τοῦ *add.* M₇Pg 15/18 οἱ – μόνον] *om.* R 16 βά-
 πτισμα] τὸ ἐν *add.* Pg παρ'] ἐπ' AP₃O 17 ἠδέσθησαν] γὰρ οἱ δειλαιοὶ *add.* AP₃O
 Pg 18 ἢ] εἰ μὴ P₂ μόνον] *om.* P₂ 24.1/25.15 εἶτα – μαρτυρούμενος] *om.* R

24. 2 ἐρωτᾷ] πάντοτε *add.* AP₃O Pg 3 τέλος] ἐστὶ *add.* AP₃O Pg αὐτοῦ] *om.* P₂
 4 γυμνάζουσι καὶ] γυμνάζοντες P₂ M₇Pg 5 ἐπηρώτων] ἐπερώτων V ἐπερώτων P₁ 6
 ἐν] *om.* A τούτῳ] τοῦτω P₁ 7 αὐτοῖς] ὁ χριστός *add.* AP₃O 8 τούτῳ] τοῦτο
 P₁ ἐδοῦλοντο] ἐδοῦλετο A 9 εἰ] ἢ VAP₃O βραδύνει] βραδύνῃ V 10 ἢ]
 καὶ P₃O 11 εἰς] πρὸς P₃O

- τὴν οὐσίαν τὴν ὑπερχρόνιον, τὴν φύσιν τὴν αἰώνιον ἐρευνᾶν; Ὅταν οὖν
 τις αἰρετικὸς συζητῇ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ λέγῃ· Πῶς ἐγέννησεν ὁ Πατήρ; Τίς
 ὁ τῆς θείας γεννήσεως τρόπος; σὺ ἀντίστρεψον αὐτῷ τὴν Δεσποτικὴν
 15 φωνήν· Οὐχ ὑμῶν ἐστὶ γινῶναι χρόνους ἢ καιροὺς. Οὐχ ὑμῶν ἐστὶ γινῶ-
 ναι Θεοῦ γέννησιν καὶ οὐσίαν· οὐ μόνον οὐχ ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀγγέλων, οὐκ
 ἀρχαγγέλων, οὐ πάσης τινὸς κτιστῆς δυνάμεως. Ἀλλὰ τίνας ἐστὶ γινῶναι;
 Οὐδεὶς οἶδε τὸν Πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ Υἱός, οὐδὲ τὸν Υἱόν εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατήρ, οὐδὲ
 τὰ βάθρῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰ μὴ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ. Οὐχ ὑμῶν ἐστὶ γινῶναι χρό-
 20 νους ἢ καιροὺς. Οὐκ αἰδῇ τὸ μέτρον τῶν ἀποστόλων; Οἱ συναλισθέντες,
 οἷς ἐφάνη, οἱ φωτισθέντες παρ' αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἐπιτρέπονται εἰδέναι, ἀλλὰ
 διδάσκονται μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν μέτρα, καὶ ἤκουσαν· Οὐχ ὑμῶν ἐστὶ γινῶναι
 χρόνους ἢ καιροὺς· καὶ σὺ ἐρευνᾶς; Ἀλλ' ὁ Δανιὴλ ἔμαθε καὶ χρόνους καὶ
 καιροὺς καὶ μέτρα. Ἐβδομήκοντα γάρ, φησὶν, ἑβδομάδες συνετεμίσθησαν
 25 ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν σου. Ἀπὸ λόγου ἡμερῶν ἐξόδου, τοῦ οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸν ναόν·
 ἑβδομάδες ἐπὶ καὶ ἑβδομάδες ἐξήκοντα δύο, καὶ μία. Ἴδου ἐνεδέχετο
 μαθεῖν χρόνους· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν χρόνων ἐπιστομίζει τὴν τόλμαν, ἵνα μάθω-
 σιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι | ὅτι εἰ περὶ χρόνων οὐκ ἐπιτρέπονται μαθεῖν, πολλῶ 788
 μᾶλλον περὶ τῆς θείας γεννήσεως οὐκ ὀφείλουσιν ἐρευνᾶν; Οὐχ ὑμῶν ἐστὶ
 30 γινῶναι χρόνους ἢ καιροὺς, οὓς ὁ Πατήρ ἔθετο ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ. Ὁ οὖν
 Υἱὸς οὐκ ἔθετο, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ Πατρὸς αἰῶνες καὶ χρόνοι, καὶ ὁ
 Υἱὸς οὐδὲν ἔχει κοινόν; Εἰ οὐδὲν ἔχει κοινόν ὁ Υἱὸς εἰς τοὺς χρόνους καὶ
 τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας, ψεύδεται Παῦλος λέγων· Ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν

18 Mt. 11,27
 Act. 1,7

18/19 cfr I Cor. 2,10/11
 33/34 Hebr. 1,2

24/26 TDan. 9,24 cfr v. 25

29/30

12 ὑπερχρόνιον] ὑπέρχρονον καὶ AP_3O ὑπερχρόνιον καὶ Pg αἰώνιον] προαιώνιον P_2
 Pg οὖν] *om.* $V M_f$ τις αἰρετικὸς] *om.* P_2 συζητῇ] ζητεῖ $P_2 A$ ζητῇ $P_3 O$ τὰ
 τοιαῦτα] ταῦτα P_1 καὶ λέγει] *om.* P_2 καὶ λέγει $AP_3 O$ 13/14 πῶς – τρόπος] *om.* P_2
 13 πατήρ] καὶ *add.* $P_3 O Pg$ 14 θείας] *om.* M_f σὺ ἀντίστρεψον] συναντίστρεψον P_2
 αὐτῷ] αὐτόν $V M_f$ 15 ὑμῶν] ἡμῶν A γινῶναι] χρόνους ἢ καιροὺς οὐχ ὑμῶν ἐστὶ
 γινῶναι *add.* V 16 οὐσίαν] καὶ *add.* $AP_3 O Pg$ οὐ μόνον οὐχ ὑμῶν] οὐχ ὑμῶν μόνων
 $O^p. corr.$ οὐχ ἡμῶν μόνων $AP_3 O^{corr.}$ οὐκ] οὐδὲ $AP_3 O$ 16/17 οὐκ ἀρχαγγέλων] *om.* V
 17 οὐ πάσης τινός] οὔτε μὴν πάσης τινός $AP_3 O$ οὐ πάσης τῆς P_2 18 τὸν πατέρα] τὸ
 πνεῦμα V υἱόν] τίς ἐπιγινώσκει *add.* AP_3 τίς ἐπιγινώσκει *add.* $O Pg$ πατήρ] μόνος
add. $AP_3 O Pg$ 19 εἰ μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ^{m mang.} A 20 αἰδῇ] ἐδεῖ P_2 οὐκ
 αἰδῇ – ἀποστόλων] *om.* V συναλισθέντες] ἀπόστολοι τῷ σωτῇρι *add.* V τῷ σωτῇρι
add. $M_f Pg$ 23/24 καὶ σὺ – καιροὺς] *om.* P_2 23 Ἀλλ' ὁ] ἀλλὰ P_1 24 μέτρα]
 γινῶναι *add.* $P_2 Pg$ ἑβδομήκοντα] ἑβδομήκον V ἑβδομάδες φησὶ *trsp.* $V M_f Pg$
 25 ναόν] λαόν A 26 καί¹] *om.* P_2 ἐξήκοντα] καὶ *add.* $V M_f Pg$ καὶ μία
 $A^{sup. l.}$ ἐνεδέχετο] ἐνδέχεται $V M_f$ 29 περὶ τῆς θείας] περὶ θείας $P_3 O$ ἐπὶ τοῦ δε-
 σπότη P_2 γεννήσεως] *om.* P_2 30/31 ὁ οὖν υἱός] ὁ υἱὸς οὖν *trsp.* $P_2 M_f Pg$ οὖν

ἡμερῶν τούτων ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν Υἱῷ, δι' οὗ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐποίησεν. Εἰ
 35 τῶν αἰώνων ποιητῆς ὁ Υἱὸς, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ Υἱοῦ· καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶν
 ὃ λέγει Παῦλος· Ὁ Πατὴρ ἔθετο ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ. Ἐξουσίαν ἄρα καλεῖ
 τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸν Υἱόν, ὥσπερ καὶ δύναμιν καὶ σοφίαν. Χριστὸς γὰρ Θεοῦ
 δύναμις καὶ Θεοῦ σοφία. **ιε'.** Οὐχ ὑμῶν ἐστὶ γινῶναι χρόνους ἢ καιροὺς,
 ἀλλὰ λήψεσθε δύναμιν ἐπελθόντος τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς. Λήψε-
 40 σθε δύναμιν οὐκ εἰς τὸ πολυπραγμονεῖν χρόνους καὶ καιροὺς, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ
 πιστεύειν τῷ Δεσπότη.

25. Καὶ ἔσεσθέ μοι μάρτυρες ἐν τε Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ
 καὶ Σαμαρείᾳ, καὶ ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς. Μὴ μετρήσης τῶν λόγων τὴν
 τάξιν, ἀλλὰ τῆς αὐθεντίας τὴν δύναμιν. Οὗτος εἶπε· Κηρύξατέ με παντα-
 χοῦ. Τοῦτο δείκνυσι δύναμιν, εἰ ἐξέβη εἰς πρᾶγμα τὸ ῥῆμα. Δύναμαι
 5 ἐγὼ αὐθεντία χρησάμενος καὶ ἀλαζονείᾳ, εἰπεῖν παρεστῶσιν ἢ ὀλίγοις
 οἰκίταις ἢ ἀδελφοῖς· Ἐξέλθετε εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ πάντα διδάξατε, πάντας
 ἐπιστρέψατε, βαρβάρους ἀνέλετε, τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου
 ἐκκόψατε αὐτούς· τὰ ῥήματα προβαίνει, ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὰ πράγματα μὴ ἀκο-
 λουθήσῃ, οὐ μόνον ὡς ψεύστης καταγινώσκομαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἀλαζὼν καὶ
 10 προπετής. Ζητείσθω οὖν τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ Σωτῆρος, μὴ ἐξ ὧν ἐλάλησεν,
 ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἐτέλεσεν. Εἶπε· Μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη· εἰ μὴ προῆλθεν
 ὁ λόγος εἰς ἔργον, ἀλαζονείᾳ ἦν καὶ οὐκ αὐθεντία θεϊκῇ. Εἶπε· Κηρύξατε
 ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς. Εἰ ἔστιν ἐσχατιά τις ἀμοιροῦσα τοῦ κηρύγματος,
 ἐψεύσατο ἢ πρόρρησις· εἰ δὲ πρὸ τῶν ῥημάτων λάμπει τὰ πράγματα,
 15 ἀληθεῖς οἱ μάρτυρες καὶ ἀληθὴς ὁ μαρτυρούμενος.

37/38 I Cor. 1,24 38/39 Act. 1,7/8

25. 1/2 Act. 1,8 11 Mt. 28,19

35 υἱοῦ] κεῖνται *add.* AP₃O M_fPg 36 παῦλος] *om.* P₂ M_f οὗς *add.* AP₃O Pg 38
 καιρούς] οὗς ὁ πατὴρ ἔθετο ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ *add.* AP₃O 40 καὶ]* ἢ P₁VAP₃O M_fPg

25. 1 τε] τῇ P₃O καὶ²] ἐν *add.* M_fPg τῇ] *om.* V 2 μὴ] δὴ *add.* V 3 οὗτος]
 οὕτως P₂ *om.* AP₃O εἶπε] τοῖς ἀποστόλοις *add.* AP₃O με] *om.* V M_fPg 4
 τοῦτο] οὖν *add.* AP₃O δείκνυσι δύναμιν] δείκνυσι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ AP₃O Pg εἰς
 πρᾶγμα τὸ ῥῆμα] τὸ ῥῆμα εἰς πρᾶγμα *trsp.* A τὸ πρᾶγμα P₃O 5 εἰπεῖν] εἰπεῖν *add.* A
 τοῖς *add.* V M_fPg ἢ] *om.* P₂ 6 ἢ] καὶ P₂ ἐξέλθετε] ἐξέλθατε V καὶ] *om.*
 P₂ πάντα] πάντας P₁AP₃O διδάξατε] καὶ *add.* P₃O πάντας] *om.* P₂ 7
 τῇ βασιλείᾳ] τῆς βασιλείας P₃O μου] *om.* V M_fPg 8 αὐτούς] *om.* V M_fPg 10
 προπετής] κολάζομαι *add.* AP₃O Pg 10/11 ὧν ἐλάλησεν ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν] *om.* V 12 εἰς
 ἔργον ὁ λόγος *trsp.* P₂ ἦν] ἐστὶ AP₃O 12/13 εἶπε – γῆς] *om.* O 13 τις] τῆς
 γῆς P₁

26. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν, βλέπόντων αὐτῶν ἐπήρθη. Βλεπόντων· ἡδύνατο μὲν γὰρ μὴ φανερώς ἀνελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἔσχε μάρτυρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶν μαθητῶν, οὕτως αὐτοὺς αὐτόπτας ποιεῖ καὶ τῆς ἀναλήψεως. Ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς οὗτος ὁ συγγραφεὺς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου προσέθηκε· Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν, ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἔξω εἰς Βηθανίαν, ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν, ὅθεν καὶ τὸν Λάζαρον ἤγειρεν. Ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ἀνελήφθη ὅπου τὴν ζωοποιὸν ἐποίησε δύναμιν. Ἀπαξ γὰρ ἔφθημεν εἰπόντες ὅτι ὁ Σωτὴρ ἄλλα δι' ἄλλωνπραγματεύεται· ἐπιλέγεται τόπον τῇ ἀναλήψει ἐγγρίζοντα τῇ ἀναστάσει Λαζάρου, ἵνα ἡ ἐργύτης τοῦ τόπου εἰς ὑπόμνησιν ἐνέγκῃ τοὺς μαθητὰς ὅτι, Μὴ θαυμάζητε εἰς ζῆν καὶ ἀνέρχεται ζῶν ὁ ἄλλοις ζωὴν χαρισάμενος. Λέγει οὖν ὅτι ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἕως Βηθανίας, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· καθίσατε ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἕως ἂν ἐνδύσησθε δύναμιν ἐξ ὑψους.

27. Μάθε τὴν ταυτότητα τῆς δυνάμεως· ὁ πιστὸς ἐνδύεται Χριστὸν καὶ ἐνδύεται Πνεῦμα ἅγιον. Εἰ ἀλλότριον τοῦτο ἐκείνου, πῶς ὑβρίζεται ἐνδυμα βασιλικόν, ἐπιτιθέμενον τινὶ οὐκ ὄντι βασιλεῖ; Καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπάνω πορφύρας ἐνδύεται ἐνδυμα κοινόν· ὑβρίζεται γὰρ τῆς βασιλείας τὸ ἀξίωμα. Οἱ οὖν πιστοὶ ἐνδύονται Χριστόν· ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐδαπτίσθητε, Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε. Θεὸς ἐστὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς θεὸς ἐστίν. Πῶς οὖν πάλιν λέγει· Ἐνδύσασθε Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, εἰ μὴ

26. 1 Act. 1,9 5 Lc. 24,50 11/13 Lc. 24,50.49

27. 5/6 Gal. 3,27

27. 7/14 cfr. Ph., *Amphil.* 127, l. 2/6

26. 1 [βλεπόντων²] *om.* VP₂R M₁Pg 2 [μὲν] *om.* P₃O γὰρ] *om.* P₂ καὶ *add.* R
3 οὕτως] πάλιν *add.* AP₃O Pg αὐτοὺς] αὐτὸς R αὐτόπτας] ἐπόπτας P₂ καὶ]
om. P₂ 4/37.1 ὁ δὲ λουκᾶς – ἀσφαλίσθηται *om.* V M₁Pg 4 ὁ²] *om.* P₁ 5 ἔξω
εἰς] ἔξω ἕως εἰς AP₃O ἕως πρὸς K ἐπὶ] εἰς R 6 τὸν] *om.* P₂ 7 τὴν] θείαν
καὶ *add.* AP₃O K 7/8 ἁπαξ – ἀναλήψει] λέγεται γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν γεγενῆσθαι τὴν ἀνάληψιν R
7 ἁπαξ] πολλάκις AP₃O K 8 ἐπιλέγεται] τοῖνον *add.* AP₃O K ἐγγρίζοντα]
τῷ τόπῳ *add.* R 9 λαζάρου] τοῦ *praem.* R 10 μὴ – ζῶν] *post* χαρισάμενος
trsp. R θαυμάζητε] θαυμάζετε P₁ θαυμάσητε R ἀνέρχεται] ἀπέρχεται P₂ 11
ἕως] εἰς *add.* P₁ εἰς P₂ [βηθανίαν] βηθανίαν P₁P₂ 12 καθίσατε] καθήσατε MP₁AO
Ἱερουσαλὴμ] τούτῃ P₂R ἂν] *om.* P₂

27. 1/8 μάθε – υἱός] *post* πνεῦμα (l. 7) *trsp.* R 1 μάθε] μάθετε P₁R ταυτότητα]
αὐτότητα R 2 καὶ ἐνδύεται] ἐνδύεται δὲ καὶ AP₃O K ἅγιον] ἕως οὗ ἐνδύσησθε
δύναμιν ἐξύψους *add.* R 3 τινὶ] *om.* P₂R ὄντι] ὄντος P₂ 4 κοινόν] καὶνον M
ὑβρίζεται] ὑβρίζει A 6 ἐνεδύσασθε] ὁ χριστὸς θεὸς ἐστίν *add.* AP₃O ὁ δὲ χριστὸς θεὸς
ἐστίν *add.* K 6/7 θεός¹ – ἅγιον] *om.* P₂ 6 ἐστι] καὶ *add.* AP₃O 6/7 ὁ δὲ χρι-
στὸς θεὸς ἐστίν] *om.* AP₃O K 7 θεός] θεότης P₂

Θεὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα ἦν, Θεὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ υἱός; Λέγω δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ
Μακεδονίου, τοὺς σκάζοντας περὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα. Εἰ μὴ Θεὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα,
10 εἰ μὴ θεϊκὴ χάρις ἐστίν, οἱ θεϊκὸν ἔνδυμα τὸν Χριστὸν ἐνδυσάμενοι πῶς
ιδιωτικὸν ἔνδυμα ἐπενδύονται; Ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χρι-
στὸν ἐνεδύσασθε. Μείνατε εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἕως ἂν ἐνδύσησθε δύναμιν ἐξ
ὑψους. Ποίαν δύναμιν; Αἰψέσθε δύναμιν ἐπελθόντος τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος
ἐφ' ὑμᾶς. Ἐνδυμα δὲ λέγεται χιτῶν. Καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τῶν πιστῶν
15 ἔνδυμα· οὐχ ὡς ἱμάτιον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνδύεται ὁ σίδηρος τὸ πῦρ· οὐκ ἔξωθεν
περιβαλλόμενος, ἀλλ' ὅλος δι' ὅλου ἀνακιρνώμενος. Οὕτως ἐνδύονται οἱ
πιστοὶ τὸν Χριστὸν· οὐχ ὡς ἱμάτιον ἔξωθεν περικείμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν
καρδίαν πληροῦντα καὶ ἀκοὰς φωτίζοντα καὶ λογισμοὺς καταστέλλοντα
καὶ πρόσωπον χάριτος πληροῦντα. Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἔξωθεν ἐπέλαμπεν ἡ χάρις
20 τοῦ Χριστοῦ, πῶθεν ἀτενίσαντες εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον Στεφάνου, εἶδον τὸ πρό-
σωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς πρόσωπον ἀγγέλου; Λέγει τοίνυν· Καθίσατε ἐν τῇ πόλει
ταύτῃ ἕως ἂν ἐνδύσησθε δύναμιν ἐξ ὑψους, καὶ ἔσεσθέ μοι μάρτυρες.

28. Πρόσεχε παρακαλῶ. Καὶ ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα, ἠὐλόγησεν αὐτούς.
Ὅρῳ τί ἐπεσημήνατο ὁ ἱστοριογράφος; Εἰσάγει τὸν Σωτῆρα εὐλογοῦντα
μέν, τέλος δὲ τῶν εὐλογιῶν μεταδιδόντα οὐκέτι. Οὐκ εἶπεν ἠὐλόγησε καὶ
ἐπλήρωσεν, ἀλλ' ἐκτείνας τὰς χεῖρας, ἠὐλόγησεν αὐτούς. Καὶ ἐν τῷ εὐλο-
5 γεῖν αὐτόν, ἀνελήφθη· ἀφ' οὗ γὰρ ἄρχεται εὐλογεῖν, οὐ παύεται εὐλογῶν.

12/13 Lc. 24,49 13/14 Act. 1,8 20/21 Act. 6,15 21/22 Lc. 24,49; Act. 1,8
28. 1 Lc. 24,50 4/5 Lc. 24,50/51

14/21 cfr. Ph., *Amphil.* 127, l. 9/15

8 πνεῦμα] τὸ ἅγιον *add.* $P_1 AP_3 O K$ ἦν] θεὸς ἐστὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον *add.* P_2 υἱός]
δύναμιν ἐξύψους καλεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον *add.* R λέγω δὲ ταῦτα] ἐνταῦθα μοι ἡ πάλῃ
 R ἀπὸ] τὰ R 9 μακεδονίου] πρὸς *add.* $P_2 K$ φρονούντας πρὸς *add.* R σκάζο-
ντας] κρᾶζοντας P_2 μὴ] ὁ *add.* R 10 ἐστίν] οὐσα $P_2 R$ οἱ] εἰ O 11 ἔνδυμα]
τὸν χριστὸν *add.* P_1 12 εἰς] ἐν P_1 13 λήψεσθε δύναμιν] *om.* $AP_3 O$ ὑμᾶς] ἡμᾶς
 K ἰδοὺ *add.* R δὲ] *om.* $P_3 R K$ 14/15 χιτῶν – ἔνδυμα] τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔνδυμα
καὶ χιτῶν τῶν πιστῶν ἀλλ' R χιτῶν] ἁγίων *add.* P_2 15 ἱμάτιον] περιέχεται τὸ
πνεῦμα *add.* R ὁ] *om.* $P_3 O$ τὸ πῦρ] τῷ πυρὶ P_1 16 ὅλος] ὅλως $MR^{p. corr.}$ ὡς
 P_1 ὡς ὅλος P_2 17 χριστὸν] οὕτως τὸ πνεῦμα *add.* R περικείμενον] προκείμενον
 P_1 18 καὶ ἀκοὰς φωτίζοντα] *om.* R 20 εἶδον] ἴδον P_1 21 ὡς] ὡσεὶ $AP_3 OR K$
καθίσατε] καθήσατε $MP_1 O$ 22 ταύτῃ] ἱερουσαλὴμ $AP_3 O K$

28. 1 ἠὐλόγησεν] εὐλόγησεν $P_2 P_3 O K$ 3 οὐκέτι] οὐκ ἔστι P_3 οὐκ] *om.* P_1 ἠὐλό-
γησε] εὐλόγησεν $P_1 R$ 4 τὰς χεῖρας] αὐτοῦ τὴν χεῖρα P_2 τὴν χεῖρα R ἠὐλόγησεν]
εὐλόγησεν $P_1 P_2 P_3 OR K$ 5 αὐτὸν ἀνελήφθη] αὐτὸν αὐτοὺς ἀνελήφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν
 $AP_3 O K$ 5/32.1 ἀνελήφθη – αὐτόν] *om.* R

- Ἐκτείνας τὰς χεῖρας. Δύο ποιεῖ ὁ Σωτὴρ· ἀπλοῖ τὰς χεῖρας, τύπον διδούς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὥστε τῇ ἀπλώσει τῶν χειρῶν, εὐλογεῖν τὸν λαόν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ ἀόρατός ἐστι δεξιὰ πάντας εὐλογοῦσα, δανείζεται τὴν ὀρωμένην ἡ ἀόρατος· ἐκτείνει τὰς χεῖρας ὁ ἱερεὺς ὡς περ κάλαμον δανείζων τῷ
- 10 Δεσπότῃ, ἵνα δι' αὐτοῦ γράψῃ τὴν εὐλογίαν. Ὅτι δὲ βούλεται ἐκτείνεσθαι τῶν ἱερέων τὰς χεῖρας, ἄκουε αὐτοῦ· Λέγει τῷ Μωϋσῇ ὁ θεός· Εἶπον Ἀαρὼν, τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου· Ὅταν ἐξέρχησθε ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ἐκτείνατε τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν, καὶ ἐπονομάσατε τὸ ὄνομά μου καθὼς εὐλογήσω. Καθεῖλεν ἐνταῦθα τῶν ὑπερηφάνων τὴν ἀλαζονείαν. Ἐνίοτε
- 15 γὰρ πολλοὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν μὴ ἐξετάζοντες, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐτέρων βίους πολυπραγμονοῦντες, μερίζονται τὴν διάνοιαν· Ἐγὼ τοῦτω κλίνω τὴν κεφαλὴν; Ἐγὼ πρὸς τοῦτον ἔλθω, ἵνα με οὗτος εὐλογήσῃ; Εἶτα ἐμοῦ κατέγνων, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦ ὀνόματος. Μὴ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐπαγγέλλομαι εὐλογεῖν ὅτι φεύγεις; Ἐπονομάζω τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς εὐλογεῖ. Ἄρα ἐὰν ἀποσταλῇ
- 20 σοὶ παρὰ βασιλέως ἀντιγραφὴ, περιεργάζῃ τὸν βίον τοῦ ἀποσταλέντος, ἢ τὴν δωρεάν τοῦ ἀποστείλαντος; Μὴ ζητεῖς τίς ἡ ἀξία τοῦ ἀποστελλομένου παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως· ἀγροῖκος ἐστὶν ἢ πολίτης, συγκλητικὸς ἢ ἀξιωματικὸς; Οὐ διαφέρει περὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ ἀποσταλέντος· ἀλλὰ δέχῃ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ ἀποστείλαντος.

29. Δεικνὺς οὖν ὁ Σωτὴρ τοὺς τύπους, ἀπλοῖ τὰς χεῖρας ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐλογεῖ, ἕως ἐσχάτης ἀναλήψεως τοὺς τύπους δεικνὺς, ὅπως ἐν ταυτῷ καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν πληρώσῃ, καὶ τὸ πάθος δείξῃ· ὅτι τὸ παθὸν αὐτὸ καὶ σταυρωθὲν καὶ ἡλωθέν, τοῦτο ἀναλαμβάνεται. Πρόσεχε. Ἐμειναν δὲ οἱ

11/14 cfr Num. 6,22/23; Lev. 9,22/23

8 ἀόρατός] ἀθάνατος P_2 δεξιὰ] ἢ add. P_2AP_3O δανείζεται] δὲ add. P_2 9 ἀόρατος] καὶ add. $AP_3O K$ ἐκτείνει] ἐκτείνας A δανείζων] δανείζον P_1 10 εὐλογίαν] τῷ κόσμῳ add. $AP_3O K$ βούλεται] ὁ θεός add. $AP_3O K$ ἄκουε] ἤκουε P_3 αὐτοῦ] λέγοντος add. $AP_3O K$ λέγει] τοίνυν add. $AP_3O K$ 14 εὐλογήσω] τίνος οὖν ἔνεκεν τοῦτο ποιεῖ add. $AP_3O K$ 15 ἐξετάζοντες] διετάζοντες K 16 διάνοιαν] καὶ λέγουσιν add. $AP_3O K$ 17 οὗτος με *trsp.* P_1 κατέγνων] ὡς εὐτελοῦς καὶ ταπεινοῦ add. $AP_3O K$ 18 ἀλλὰ] *om.* P_2 μὴ¹] *om.* $AP_3O K$ ὀνόματος] φοβήθητι τὴν προσηγορίαν add. $AP_3O K$ ἐγὼ] σοὶ add. $AP_3O K$ εὐλογεῖν] *om.* P_1 φεύγεις] ἐγὼ μὲν add. $AP_3O K$ 19 καὶ αὐτὸς] αὐτὸς δὲ $AP_3O K$ ἀποσταλῇ] ἀποσταλεῖ P_1 20 παρὰ] τοῦ add. $P_1P_3O K$ ἀντιγραφὴ] ἀντιγραφεὺς $AP_3O K$ περιεργάζῃ] περιεργάζει P_1O 21 τίς] τῆς P_3O 21/22 ἀποστελλομένου] ἀπεσταλλομένου P_2 K 22 βασιλέως] εἰ add. K πολίτης συγκλητικὸς ἢ] *om.* P_2 23 διαφέρει] διαφέρει O δέχῃ] δέχει P_1A

29. 1 τύπους] ὑμῖν add. K ἡμῖν add. AP_3O 2 ὅπως] ἵνα add. P_2 ταυτῷ] αὐτῷ P_1 3 τὸ παθὸν αὐτὸ]* τὸ παθὸν αὐτῷ M τὸ παθεῖν αὐτὸν P_1 αὐτὸ τὸ παθὸν σῶμα $AP_3O K$ 4 ἀναλαμβάνεται] εἰς οὐρανούς add. $AP_3O K$ πρόσεχε] προσέχετε P_1

- 5 τύποι ὥσπερ οὐλαὶ φαινόμεναι, λαμπρότητα στίλβουσαι· καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ οὐλαὶ οὐκ ἀφανίζονται ἕως ἐσχάτης παρουσίας. Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐπληροφόρησε τοὺς μαθητάς, ὅτι ἀποθανὼν ἀνέστη· οὕτω δεῖ πληροφορηθῆναι καὶ Ἰουδαίους τοὺς σταυρώσαντας, ὅτι ὃν ὕβρισαν, αὐτὸς βασιλεύει, καὶ πεπλήρωται τὸ τοῦ προφήτου λόγιον. Ὁψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν·
- 10 καὶ τότε ὀψονται πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς, τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὐχὶ πάντων. Ἡ γὰρ δόξα τοῦ παθόντος ὅσον στεφανοῦ τοὺς πιστεύσαντας, τοσοῦτον καταισχύνει τοὺς ἀπιστήσαντας. Οὐκ εἶδες ἐν εἰκόσι βασιλικαῖς, ἐν ποίᾳ ὅψει παρεστήκασιν τὰ τῶν δορυφόρων τάγματα, καὶ ἐν οἷα ταπεινώσει ὑποτέτακται τὰ τῶν πολεμίων; Πῶς περὶ τὴν ἄνω ζώνην οἱ σύντροφοι
- 15 τῆς βασιλείας, παρρησίᾳ πολλῇ παρεστήκασιν, ὡς πεπαρρησιασμένοι τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς δόξης· οἱ δὲ πολέμου νόμῳ καταληφθέντες δέσμιοι, ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας κείμενοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ εἰκόνι· οἱ μὲν παρ' αὐτόν, οἱ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτόν; Οὕτως ἦσαν φανῆ ὁ πάντων Δεσπότης ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ ἐν σαρκί, καὶ δείξῃ τοὺς τύπους τῶν ἡλίων καὶ τὰ τραύματα ἐκεῖνα λάμποντα τὴν
- 20 ἀθανασίαν, παραστήσει μὲν ἑαυτῷ τοὺς ἁγίους ὥσπερ συντρόφους τινὰς τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ ταῖς ζώναις ταῖς βασιλικαῖς λάμποντας, τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς βασιλείας παρεστῶτας· καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐναντιωθέντας τῷ σταυρῷ, Ἰουδαίους τε καὶ Ἕλληνας, καὶ αἵρετικούς τοὺς κατὰ τῆς θεότητος μανέντας, τοὺς μὲν δεσμίους παραστήσει, τοὺς δὲ σταυρώσει. Οὐκ εἶδες
- 25 βαρβάρων πλήθη, τὰ μὲν δεδεμένα, τὰ δὲ ἐσφαγμένα; Τοῦτο γίνεται καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ· δεθῇσονται πάντες οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες καθὼς γέγραπται· Τοῦ δῆσαι τοὺς βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἐν πέδαις, καὶ τοὺς ἐνδόξους αὐτῶν ἐν χειροπέδαις σιδηραῖς· τοῦ ποιῆσαι ἐν αὐτοῖς κοῦμα ἔγγραπτον. Εἶτα τούτων οὕτως γινομένων, τί ἔσται; Δόξα αὕτη ἐστὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὁσίοις αὐτοῦ. Ὅτι
- 30 μὲν οὖν δεθῇσονται, ὡμολόγηται· ὅτι δὲ καὶ σφαγήσονται, ποῦ; Σφαγήν δὲ λέγω, οὐ τὴν δι' αἵματος, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ κρίσει τιμωρίαν.

29. 9/10 Io. 19,37; Mt. 24,30; cfr Zach. 12,10 27/28 Ps. 149,8/9 29 Ps. 149,9

5 λαμπρότητα]* λαμπρότητα MP_1A λαμπρότατον P_3 K λαμπρότατα O στίλβουσαι] ἀποστίλβουσαι P_2 7 δεῖ] δὴ P_1P_2 9 πεπλήρωται] πληρωθήσεται P_2 λόγιον] $om. P_2$ ὀψονται – ἐξεκέντησαν] $om. P_1$ 10 ὀψονται]* κόψονται $K^{coni.}$ 11 πιστεύσαντας] πιστεύοντας P_1P_3O K 14 ζώνην] πόλιν P_1 15 πεπαρρησιασμένοι] παρρησιασμένοι P_2 16 δόξης] ὁμολογίας P_2 νόμῳ] νόμου A 17 αὐτόν^{1/2}] αὐτῶν P_1P_2A 18 οὕτως] τοίνυν καὶ $add. AP_3O$ K ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ] $om. P_2$ 19 τῶν ἡλίων] ἐκεῖνους P_1 20 ἑαυτῷ] αὐτῷ $K^{conj.}$ 23 τε] $om. P_2$ 24 σταυρώσει]* τρώσει P_2AP_3O K εἶδες] οἶδας P_2 26 τοῦ] $om. P_2$ 27 πέδαις] παῖδες P_1 αὐτῶν] $om. K$ 28 εἶτα] $om. P_2$ 29 γινομένων] ὕβριζομένων P_2 τί ἔσται] $om. P_2$ ἐστὶ] ἔσται AP_3O K 30 οὖν δεθῇσονται] συνδεθῇσονται P_1 ὡμολόγηται] ὁμολόγηται P_1P_2 ποῦ] $om. P_2$ 31 οὐ τὴν δι' αἵματος] οὐ διὰ τήνματος $sic P_3$

30. Πάλιν ἡ γραφή μνημονεύει λέγουσα· Ἄνθρωπός τις εὐγενῆς ἐπο-
 ρεύθη εἰς χώραν μακράν, λαθεῖν ἑαυτῷ βασιλείαν. Ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανόν.
 Οὐκ εἶπε, λαθεῖν παρὰ τινος, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῷ. Ἄνθρωπός τις εὐγενῆς ἐπορεύθη
 εἰς χώραν μακράν, λαθεῖν ἑαυτῷ βασιλείαν καὶ ὑποστρέψαι. Ἐρχεται
 5 μετὰ τῆς βασιλείας· ἦλθε λαθὼν ἑαυτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν. Οἱ δὲ πολῖται
 αὐτοῦ· Ἰουδαῖοι· μισοῦντες αὐτόν, ἀπέστειλαν πρεσβευτάς λέγοντες· Οὐ
 θέλομεν τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. Ποῦ ἀπέστειλαν πρεσβευτάς; Ὅτε
 ἐδόθησε Πιλάτος· Τὸν βασιλέα ὑμῶν σταυρώσω; Λέγουσιν ἐκεῖνοι· Οὐκ
 ἔχομεν βασιλέα εἰ μὴ Καίσαρα, παραιτούμενοι αὐτόν. Χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ
 10 διελθόντος ὑποστρέψας ἐκεῖνος ὁ εὐγενής, ἔχων τὴν βασιλείαν, ἐκάλεσε
 πρῶτον τοὺς ἰδίους ὑπηρέτας οἷς ἐνεχείρισε τὰ τάλαντα καὶ λέγει· Πόσα
 σὺ ἐπραγματεύσω; Τίνας ὠφέλησας; Τίνας ἐδίδαξας; Τίνας ἐφώτισας;
 Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ εἷς· Κύριε, ἡ μνᾶ σου ἐποίησε δέκα μνᾶς· ἐδεκαπλασίασα
 φησὶ τὸ κήρυγμα. Καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν ὁ βασιλεὺς· Εὖ δοῦλε ἀγαθὲ καὶ
 15 πιστέ· ἔσο ἔχων ἐξουσίαν ἐπάνω δέκα πόλεων. Λοιπὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐγείρει
 ἄρχοντας, δέλτους διδοὺς τῆς ἀρχῆς. Εἶτα λέγει τῷ δευτέρῳ· Καὶ σὺ
 τί ἐποίησας; Λέγει· Κύριε, ἡ μνᾶ σου ἐποίησε πέντε μνᾶς. Λέγει αὐτῷ·
 Ἔσο καὶ σὺ ἐπάνω πέντε πόλεων. Οὐκ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Διὰ τί καὶ σὺ οὐκ
 ἐποίησας δεκαπλασίονα; Ἀλλ' ἐκάστου τὸν τόκον ζητεῖ καθὼς δύναται.
 20 Ἐκαστος γὰρ τὸν ἴδιον μισθὸν λήφεται κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον κόπον. Λέγει τῷ
 ἄλλῳ· Καὶ σὺ τί ἐποίησας; Λέγει ἐκεῖνος· Κύριε, ἶδε τὸ τάλαντόν σου·
 ἦρδεν ὅτι ἄνθρωπος εἶ σκληρός, θερίζων ὃ οὐκ ἔσπειρας καὶ συνάγων ὅπου
 οὐκ ἐσκόρπισας, καὶ ἔδωκεν ἐν σουδαρίῳ τὸ τάλαντον ἶδε τὸ σόν. Καὶ
 λέγει ὁ Δεσπότης· Ἄρατε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ τάλαντον καὶ δότε τῷ ἔχοντι τὰ
 25 δέκα τάλαντα. Εἶτα λέγουσιν οἱ ἄλλοι· Κύριε, ἔχει δέκα τάλαντα. Τί οὖν

30. 1/2 Lc. 19,12 3/4 Lc. 19,12 5/7 Lc. 19,14 8/9 Io. 19,15 10/12 cfr
 Lc. 19,15; Mt. 25,19 13 Lc. 19,16 14/15 Mt. 25,21; Lc. 19,17 17/18 Lc.
 19,18/19 20 I Cor. 3,8 20/27 cfr Mt. 25,24/26.28/29; Lc. 19,20.24/26

30. 1 λέγουσα] τοῦτο σημαίνεται $P_2^{al. m. in marg}$ 2/4 ἀπὸ – βασιλείαν] *om.* AP_3O 5
 τῆς] *om.* P_2 λαθὼν] λαθεῖν P_1 7 θέλομεν] θέλωμεν P_1P_2 ἡμᾶς] ὑμᾶς A 8
 λέγουσιν] αὐτῷ *add.* P_1 9 ἔχομεν] ἔχωμεν P_1P_2 10 εὐγενῆς] εὐγενεὶς ἐκεῖνος P_1
 11 ἐνεχείρισε] ἀνεχείρισε O λέγει] τῷ ἐνὶ *add.* $AP_3O K$ 12 σὺ] σοὶ P_1 τίνας
 ἐφώτισας] *om.* P_1 13 λέγει] ἀπεκρίθη $AP_3O K$ ὁ εἷς] ἐκεῖνος $AP_3O K$ μνᾶ]
 μνᾶς $MP_1AP_3O^{a. corr.}$ ἐποίησε] πεποίηκε $P_3O K$ 14 καὶ λέγει – ὁ βασιλεὺς] *om.* P_2
 15 ἔσο] ἔσω P_1P_2 λοιπὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς] εὖ δοῦλε ἀγαθὲ καὶ πιστὲ ἔσω ἔχων ἐξουσίαν
 ἐπάνω δέκα πόλεων λοιπὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς *add.* P_1 16 τῆς] *om.* K εἶτα] *om.* P_2
 17 ἐποίησας] καὶ *add.* P_2 λέγει¹] ἔφη $P_3O K$ ἔφη αὐτῷ A μνᾶ] μνᾶς $MP_1AP_3O^{a. corr.}$
 μνᾶς] καὶ *add.* P_2 18 ἔσο] ἔσω P_1P_2 19 τόκον] τόπον A 20 κόπον]
 καὶ *add.* P_2 λέγει] καὶ *add.* AP_3O 21 ἐποίησας] καὶ *add.* P_2 22 ἦρδεν] ἦρει
 A σκληρὸς εἶ *trsp.* P_2 εἶ] ἦ P_1 ὃ] οὗ P_1 ὅπου] ὃ P_2 ὅθεν $AP_3O K$ 23
 οὐκ ἐσκόρπισας] οὐ διεσκόρπισας $AP_3O K$ 23/24 καὶ λέγει ὁ δεσπότης] ὁ δὲ δεσπότης
 λέγει P_2 24 δότε] αὐτὸ *add.* $AP_3O K$ 25 ἄλλοι] ἄγγελοι P_2

ἀποκρίνεται; Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν· τῷ ἔχοντι δοθήσεται· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μὴ ἔχοντος, καὶ ὁ δοκεῖ ἔχειν, ἀρθήσεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. Διατυπώσας τὸν λόγον, τοὺς μὲν ἰδίους στεφανοῦ· τοὺς δὲ ἐχθροὺς σφάζει. Ταύτην τὴν εἰκόνα εἶπε τῶν προσκυνοῦντων καὶ τῶν πιπτόντων ὁ Δαυῖδ εἰπὼν· *Μνησθήσο-*
 30 *νται καὶ ἐπιστραφήσονται πρὸς Κύριον πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς·* τῶν πιστευσάντων· καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅτι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡ βασιλεία. Εἰπὼν τὴν τάξιν τῶν προσκυνοῦντων, εἰσάγει καὶ τῶν ὑποπιπτόντων· ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ προσπεσοῦνται πάντες οἱ καταβαίνοντες εἰς γῆν.

31. Ἐδειξε τοίνυν τοὺς τύπους τῶν ἡλων τοῖς μαθηταῖς· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐξῆλθεν εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἀκολουθίαν ὁ λόγος· ὅτι μένουσιν οἱ τύποι ἄχρι τῆς παρουσίας, ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἴδιοι τότε ἰδόντες σεμνύνωνται, ὅτι καλῶς ἐπίστευσαν τῷ σταυρωθέντι, καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ αἰσχυνθήσονται οἱ ἀντιπίπτο-
 5 ντες τῷ σταυρωθέντι· περὶ ὧν λέγει Παῦλος· *Πολλοὶ γὰρ περιέρχονται οὕς πολλάκις λέγω τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὧν τὸ τέλος ἀπώλεια.*

32. Ἐν τῷ οὖν εὐλογεῖν αὐτὸν αὐτοῦς, διέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. Ταῦτα ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι λέγει· *Βλεπόντων αὐτῶν ἐπήρθη, καὶ νεφέλῃ ὑπέλαβεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν.* Λοιπὸν οὐκέτι ὡς ἀνθρωπίνη σαρκὶ δουλεύει ἡ φύσις
 5 τῶν κτισμάτων, ἀλλ' ὡς Θεῷ. Νεφέλῃ βαστάζει τὸν Δεσπότην, ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ τοῦ προφήτου Δαυῖδ λόγιον· *Ὁ τιθεὶς νέφη τὴν ἐπίδασιν αὐτοῦ. Νεφέλῃ ὑπέλαβεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν· καὶ ὡς ἀτενίζοντες*

29/32 Ps. 21,28/29 33/34 Ps. 21,30

31. 5/7 Phil. 3,18/19

32. 1/2 Lc. 24,51 3/4 Act. 1,9 6 Ps. 103,3 7/8 Act. 1,9

26 δοθήσεται] καὶ περισσευθήσεται *add.* *P₁AP₃O K* ἀπὸ] *om.* *P₂* τοῦ δὲ μὴ *trsp.* *P₂* 27 δοκεῖ] *om.* *P₂* ἔχειν] ἔχει *P₂* ἀπ'] *om.* *K* 28 μὲν] *om.* *P₂* 29 καὶ] *om.* *P₂* εἰπὼν] *om.* *AP₃O K* 30 γῆς] δηλονότι *add.* *AP₃O K* 32 εἰπὼν] δὲ *add.* *AP₃O K* 33 καὶ] τὴν *add.* *M*

31. 2 τύποι] τῶν ἡλων *add.* *AP₃O K* 3 τῆς] δευτέρως αὐτοῦ *add.* *AP₃O K* παρουσίας] διατί *add.* *AP₃O K* ἰδόντες] εἰδόντες *P₂* 4 οἱ] *om.* *P₂* τῷ σταυρωθέντι] αὐτῷ *AP₃O K* 5 ὧν] ὃν *P₁* 6 τοῦ χριστοῦ] *om.* *AP₃O K* ὧν] ὃν *P₁*

32. 1 αὐτὸν] *om.* *P₂* αὐτοῦς] ἀνελήφθη καὶ *add.* *R* 2 καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ] καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ *R* ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ *AP₃O K* 3 βλεπόντων] δὲ *add.* *AP₃O K* 5 θεῷ] θεόν *P₂* 5/6 πληρωθῇ] πληρώση *P₁* 6 προφήτου] *om.* *R* λόγιον] *om.* *P₂* 7 τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν] λοιπὸν οὐκ ἔτι ὡς ἀνθρωπίνη σαρκὶ δουλεύει ἡ φύσις τῶν κτισμάτων ἀλλ' ὡς θεῷ *add.* *P^p. corr.*

ἦσαν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν πορευομένου αὐτοῦ. Οὐκέτι λαλεῖ, ἀναλαμβανομένου αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ πορευομένου· τῷ σχήματι γὰρ τῆς σαρκὸς ἀνελήφθη, τῇ
10 αὐθεντίᾳ δὲ ἐπορεύετο.

33. Καὶ ὡς ἀπενίζοντες ἦσαν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν πορευομένου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰδοὺ παρειστήκεισαν δύο ἄνδρες ἐν ἐσθίῃτι λευκῇ. Οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐν ἀνδρῶν σχήματι ἐφάνησαν· ταῦτα ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῶν ἐλαιῶν. Τούτου δὲ τοῦ ὅρους τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν ἔλαχεν ἡ ἐκκλησία· καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖ ἡμοιρῆσατε δύο ἄνδρες
5 ἐν ἐσθίῃτι λευκῇ. Εἴχετε γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἀντὶ δύο ἀνδρῶν λευχειμονούντων τὸν ἅγιον Ἀλκιμον καὶ Φιλήμονα, τοὺς ἁγίους μάρτυρας, αἱ ἐν ἐσθίῃτι λευκῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου λάμποντες. Ἐλεγον οἱ ἄγγελοι πρὸς ἐκείνους· Ἄνδρες Γαλιλαῖοι. Μακάριοι οἱ ὄντες ἄξιοι ταύτης τῆς φωνῆς. Αἰεὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας ὅταν ὀνειδίζουσιν ἡμῖν, Γαλιλαίους καλοῦσιν. Οἱ ἄγγελοι σεμνύ-
10 νουσιν ἡμᾶς· ἄνδρες Γαλιλαῖοι. Οἱ ἀγνοοῦντες τὸ ὄνομα ἡμῶν δοκοῦσιν ὑβρίζειν ἡμᾶς. Γαλιλαῖοι καλούμεθα οἱ ἀποκεκαλυμμένοι. Πρῶτον γὰρ σημείον ἐν Κανὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐποίησεν ὁ Χριστός· καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐφανέρωσε τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ. Ἄνδρες Γαλιλαῖοι· ἐντεῦθεν ὁ προφήτης ὅλης τῆς γῆς προτιμᾷ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν· λέγει γὰρ Ἡσαΐας· Ἐπένθησεν ἡ γῆ, ῥησχύνθη
15 ὁ Λίβανος, ἔλη ἐγένετο ὁ Ἄσσανών, φανερὰ ἔσται ἡ Γαλιλαία καὶ ὁ Κάρμηλος.

33. 1/2 Act. 1,10 7/8 Act. 1,11 11/13 Io. 2,11 14/16 Is. 33,9

32. 8/10 cfr. Ph., *Amphil.* 128, l. 3/5

33. 9/10 cfr. Ph., *Amphil.* 128, l. 6 11/16 cfr. Ph., *Amphil.* 128, l. 7/11

8 λαλεῖ] *om.* P₂ 9 τῷ] *om.* P₁ σχήματι γὰρ] μὲν γὰρ σχήματι AP₃O K 10 δὲ αὐθεντία *trsp.* AP₃O K

33. 1 αὐτοῦ] οὐκέτι λαλεῖ ἀναλαμβανομένου αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ πορευομένου A 2 παρειστήκεισαν] αὐτοῖς *add.* AP₃O K λευκῇ] τίνες οἱ ἄνδρες *add.* R οἱ] *om.* P₂ 3 ἐφάνησαν] *om.* P₂ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις *add.* AP₃O τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ *add.* K 4 ἡμοιρῆσατε] ἡμυρίσατε P₂ ἡμειρήσατε O 5 εἴχετε] εἶχε A 6 καὶ] τὸν ἅγιον *add.* R ἁγίους] ἀηττήτους AP₃O καὶ ἐνδόξους *add.* P₂ *om.* R μάρτυρας] τοὺς *add.* P₂ K 7 ἔλεγον] ἔλεγον οὖν AP₃OR K λέγοντας ὑμῖν P₂ 8 μακάριοι] ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ τρισμακάριοι *add.* AP₃O K ὄντες] *om.* P₁P₂R 9 ὀνειδίζουσιν] ὀνειδίζωσιν AP₃OR K ἡμῖν] ἡμᾶς P₃OR K 10 γαλιλαῖοι] λέγοντες καὶ *add.* AP₃O K ἡμῶν] ὑμῶν M *om.* P₂ 10/11 δοκοῦσιν ὑβρίζειν] ὑβρίζουσιν P₂ 11 ἡμᾶς] *om.* P₂ ὅρα *add.* R γαλιλαῖοι] τοίνυν *add.* AP₃O K 12 ἐκεῖ] *om.* P₂ 13 ἄνδρες γαλιλαῖοι] *om.* R 14 γαλιλαίαν] ὡς *add.* K^{con.} γὰρ] ὁ *add.* AP₃O K 15 ἔλη] ὅλη P₂ ἄσσανών] ἁρῶν P₃O σαρῶν K^{con.} φανερὰ] γὰρ *add.* A ἔσται] ἐστίν R

34. Ἄνδρες Γαλιλαῖοι, τί ἐστήκατε ἐμβλέποντες εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν; Τὸ δὲ ἐστήκατε οὐ μεμφομένων ἐστὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων. Τί γὰρ ἦν ἀξιοπιστότερον τοῦ βλέπειν τὸν Σωτῆρα ἀναλαμβάνομενον; Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ εἶπεν· Ἐσεσθέ μοι μάρτυρες, λέγουσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι· Τί ἐστήκατε ἀργοί; Μνημονεύσατε
 5 τῶν προσταγμάτων αὐτοῦ. Τί ἐστήκατε ἐμβλέποντες εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν; Μὴ γὰρ πάλιν ἔρχεται πρὸς ὑμᾶς σήμερον; Τί ἐστήκατε ἐμβλέποντες; Οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀναληφθεὶς ἀφ' ὑμῶν. Ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἀναληφθεὶς ἀνάξιον ἦν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐ λέγουσιν· Οὗτος ὁ υἱὸς ὁ μονογενὴς ὁ ἀναληφθεὶς. Θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἀναλαμβάνεται, ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ πανταχοῦ. Οὗτος
 10 ὁ Ἰησοῦς· τουτέστιν αὕτη ἡ σὰρξ ἡ Δεσποτική. Ὅπου γὰρ σωματικόν ἐμφαίνει, τῇ δεικτικῇ κέχρηται φωνῇ καὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. Οὗτος ὁ φαινόμενος Ἰησοῦς, τὸ ἀπὸ Μαρίας φανέν. Οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ὥσπερ καὶ Πέτρος λέγει, ἀσφαλῶς οὖν γνωσκέτω πᾶς οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ, ὅτι Κύριον αὐτὸν καὶ Χριστὸν ὁ Θεὸς ἐποίησε, τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐστηναρώσατε. Οὐ
 15 λέγει, τοῦτον τὸν υἱόν, ἢ τὸν μονογενῆ, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν. Περὶ γὰρ τὸ φαινόμενον τὸ πάθος, ἀπαθὴς δὲ ἡ θεότης εἰ καὶ συνῆν τῷ πάσχοντι. Οὐ γὰρ λέγω ὅτι ἀπελείφθη παθόντος τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅλως ἦν ἐν τῷ πάσχοντι ὁ ἀπαθής, ἐν τῷ θνητῷ ἢ ἀθάνατος φύσις.

35. Τί ἐστήκατε ἐμβλέποντες εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν; Οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀναληφθεὶς ἀφ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, οὕτως ἐλεύσεται ὃν τρόπον ἐθεάσασθε αὐτὸν πορευόμενον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. Ἐπειδὴ ἀνελήφθη πρὸ τούτου Ἡλίας· ἀνελήφθη δὲ εἰς ὕψος ἀέριον, οὐκ εἰς οὐρανόν· ἵνα μὴ ὁμότημος ἢ ἀνάλη-

34. 1 Act. 1,11 3/4 Act. 1,8 4 cfr Mt. 20,6 5/7 Act. 1,11 13/14 Act. 2,36

35. 1/3 Act. 1,11

34. 1 ἐμβλέποντες] βλέποντες P_2AP_3OR K 1/2 ἐμβλέποντες – ἐστήκατε] *om.* Ma *corr. marg.* 2/3 τί – ἀναλαμβάνομενον] *om.* R 2 ἦν] *om.* P_2 εἶπεν] ὁ σωτὴρ *add.* R 5 αὐτοῦ] *om.* P_2 ἐμβλέποντες] βλέποντες P_2AP_3OR K 5/7 μὴ γὰρ – ἀφ' ὑμῶν] *om.* P_3 6 ἐμβλέποντες] βλέποντες P_2AOR K εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν *add.* AO 7 ὑμῶν] εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν *add.* O 8 ὁ υἱὸς ὁ μονογενὴς ὁ ἀναληφθεὶς] ὁ μονογενὴς ὁ ἀναληφθεὶς P_3 ὁ χριστὸς ὁ ἀναληφθεὶς ὁ μονογενὴς P_1 9 καὶ] ὁ P_1 10 ἡ²] *om.* K 10/11 ἡ δεσποτική – Ἰησοῦ] *om.* R 10 σωματικόν] τι *add.* AP_3O K 11 ἐμφαίνει] καὶ *add.* P_2 K καὶ] *om.* AP_3O 11/12 οὗτος ὁ φαινόμενος Ἰησοῦς] *om.* O φαινόμενος] *om.* R 12 τὸ] *om.* R φανέν] γέννημα AP_3O K *om.* R 12/35.3 ὥσπερ – οὐρανόν] *om.* R 13 ὅτι] καὶ *add.* AP_3O K ἐποίησε ὁ θεὸς *trsp.* P_2 15 λέγει] λέγω P_3O ᾗ] *om.* P_2 16 φαινόμενον] σῶμα *add.* AP_3O K συνῆν] σὺν κυρίῳ MP *corr.* 17 ἀπελείφθη] ἡ θεότης *add.* AP_3O ὅλως] ὅλος P_3O ὁμῶς P_2

35. 1 ἐμβλέποντες] βλέποντες P_2AO 2 οὕτως] οὗτος P_2P_3O ἐλεύσεται] πάλιν *add.* AP_3O K 4 ἀέριον] ἀέρων R εἰς²] τὸν *add.* P_3O K

- 5 ψις ἦ, λέγει, ὡς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ἐνταῦθα δέ, εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. Οὕτως ἐλεύσεται ὃν τρόπον ἐθεάσασθε αὐτὸν πορευόμενον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. Ἐκεῖ· Ἀνελαμβάνετο Ἡλίας ὡς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν· ἐκεῖ διὰ τοῦ ὡς, τὸ ὕψος ἡσφαλίσατο ἡ γραφή. Καὶ ἀνελαμβάνετο Ἡλίας ὡς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ἕτερον δὲ τοῦτο. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς προφήτας ἐπληροφόρησεν, ὅτι
- 10 εἰς οὐρανὸν οὐκ ἀνελήφθη Ἡλίας. Ἀμέλει λέγουσι τῷ Ἑλισσαίῳ, ὅτι εἰς ὕψος ἀνῆλθεν, οὐρανὸν δὲ οὐκ ἔφθασε· Λάβε πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας, καὶ ἀποστείλον εἰς πάντα τὰ ὄρη καὶ βουνούς, μήποτε ἀνέλθῃ αὐτὸν τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ ἔθῃκεν ἐφ' ἐν τῶν ὁρέων καὶ οὐκ οἶδαμεν ποῦ ἐστίν. Ἀπεστάλησαν πεντήκοντα ζητοῦντες· οὐδεὶς δὲ πεπληροφορημένος ἦν ποῦ ζητήσει.
- 15 Διὰ τοῦτο· Ἀνελαμβάνετο ὡς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. Ἰουδαῖοι φαντάζονται καὶ λέγουσιν· Ἡλίας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνελήφθη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔρχεται ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Ὁ Σωτὴρ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας δείκνυσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν· καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας ἐμφαίνει τὸ εὐσεβές. Καὶ τὸ ἀληθές κηρύττει λέγων τῷ Νικοδήμεῳ· Οὐδεὶς ἀναβέβηκεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβὰς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Ἐνῶχ μετετέθη ἄνω οὐκ ἀναληφθεὶς· μετετέθη ἀπὸ τόπου εἰς τόπον, οὐκ ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανόν. Ἡλίας ἀνελήφθη ὡς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. Οὐδεὶς ἀναβέβηκεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. Καὶ Παῦλος ἀποκλείων πᾶσαν ἀμφιβολίαν λέγει περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ· Τὸ δὲ ἀνέβη τί ἐστίν, εἰ μὴ ὅτι καὶ κατέβη εἰς
- 25 τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς πρῶτον; Ὁ καταβὰς αὐτός ἐστι καὶ ὁ ἀναβὰς

5 IV Reg. 2,11
19/20 Io. 3,13

5/6 Act. 1,11
20/21 cfr Gen. 5,24

7/8 IV Reg. 2,11
22/23 Io. 3,13

10/14 cfr IV Reg. 2,15/17
24/26 Eph. 4,9/10

35. 5/7 cfr. Ph., *Amphil.* 128, l. 13/14

5 ἦ] ἦν P₂ εἰ R τοῦ δούλου add. AP₃O K 5/7 ἐνταῦθα δέ – οὐρανόν] om. P₁R 5
οὕτως] οὕτος P₂ 6 ἐλεύσεται] ἐλεύσετε O φησὶν add. AP₃O K τὸν] om. R
οὐρανόν] ἀνέγνωμεν add. P₂ K 7 ἐκεῖ] καὶ add. P₂ K διὰ τοῦ ὡς] om. P₁ ὡς]
εἰς O om. P₃ 8 ἡσφαλίσατο] ἡσφαλίζετο P₃O ὡς] om. P₂ K ἕτερον δὲ τοῦτο]
ὁ δε ἰησοῦς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄνω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ R 9 ἐν τούτῳ] εἰ
τοῦτο P₁ ἐν τοῦτο P₂O 10 εἰς] τὸν add. AP₃OR K 11 ὕψος] τὸ ὕψος μὲν P₃ K
ὕψος μὲν AO λάβε] φησί add. AP₃O K 11/12 ἀπόστειλον] om. AP₃O K 12
καὶ] τοὺς add. AP₃O K βουνούς] πορεύθητι add. AP₃O K 13 ἔθῃκεν] ἔφηκεν A
ἐφ'] ὑφ' P₂ ἀπεστάλησαν] δὲ add. P₂AP₃O K 14 ποῦ] αὐτὸν add. AP₃O K 15
εἰς] om. P₂ 17 καὶ] om. R 18 τὸ εὐσεβές καὶ] om. R ἀληθές] καὶ add. P₁
κηρύττει λέγων] καὶ λέγει P₂ κηρύττει γὰρ λέγων R 20/21 ἄνω – μετετέθη] om. P₁R
21 ἀπὸ'] τοῦ add. P₃ K ἀπὸ γῆς] ἀναληφθεὶς R 22 τὸν] om. MAR οὐδεὶς]
δὲ add. P₂ οὐδεὶς – οὐρανόν] om. OR 22/23 εἰ – οὐρανῷ] om. R 22 ὁ'] τὸ O
τοῦ] om. P₂ 23 οὐρανοῦ] καταβὰς add. AP₃O K καὶ] om. AP₃O K ἀποκλείων
– ἀμφιβολίαν] om. R 24/25 εἰς τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς πρῶτον] πρῶτον εἰς τὰ
κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς AP₃O K

ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν. Οὐ μόνον, φησίν, εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ἀλλ' ἐπάνω. Διὰ τοῦτο οἱ ἄγγελοι λέγουσι· Τί ἐστήκατε ἐμβλέποντες εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν; Οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀναληφθεὶς ἀφ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, οὕτως ἐλεύσεται ὃν τρόπον ἐθεάσασθε αὐτὸν πορευόμενον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. Τρίτον εἰς τὸν
 30 οὐρανόν, ἵνα ἡ ἀδελφὸν ἐκείνου· Ἄ ὁ Θεὸς ἐκαθάρισε, σὺ μὴ κοῖνου.

36. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἀνελαμβάνετο, ἐφαίνετο· τὸ δὲ πῶς ἐλεύσεται, τοῖς ἀγγέλοις πόθεν ἦν δῆλον; Ἐξ ὧν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐλάλησεν ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ, ἐξ ὧν ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐπηγγείλατο. Ὅτε γὰρ ἐμαίνετο Καϊάφας καὶ εἶπεν· Ὁρκίζω σε τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ζῶντα· εἰ σὺ εἰ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ
 5 τοῦ ζῶντος· λέγει αὐτῷ· σὺ εἶπας, καὶ ἀπάρτι ὕψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθήμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀνελήφθη ἐπὶ νεφέλης καὶ ἔρχεται ἐπὶ νεφέλης, λέγει· Ὅν τρόπον ἐθεάσασθε αὐτὸν πορευόμενον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, οὕτως ἐλεύσεται. Καὶ ὁρᾶτε τὸ θαυμαστὸν ἀδελφοί· ὥσπερ βασιλεὺς προερχό-
 10 μενος εἰς ἔνδειξιν βασιλείας ἡ στρατοῦ, ἡ ἐτέρων τῶν πανηγυριν τελού- ντων βασιλικήν, οὐ μόνον ἐνὶ κέχρηται ὀχήματι, ἀλλ' ἀκολουθεῖ καὶ ἄλλα πλείονα, καὶ μὴ δένα φέρῃ· οὕτως ὅταν μέλλῃ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἐπιδημεῖν, οὐ μία ἐστὶ νεφέλη βαστάζουσα αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ πολλαὶ παρέπονται. Ἐλεύσεται γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν. Ὅτε ἀνελαμβά-
 15 νετο, μία ἤρκεσε, νεφέλη γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπέλαθεν· ὅτε ἔρχεται, μετὰ πολ- λῶν νεφελῶν μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι. Εἰ μόνος ἔρχεται, τίς ἡ χρεία τῶν πολλῶν

27/29 Act. 1,11 30 Act. 10,15

36. 4/7 Mt. 26,63/64 8/9 Act. 1,11 14 Mt. 26,64 15 Act. 1,9

26/30 οὐ – κοῖνου] *om.* R 26 οὐρανόν] ἀνῆλθεν *add.* AP₃O K ἐπάνω] τῶν οὐρανῶν *add.* AP₃O K 27 ἐμβλέποντες] βλέποντες P₂AO 28 οὕτως] οὗτος P₂O ἐλεύ-
 σεται] πάλιν *add.* AP₃O K 29/30 τρίτον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν] *om.* P₁A 30 ἐκαθάρισε] ἐκαθήρησεν M^{a. corr.} P₁ ἐκαθήρισεν P₂

36. 1 πῶς] πάλιν P₃O K 2 ἦν] *om.* P₂R 3 γὰρ] *om.* P₂ ἐμαίνετο] ὁ *add.* P₂A-
 P₃O K καϊάφας] ὁ ἀσκὸς ὁ πεπαλαιωμένος ὃν διέρρηξεν ὁ λόγος οὗτος ὡς τὸν ἀσκὸν ὁ νέος οἶνος *add.* P₂ K καὶ] ὅτε P₂ K 4 θεοῦ] *om.* P₁ 5 αὐτῷ] αὐτὸ P₁ ὁ Ἰη-
 σοῦς *add.* AP₃O K καὶ] ἀλλ' AP₃O K *om.* P₁ 6 δυνάμεως] μεγαλοσύνης αὐτοῦ P₁ τῶν] τὸν R 7 καὶ] *om.* R 8 λέγει] οὖν *add.* R οὕτως] πάλιν *add.* AP₃O K
 9 ὁρᾶτε] ὅρα R ἀδελφοί] *om.* R ὥσπερ] γὰρ AO ὥσπερ γὰρ P₃ ὥσπερ καὶ K 9/10 προερχόμενος] ἀνερχόμενος P₂ 10 τῶν] *om.* K 12 φέρῃ] φορεῖ P₂ ὁ χρι-
 στὸς] *om.* P₂ αὐτοῦ] *om.* P₂ νεφέλη] ἡ *add.* P₂ ἀλλὰ] καὶ ἄλλα *add.* AP₃O K 14 γὰρ] φησὶν *add.* AP₃O K νεφελῶν] τοῦ οὐρανοῦ *add.* AP₃O K ὅτε] γοῦν
 AP₃O γὰρ K^{cont.} 15 ἤρκεσε] νεφέλη *add.* P₂ K νεφέλη γὰρ αὐτόν ὑπέλαθεν] *om.* R ὑπέλαθεν] ὑπελάμβανεν P₁ ὅτε] δὲ *add.* AP₃O K 15/16 μετὰ – ἔρχεσθαι] *om.* P₂
 16/17 μέλλει – νεφελῶν] *om.* R 16 ἔρχεσθαι] καὶ *add.* AP₃O K εἰ] εἰς P₂ ἔρχεται] φησὶ *add.* AP₃O K ἡ] *om.* P₂ χρεία] χρεῖ P₁ τῶν] *om.* P₂

- νεφελῶν; Πρόσεχε παρακαλῶ. Ἐνταῦθα ἀκολουθεῖ βασιλέως ὄχημα οὐδὲν
 βασιτάζον, ἀλλ' εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ βασιλέως μόνον· τότε δὲ τῷ Σωτῆρι ἀκο-
 λουθήσουσι νεφέλαι πολλές, ἵνα ἀρπαγῶσιν οἱ ἅγιοι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς μετὰ
 20 τὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἀναληφθῶσιν ἐν ταῖς νεφέλαις, ἵνα κοινωνοὶ γένωνται
 καὶ τῆς ἀναλήψεως, καὶ ἀπαντήσαντες τῷ βασιλεῖ, μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔλθωσιν,
 οὐ βαδίζοντες ἀλλὰ καθήμενοι, οὐ δορυφοροῦντες ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ
 νεφελῶν βασταζόμενοι. Πόθεν τοῦτο; Λέγει Παῦλος· Ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος
 ἐν κελεύσματι, ἐν φωνῇ ἀρχαγγέλου, καὶ ἐν σάλπιγγι Θεοῦ καταδήσεται
 25 ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ. Καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναστήσονται πρῶτοι· ἔπειτα ἡμεῖς
 οἱ ζῶντες ἀρπαγησόμεθα ἐν νεφέλαις εἰς ἀπάντησιν τοῦ Κυρίου. Αἱ δὲ
 νεφέλαι διὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους, αὐτῷ γὰρ ἤρκει μία διὰ τὴν σωματικὴν
 ὄψιν. Ἀρπαγησόμεθα γὰρ ἐν νεφέλαις εἰς ἀπάντησιν τοῦ Κυρίου· ὡς ἀξι-
 ωματικοὶ βασιλεῖ ἀπαντῶντες· εἰς ἀπάντησιν τοῦ Κυρίου εἰς ἀέρα· καὶ
 30 οὕτως πάντοτε σὺν Κυρίῳ ἐσόμεθα. Λοιπὸν οἱ ἐν τῇ γῇ παραμένοντες
 τεταπεινωμένοι, οἱ ἀνάξιοι τῆς δόξης, οἱ ὑπεύθυνοι τῆς τιμωρίας διὰ τὴν
 ἀπιστίαν, ἄρχονται ὁρᾶν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας. Εὐρίσκονται
 δὲ καὶ οἱ ἅγιοι ὥσπερ ἐπιδημοῦντες· ὁ γὰρ ὑπαντήσας καὶ πάλιν ὑπο-
 στρέψας, ὡς τῷ βασιλεῖ συνερχόμενος εὐρίσκεται· καὶ τοῦτο γίνεται πλη-
 35 ρομένου τοῦ προφητικοῦ ῥήτοῦ· Ἦξει Κύριος ὁ θεός μου, καὶ πάντες οἱ
 ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ. Οὕτως ἔρχονται εἰς ἀπάντησιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἐν νεφέλαις
 καὶ ἀρπαγήσονται. Οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀναληφθεὶς ἀφ' ὧν, οὕτως
 ἐλεύσεται.

23/26 I Thess. 4,16/17
 1,11

28/30 I Thess. 4,17

35/36 Zach. 14,5

37/38 Act.

17 παρακαλῶ] *om.* R οὐδὲν] οὐδένα P_2 μηδὲν $AP_3O K$ 18 βασιτάζον] βασιτάζων
 P_1A βασιτάζοντα P_2 βασιλέως] πρόεισι *add.* $AP_3O K$ 18/19 ἀκολουθήσουσι]
 ἀκολουθήσωσι P_1 ἀκολουθοῦσιν P_2 19 πολλάί] διατί *add.* $AP_3O K$ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς]
 ἀπὸ γῆς P_2 *om.* P_1 20 γένωνται] γέγονται M γίνωνται $K^{coni.}$ 21 ἔλθωσιν] εἰς τὴν
 αἰώνιον καὶ μακαρίαν ζωὴν *add.* $AP_3O K$ 22/23 οὐ δορυφοροῦντες – βασταζόμενοι]
om. R 23 νεφελῶν] νεφέλαις MP_1 τοῦτο] δῆλον *add.* $AP_3OR K$ 25 πρῶτοι]
 πρῶτον $AP_3O K$ 26/27 δὲ νεφέλαι] νεφέλαι τοίνυν $AP_3O K$ 27 ἀποστόλους] πολ-
 λούς A 27/28 αὐτῷ – κυρίου] *om.* R 27 μία] νεφέλη *add.* $AP_3O K$ 28 γάρ]
om. P_2P_3O ὡς] *om.* A 29 εἰς ἀπάντησιν – ἀέρα] *om.* R 30 παραμένοντες] οἱ
add. $AP_3O K$ 31/37 οἱ ἀνάξιοι – ἀρπαγήσονται] κατησχυμένοι ἔσονται R 32 ἄρ-
 χονται] ἔρχονται P_1 ἀπαντῶντας] ἀπαντόντας P_1 μετὰ δόξης πολλῆς *add.* $AP_3O K$
 34/35 πληρουμένου] *om.* P_1 35 ἥξει] γὰρ *add.* P_2 36 οὕτως] τοίνυν *add.* AP_3O
 K ἔρχονται] αἰρονται P_2 οἱ ἅγιοι *add.* $AP_3O K$ 36/37 καὶ ἐν νεφέλαις *trsp.* AP_3O
 37 ὧν] ἡμῶν A εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν *add.* $AP_3O K$ 38 ἐλεύσεται] πάλιν *add.* $AP_3O K$

37. Ὅρα ὅσα εἶπεν ἡ γραφή, ἵνα διὰ πάντων ἡμᾶς ἀσφαλίσηται· | βλε- 788
πόντων αὐτῶν ἐπῆρθη· διέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀνεφέρετο, καὶ νεφέλῃ ὑπέ-
λαβεν αὐτόν· καὶ ὡς ἀτειζόντες ἦσαν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν πορευομένου αὐτοῦ.
Ἀνελήφθη, ἐπῆρθη, ἀνεφέρετο, εἰσῆλθεν· Οὐ γὰρ εἰς χειροποίητα ἅγια
5 εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν, ἐφανισθῆναι τῷ Θεῷ. Οὐ
μόνον εἰσῆλθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διῆλθεν. Ἐχοντες γὰρ, φησὶν ὁ Παῦλος, ἀρχιε-
ρέα μέγαν διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, Ἰησοῦν. Ἀνῆλθεν, ἀνέβη, ἀνελήφθη,
ἐπορεύετο, διῆλθε. Πρόσεχε. Ἀνέβη ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ
τοῦ προφήτου λόγιον· Ἀνέβη ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ἀλαλαγμῷ. Ἐνταῦθα ὁ προφήτης
10 γυμνὴν φέρει φωνήν. Ἀνέβη ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ἀλαλαγμῷ. Ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχο- 789
ντες, ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπάρθητε πύλαι αἰώνιοι, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ Βασιλεὺς τῆς
δόξης. Εἰσελεύσεται· Οὐ γὰρ εἰς χειροποίητα ἅγια εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς,
ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν, εἰσελεύσεται ὁ Βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. Δύο λοι-
πὸν ἐγένετο· ὥσπερ ἐξενίσθη ἡ γῆ θεασαμένη περιβεβλημένον σῶμα τὸν
15 Σωτῆρα, καὶ ὥσπερ ἔθος ἡμῖν, ὅταν ἴδωμεν ξένον πρόσωπον, λέγομεν·
Τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος; οὐδεὶς γὰρ περὶ γνωρίμου ἐρωτᾷ· οὕτως ἡ γῆ θεασαμένη
τὸν Σωτῆρα, δύναμιν θεϊκὴν ἔχοντα, καὶ ἐπιτάσσοντα τοῖς ἀνέμοις καὶ
τῇ θαλάσσῃ, λέγει· Τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος, ὅτι ἡ θάλασσα καὶ οἱ ἄνεμοι ὑπακού-

37. 1/3 Act. 1,9/10; Lc. 24,51 4/5 Hebr. 9,24 6/7 Hebr. 4,14 9/10 Ps. 46,6
10/12 Ps. 23,7/8 12/13 Hebr. 9,24; Ps. 23,8 18/19 Mt. 8,27; Mc. 4,41

37. 3 cfr Ph., *Amphil.* 128, l. 3 7/8 Ph., *Amphil.* 128, l. 5 16/18 Ph., *Amphil.* 129,
l. 2/3 18/19 Ph., *Amphil.* 129, l. 3/4

37. 1 ὅρα – γραφή] *post* ἀνεφέρετο (l. 2) *trsp.* R ὅρα] οὖν *add.* P₂ ὅσα] ὅσον
O ἵνα – ἀσφαλίσηται] *om.* R ἀσφαλίσηται] ἀσφαλίσεται O 2 ἐπῆρθη] καὶ
add. AP₃O *om.* R αὐτῶν²] αὐτοῦ P₃O^{4. corr.} ἀνεφέρετο] εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν *add.* AP₃O
Pg 2/3 καὶ νεφέλῃ – αὐτοῦ] *om.* R 2 καὶ²] *om.* V M_f 3 εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν] *om.*
V M_f 4/12 ἀνελήφθη – δόξης] ἀνελήφθη ἀνῆλθεν ἐπῆρθη ἐπορεύθη διῆλθεν πρόσε-
χε ἀνελήφθη μικρὸν τί ἑαυτῶν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνελάβει τῷ σχήματι τῆς σαρκὸς ἀνῆλθεν ὑπερ-
θεν αὐτῶν ἐπῆρθη ὑπὲρ ἄνω τῶν νεφελῶν ἐπορεύθη ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων διῆλθεν αὐτῶν τῶν
οὐρανῶν ἕως ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς τί οὖν αἱ δυνάμεις ἄρατε πύλας οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν καὶ
ἐπάρθητε πύλαι αἰώνιοι καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης τί οὖν οὐκ ᾔδεισαν αἱ ду-
νάμεις τὸν ἐρχόμενον πᾶν καὶ βλέπει] R 4 ἀνεφέρετο] ἐφέρετο O 5 ὁ] *om.* MA
θεῷ] καὶ *add.* AP₃O Pg 6 ὁ] *om.* P₂ 7 μέγαν] μέγα MP₁ ἰησοῦν] τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ
θεοῦ *add.* AP₃O *om.* P₂ 8 ἀνέβη] ἀνελήφθη ἐπορεύετο ἀνέβη *add.* P₁ ὡς] εἰς P₃
9 λόγιον] *om.* P₂ 9/10 ἐνταῦθα – ἐν ἀλαλαγμῷ] *om.* P₁ 9 ἐνταῦθα] ἐντεῦθεν P₃O
10 φωνήν]* παρρησίαν VP₂ M_fPg τὴν φωνήν AO ἀλαλαγμῷ] εἰσελεύσεται *add.* AP₃O
12 ὁ] *om.* M ἰησοῦς] χριστὸς AP₃O 14 ἐγένετο] ἐγένοντο O ὥσπερ] ὡς P₂
γὰρ *add.* AP₃O Pg ἐξενίσθη] ἐφανίσθη P₃ 14/15 τὸν σωτῆρα] *om.* P₂ ἴδωμεν]
εἴδωμεν P₁ λέγομεν] τὸ *add.* P₁ 16 γὰρ] *om.* A οὕτως] οὕτως καὶ A οὕτω καὶ
P₃O M_fPg 18 ὅτι] καὶ *add.* P₂R

- ουσιν αὐτῷ; Ὡσπερ οὖν ἡ γῆ ξενιζομένη ἐδόξα, *Τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος*; οὕτως ὁ
 20 οὐρανὸς ξενιζόμενος ἐν σαρκὶ βλέπων τὴν θεότητα, λέγει· *Τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος*
 ὁ Βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης;

38. 15. Καὶ ὅρα τὸ θαυμαστόν. Ὁ Σωτὴρ ἦλθε, καὶ ἐλθὼν ἤνεγκε τὸ
 ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· ἀνελθὼν ἀνήνεγκε σῶμα ἅγιον, ἵνα δῶ τῷ κόσμῳ ἐνέ-
 χυρον σωτηρίας, Πνεύματος ἁγίου. Πάλιν τῷ αὐτῷ κόσμῳ, ἀρραβῶνα
 σωτηρίας, τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἅγιον λεγέτω ὁ Χριστιανός. Ὅταν δὲ εἴπω τοῦτο,
 5 καὶ σὲ λέγω καὶ ἕκαστον πρόσωπον Χριστιανοῦ. Ἐγὼ Χριστιανός εἰμι·
 τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰμι. Πόθεν τοῦτο; Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἔχω τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. Θέλεις
 καὶ ἄλλην ἀποδείξιν; Ἐλάβον Πνεῦμα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἔχω μου
 τὸν ἀρραβῶνα. Ἄνω τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, κάτω τὸ Πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς.
 Ἀμφιδάλλεις ὅτι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐσμεν; Γένος ἐγένετο ἐν, Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων.
 10 Ὡσπερ γὰρ τὰ διεστώτα μέρη συνάπτει ἐπιγαμβρία, καὶ ὁ μὴ εἰδώς τινα
 πόθεν ἐστί, μᾶς συναπτομένης καὶ ἐνός, δύο γένη ὅλα συνάπτει, ὁ μὲν ὡς
 ἀνεψιός, ὁ δὲ ὡς θεῖος· οὕτως ἀναλαβόντος σάρκα Χριστοῦ, διὰ τῆς σαρ-
 κὸς ἐγένετο πᾶσα ἡ Ἐκκλησία συγγενῆς Χριστοῦ· Παῦλος Χριστοῦ συγ-
 γενῆς, Πέτρος, πᾶς πιστός, πάντες ἡμεῖς, πᾶς εὐσεβής. Διὰ τοῦτο λέγει
 15 Παῦλος· *Γένος οὖν Θεοῦ ὑπάρχοντες*. Ἀλλ'οἶδα τὴν ἔννοιαν καθ' ἣν εἴρη-
 ται· οὐ σκοπὸς μοι ἐστὶν ὅλην ἱστορεῖν τὴν θεωρίαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι βεβαιοῖ
 Παῦλος τὸ γένος. Καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ πάλιν· *Ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν σῶμα Χριστοῦ, καὶ*
μέλη ἐκ μέρους ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ. Ἀντὶ τοῦ· *Διὰ τὴν σάρκα ἣν ἀνέλαβε,*

38. 15 Act. 17,29 17/18 I Cor. 12,27

19/21 Ph., *Amphil.* 129, l. 4/6

19 οὖν] δὲ AP₃O οὕτως] καὶ add. AP₃O Pg ὁ] om. V ἐν] om. P₂

38. 1 καὶ²] om. P₂ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα] om. P₂ 2 ἀνελθὼν] δὲ add. AP₃O Pg ἅγι-
 ον] τὴν φύσιν τῆν ἡμετέραν add. R 3 ἁγίου] δύναμιν add. AP₃O M_fPg 3/39.22
 πάλιν – μέγαν] om. R 3 τῷ om. A 4 σῶμα] πνεῦμα P₁ λεγέτω] λέγω P₃O
 λέγεται P₂ τοῦτο] τοῦτω P₁ 5 εἰμι [τοῦ θεοῦ]] καὶ add. VP₂ 6 τοῦ θεοῦ
 εἰμι] om. V τοῦτο] δῆλον add. AP₃O πνεῦμα ἅγιον] τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον P₂ Pg
 οὐρανοῦ¹] κατιόν add. AP₃O Pg 8 ἀρραβῶνα] βέβαιον add. A βέβαιον ποῖον ἀρραβῶνα
 add. P₃O Pg ἄνω] μὲν add. AP₃O κάτω] δὲ add. AP₃O 9 ἀμφιδάλλεις] αἰρε-
 τικέ add. AP₃O Pg τοῦ] om. AP₃O 10 γὰρ] οὖν P₁ μέρη] μέλη P₂ καὶ]
 om. M_f 11 συνάπτει] καὶ add. AP₃O Pg 12 ἀνεψιός] τάττεται add. AP₃O M_fPg
 13 συγγενῆς] συγγένεια AP₃O συγγενῆς χριστοῦ] σῶμα χριστοῦ καὶ συγγενῆς P₁
 14 πέτρος] χριστοῦ συγγενῆς add. AP₃O πᾶς πιστός^{in marg.} A] χριστοῦ συγγενῆς add.
 P₃O πάντες ἡμεῖς^{in marg.} A] om. P₃O πᾶς εὐσεβής] χριστοῦ συγγενῆς πάντες ἡμεῖς
 χριστοῦ ἐσμεν συγγενεῖς add. P₃ χριστοῦ συγγενεῖς πάντες ἡμεῖς χριστοῦ ἐσμεν συγγε-
 νεῖς add. AO 15 ἦν] τοῦτο add. AP₃O 16 μοι] δὲ add. AP₃O ὅλην] om. V
 ὅτι] μόνον add. AP₃O M_fPg 17 πάλιν] om. P₂ σῶμά ἐσμεν *trsp.* P₂

συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ ἐσμεν. Ἐχομεν οὖν τὸ ἐνέχυρον ἄνω καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ
 20 ἅγιον μεθ' ἡμῶν. Καὶ ὅρα τὸ θαυμαστόν. Οὐ λέγω ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμα κατέβη
 ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ οὐκέτι ἐστὶν ἐν οὐρανῷ· καὶ ἀντηλλάξατο τὸ μὲν σῶμα
 τὸν οὐρανόν, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα τὴν γῆν· ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν τὸ Πνεῦμα, καὶ
 πανταχοῦ, καὶ ἄνω· Ποῦ πορευθῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματός σου; Καὶ τί θαυμά-
 25 ζεις εἰ τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἄνω, καὶ τὸ σῶμα Χριστοῦ καὶ ἄνω
 καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν; Ἐσχεν ὁ οὐρανὸς τὸ ἅγιον σῶμα, ἐδέξατο δὲ ἡ γῆ τὸ ἅγιον
 Πνεῦμα· ἦλθεν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ἤνεγκε τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ἀνῆλθε καὶ ἀνῆνε-
 γκε τὸ ἡμέτερον σῶμα. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Ἀδάμ τὴν ἐν τάφοις
 κεχωσμένην, οὐκέτι μετ' ἀγγέλων φαινομένην, ἀλλ' ὑπεράνω τῶν ἀγγέλων
 συγκαθήμεν τῷ Θεῷ, ἵνα ἡμεῖς συγκαθίσῃ.

39. Ὡ | τῆς ξένης οἰκονομίας! Ὡ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, ταῦτα πάντα 790
 τοῦ μεγάλου, τοῦ ὄντως μεγάλου καὶ θαυμαστοῦ! Καὶ ὡς εἶπεν ὁ προ-
 φῆτης· Κύριε ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν, ὡς θαυμαστόν τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν πάσῃ τῇ
 γῇ, ὅτι ἐπῆρθη ἡ μεγαλοπρέπειά σου ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν! Ἐπῆρθη ἡ
 5 θεότης; Οὐχί! Θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἀναλαμβάνεται, ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐν
 τῇ γῇ· ἀλλ' ἡ σάρξ ἡ ἐμὴ, ἡ τοῦ δούλου μορφή· οὐχ ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκὼν.
 Αὐτολεξεῖ καίτοι· Βλεπόντων αὐτῶν ἐπῆρθη. Ὁ τὰ πάντα μέγας, μέγας
 ὁ Θεός, μέγας ὁ Κύριος· Μέγας Κύριος καὶ αἰνετὸς σφόδρα. Εἰ δὲ μέγας
 Θεὸς καὶ μέγας Κύριος, μέγας βασιλεύς· Βασιλεὺς μέγας ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν
 10 γῆν. Ὁρῇ Σιών, τὰ πλευρά τοῦ βορρᾶ, ἡ πόλις τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου.
 Μέγας προφῆτης, μέγας ἱερεὺς, μέγα φῶς, τὰ πάντα μέγας. Καὶ αἶε ἡ

23 Ps. 138,7

39. 3/4 Ps. 8,2 6 Act. 1,9 8 Ps. 47,2 9/10 Ps. 46,3 10 Ps. 47,3

19 συγγενεῖς] συγγενῆς *M* ἔχομεν] ἔχωμεν *P₁* ἐνέχυρον] αὐτοῦ *add. V M_f Pg*
 ἄνω] ἡγουν τὸ σῶμα ὃ ἐξ' ἡμῶν προσελάβετο *add. AP₃O M_f Pg* καὶ] κάτω *add. AP₃O*
M_f Pg 19/20 τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον] τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα *AP₃O M_f Pg* 20 θαυμαστόν] καὶ
add. AP₃O κατέβη τὸ πνεῦμα *trsp. P₁* 21 οὐκέτι] οὐκ *P₂* ἐν] τῷ *add. VAP₃O*
M_f Pg 23 πανταχοῦ] ἀλλαχοῦ *AP₃O* ποῦ] γὰρ *add. P₂* γὰρ φησί καὶ *add. AP₃O* γὰρ
 φησί *add. M_f Pg* 24 καὶ¹] *om. P₂* 24/25 καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἄνω² *trsp. P₁P₃O* 25
 δὲ] *om. P₁P₂* καὶ *AP₃O M_f Pg* 26 ὁ χριστός] *om. P₁P₂* τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα] καὶ *add. A*
om. VP₂ M_f 27 τὸ ἡμέτερον σῶμα] τὸ ἅγιον σῶμα *P₁ om. VP₂ M_f* τάφοις] τάφω
V M_f Pg 29 ἵνα] καὶ *add. AP₃O Pg* συγκαθίσῃ] μετ' αὐτοῦ *add. AP₃O Pg*

39. 1 τῆς] φοδερεῶς καὶ *add. AP₃O Pg* βασιλέως] χριστοῦ *add. AP₃O* ταῦτα] ταῦτα
 γὰρ *AP₃O* τοῦ τὰ *M_f Pg* 2 τοῦ μεγάλου¹] *om. AP₃O* ὄντως] οὕτως *M_f Pg* με-
 γάλου²] βασιλέως *add. AP₃O* καὶ²] *om. AP₃O* 5 οὐχί - γὰρ] *om. P₁* 5/6 οὐχί
 - εἰκὼν]* *om. VP₂AP₃O M_f Pg* 6 οὐχ ἡ] οὐχί *M* 7 ὁ] *add. ὁ P₃* τὰ] *om. AP₃O*
 8 εἰ δὲ] ἴδες *P₂* 9 κύριος] καὶ *add. P₁* μέγας²] καὶ *add. AP₃O Pg*

- Γραφή μετὰ προσθήκης αὐτὸν λέγει μέγαν, ὡς ὅταν λέγῃ Παῦλος· Τοῦ
 μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ὡς καὶ Δαυὶδ λέγει·
 Μέγας Κύριος καὶ αἰνετὸς σφόδρα. Μέγας βασιλεὺς, μέγας προφήτης· ὅτε
 15 ἐποίει τὰ θαύματα ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἔλεγον ὅτι μέγας προφήτης ἐγγήγερται, καὶ
 ὅτι ἐπεσκέψατο ὁ Θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ. Οὐ μόνον γὰρ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα
 μέγας, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν σάρκα· ὥσπερ γὰρ Θεὸς μέγας, καὶ Κύριος
 μέγας, καὶ βασιλεὺς μέγας κατὰ τὴν θεότητα· οὕτω πάλιν ἱερεὺς μέγας,
 προφήτης μέγας. Πόθεν τοῦτο; Λέγει Παῦλος· Ἐχοντες οὖν ἀρχιερέα
 20 μέγαν, διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανούς Ἰησοῦν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, κρατῶμεν
 τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν. Εἰ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς μέγας καὶ προφήτης μέγας, ὅντως
 ἐπεσκέψατο ὁ Θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνέστησε προφήτην μέγαν ἐν τῷ
 Ἰσραήλ. Εἰ δὲ μέγας προφήτης, μέγας ἱερεὺς, φῶς μέγα· Γαλιλαία τῶν
 ἐθνῶν, ὁ λαὸς ὁ καθήμενος ἐν σκότει, εἶδε φῶς μέγα. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα
 25 αὐτοῦ μεγάλη, ὡς λέγει ὁ προφήτης· Πρὶν ἔλθεῖν τὴν ἡμέραν Κυρίου τὴν
 μεγάλην. Πανταχοῦ μέγαν ἀκούων, καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἔργα Κυρίου, πόθεν
 ἐπῆλθέ σοι σχίζειν, αἰρετικέ, καὶ σμικρύνειν τὸν μέγαν;

40. Ἐχομεν οὖν ἀρραδῶνα τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν ἐν οὐρανῶ· συνανελήφθημεν
 γὰρ τῷ Χριστῷ. Πάλιν οὖν ἀρπαζόμεθα ἐν νεφέλαις, ἐὰν ὦμεν ἄξιοι ἐπὶ
 νεφελῶν ἀπαντῆσαι. Ὑπόδικος οὐκ ἀπαντᾷ δικαστῇ, ἀλλὰ φαίνεται μὲν
 αὐτῷ παριστάμενος· οὐκ ἀπαντᾷ δέ, ὡς ἀπαρρησίαστος ὢν. Εὐξώμεθα
 5 οὖν, ἵνα τῶν ἀπαντώντων καὶ ἐν μικρῷ τάξει τύχωμεν. Ὡσπερ γὰρ οἱ

12/13 Tit. 2,13 14 Ps. 47,3 15/16 Lc. 7,16 19/21 Hebr. 4,14 22/23 Lc.
 7,16 23/24 Mt. 4,15/16; cfr Is. 9,1/2 25/26 Joel 3,4 (2,31)

40. 2 I Thess. 4,17

12 μέγαν] μέγα P_2 λέγει] λέγει $P_1 P_2 A O$ 13 καὶ²] *om.* P_2 14 ὅτε] οὖν *add.*
V γὰρ *add.* $A P_3 O M_f P_g$ 15 ἔλεγον] οἱ ὅχλοι *add.* $A P_3 O P_g$ ἐγγήγερται] ἐν ἡμῖν
 ἐγγήγερται *V* ἐγγήγερται ἐν ἡμῖν $A P_3 P_g$ ἐγένετο ἐν ἡμῖν O 16 γὰρ] δὲ $A P_3 O$ 18
 πάλιν] καὶ *add.* $A P_3 O$ ἱερεὺς μέγας] καὶ *add.* $A P_3 O P_g$ 19 τοῦτο] δῆλον *add.*
 $A P_3 O$ οὖν] *om.* P_1 20 μέγαν] μέγα $P_3 O$ κρατῶμεν] κρατοῦμεν *V M_f P_g*
 21 τῆς ὁμολογίας] τὴν ὁμολογίαν P_2 καὶ προφήτης] προφήτης δὲ *M* προφήτης $V P_1$
 23 μέγας ἱερεὺς] μέγας βασιλεὺς $V M_f$ μέγας βασιλεὺς *add.* P_g ἱερεὺς] καὶ *add.* $A P_3 O$
 φῶς¹] δὲ *add.* P_2 24 εἶδε] ἔδεν $V M_f$ ἡ] *om.* M_f 25 αὐτοῦ] αὐτὴ $P_3 O$ αὐτοῦ ἡ
V M_f P_g 26 μεγάλην] καὶ ἐπιφανῇ *add.* $A P_3 O P_g$ μέγαν] μέγας $A P_3$ 27 σοι]
 μοι *A*

40. 1 ἔχομεν] ἔχωμεν $R M_f P_g$ οὖν] οὖν τὸν P_2 ἐν] τῷ *add.* $P_2 A P_3 O$ 1/2 συ-
 νανελήφθημεν – χριστῷ] τὴν σάρκα τὴν ἡμετέραν R 2 γὰρ] *om.* $V P_2 M_f P_g$ οὖν
 ἀρπαζόμεθα] συναρπαζόμεθα P_2 ἀρπαζόμεθα $A P_3 O$ νεφέλαις] εἰς ἀπάντησιν τοῦ δε-
 σπότης εὐξώμεθα οὖν ἵνα γενόμεθα ἄξιοι τῆς ἀπαν τῆς ἐκείνης καὶ ἡμεῖς πῶς οὖν εἰσόμεθα
 ἄξιοι *add.* R 3 νεφελῶν] νεφελῆς *V* ὑπόδικος] γὰρ *add.* P_1 δικαστῇ] *om.* P_2
 μὲν] μέρος A μόνον $P_3 O$ αὐτῷ] αὐτὸ *A om.* M_f ὢν] ὃν *V om.* P_2 5 οὖν] καὶ
 ἡμεῖς ἀπαντες ἀγαπητοὶ *add.* $A P_3 O P_g$ τύχωμεν] τυγχάνωμεν $P_2 P_3 O$

- ἀπαντῶντες βασιλεῖ, καὶ μὴ πάντες ὧσιν ὁμότιμοι, ἀλλ' ὅμως τετίμηνται·
οὕτως ἔσται καὶ τότε. Οὐδὲ γὰρ πάντες ὁμοίως ἐπολιτεύσαντο. Ἐκαστος
γὰρ τὸν ἴδιον μισθὸν λήψεται κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον κόπον. Μηδέποτε κωλυέσθω
λόγος λόγου. Μετ' ἀληθείας παρρησιαζόμεθα γάρ, ἀγάπη Χριστοῦ λαὸν
10 τρέφοντες, ψυχὰς ἀρδεύοντες· ψυχᾷς μεριζόμενοι, ταῖς δὲ ὑπονοίαις μὴ
σχιζόμενοι. Ὁ εἰρήνης ἐχθρὸς ἔχει τὸν δικάζοντα. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ, ἀδελφοί,
ἀνθρώπους πείθουμεν, Θεῷ δὲ πεφανερῶμεθα, μάρτυς ὁ τῶν ἐννοιῶν ἐπό-
πτῃς, ὃς ἀπαιτήσῃ λόγον πάντα τὸν λαλοῦντα τὸ ψεῦδος, ὡς οὐδέποτε
ἐχθροὶ εἰρήνης, οὔτε ἡθελήσαμεν, οὔτε θέλομεν γενέσθαι. Ἐὰν γὰρ τὴν
15 εἰρήνην ἀπολέσωμεν, ἐχθροὶ ἐσμεν ἐκείνων τῶν ἀκουόντων· | *Εἰρήνη* 791
ὑμῖν. Ἀλλ' ὅτι εἰρήνην θέλομεν, καὶ σπεύδομεν, καὶ ποθοῦμεν, μάρτυς ὁ
εἰδώς· περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν σιωπήσομαι. Ὁ γὰρ βραδευτὴν ἐκδεχόμενος
τὸν Θεόν, τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ οὐχ ὑβρίζει τὸ ἄνω δικαστήριον. Δυνατὸς δὲ ὁ
Θεὸς εἰρήνην δοῦναι, εἰρήνην πῆξαι, ἐν τοῖς κηρύσσουσιν, ἐν τοῖς κηρυ-
20 σομένοις, ἐν τοῖς διδάσκουσιν, ἐν | τοῖς μανθάνουσιν, ἵνα διὰ πάντων ἀπὸ 792
εἰρήνης ἀρξάμενοι, καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ μεσάσαντες, καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ πληρώσα-
ντες, τῷ Θεῷ τῆς εἰρήνης δόξαν ἀναπέμψωμεν, τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ
τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

7/8 I Cor. 3,8

12 II Cor. 5,11

15/16 Io. 20,19.21.26

6 βασιλεῖ] βασιλέα *O* ὧσιν] *om.* *P*₂ τετίμηνται] παρ' αὐτοῦ *add.* *AP*₃*O Pg* 7
ὁμοίως] *om.* *V* ἐπολιτεύσαντο] ἐπολιτεύσατο *P*₃ 8 κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον κόπον λήψεται
trsp. *AP*₃*O* μηδέποτε] τοίνυν *add.* *AP*₃*O Pg* 9 λόγου]* λόγου θεοῦ ἀλλὰ *AP*₃*O* θεοῦ
ἀλλὰ *M*_f*Pg* παρρησιαζόμεθα γάρ] παρρησιαζόμεθα γὰρ *M* παρρησιαζόμεθα ἅπαντες
ἐν *AP*₃*O* παρρησιαζόμεθα ἅπαντες ἐν *M*_f*Pg* 10 μεριζόμενοι – ὑπονοίαις] *om.* *P*₂ *M*_f
12 ἀνθρώπους] μὲν *add.* *AP*₃*O M*_f*Pg* πείθουμεν] πείθωμεν *V* πεφανερῶμεθα] οἱ
ἐσμεν *add.* *AP*₃*O M*_f*Pg* 12/13 ἐπόπτῃς] δεσπότης *A* τὸ] *om.* *M*_f 14 θέλομεν]
θέλωμεν *M*^{a. corr.} *P*₁*P*₂ 15 ἀκουόντων] ἀκουσάντων παρὰ Χριστοῦ *AP*₃*O M*_f*Pg* 16
θέλομεν] θέλωμεν *MP*₁*P*₂ καὶ σπεύδομεν] *om.* *P*₂ 17 σιωπήσομαι] σιωπήσωμεν *V*
σιωπήσομεν *M*_f*Pg* 18 δὲ *A*^{sup. l.}] ἐστὶ *add.* *P*₂ 19/23 εἰρήνην – ἀμὴν] *M*^{al. m.} 19
πῆξαι] εἰρήνην βραδεῦσαι *add.* *AP*₃*O Pg* κηρύσσουσι] καὶ *add.* *V M*_f*Pg* 20 διδά-
σκουσι] καὶ *add.* *P*₂ *M*_f*Pg* μανθάνουσιν] διδασκομένοις *P*₁ 21 ἀρξάμενοι] ἀρξάμε-
θα *P*₂ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ μεσάσαντες] καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀσπάσαντες *M* καὶ εἰρήνην ἀσπάσαντες
A om. *V M*_f 22 τῷ¹] *om.* *P*₂ τῷ²] *om.* *P*₂ τῷ³] *om.* *P*₂ 23 τῶν αἰώνων]
om. *P*₂

Textual Notes

2.1 ἔφθῃ] ἔφθῃν εἰπὼν *V* ἔφῃ P_2 M_fPg ἀνελεθεῖν] ἀνελείφῃ *V*

The choice between ἀνελεθεῖν and ἀνελείφῃ is not difficult: since ἀνελεθεῖν occurs in P_2 and must have occurred α , it must also go back to the archetype Ω . Similarly, if the extremely common verb ἔφῃ (P_2), which makes little sense in this context, is a malformation of the far less common verb ἔφθῃ (MAP_3O), then it could be argued that ἔφθῃ must also go back to Ω . In this case, however, a question is raised by the close resemblance of the reading of *V* (ἔφθῃν εἰπὼν) to one of the stock phrases (ὥς ἔφθῃμεν εἰπόντες, in the singular or the plural) identified by Aubineau and others as indicative of Severian's style.¹²³ The reading of *V*, however, lacks the particle ὥς, or something comparable, which is an essential part of the stock phrase and which renders it parenthetical. Without some comparable parenthetical device, the use of the first person singular expression ἔφθῃν εἰπὼν in *V* is out of accord with the first person plural expressions that Severian employs elsewhere in these opening paragraphs of the sermon.¹²⁴ If, as seems likely, ἔφθῃ was present in β , and the scribe of *V*, or one on whom he relies, understood it to refer to Christ's historical ascension, ἔφθῃν εἰπὼν may have been a deliberate attempt to salvage what appeared to be an otiose observation. In fact, however, the reading of MAP_3O (ἔφθῃ ἀνελεθεῖν) does make sense; it refers not to the historical event of the ascension, but rather to its liturgical commemoration two days prior to the delivery of the present sermon.¹²⁵

5.15 κατ'αὐτῇν] κατὰ τὴν MP_1AP_3O δὲ] *om.* M_fPg τὴν] *om.* *V*

Both the text of α (κατὰ τὴν δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν, preserved by MP_1AP_3O) and the text of *V* (κατ'αὐτῇν δὲ ἡμέραν) present readings that are grammati-

¹²³ *Un traité inédit, op. cit.*, n. 11, p. 51.

¹²⁴ διψῶμεν (1.2), σπεύδομεν (1.2/3), ἰσχύομεν (1.3), συνεχόμενοι (1.3), κρατούμενοι (1.4), ὁμολογοῦντες (1.4), καταφεύγομεν (1.5), κηρύττομεν (1.32), ἀνυμνοῦμεν (1.33), λαλήσωμεν (1.34), ψελλίζοντες λαλοῦμεν (1.34), ψελλίζομεν (1.36), ψελλίσωμεν (1.38), θελήσαντες (2.3), ἐνεποδίσθημεν (2.4), προθέμενοι (2.4), κωλυθέντες (2.4/5), ἰδόντες (2.7), καταχάσωμεν (2.8), ἀποδίδομεν (2.9), προδιαλαβόντες (3.1), ἀντλήσαντες (3.2), ἔλθωμεν (3.3). The only exception to this usage occurs precisely in a parenthetical aside: λέγω δὲ ταῦτα, ἵνα πᾶσαν ὑπόκληψιν λύσω τῶν μάτην ἐγκαλεῖν βουλομένων (2.6/7). Since the reading of *V* does not sequester its first person singular expression in a parenthesis, it runs afoul of the well crafted rhetorical posture that Severian adopts in these paragraphs.

¹²⁵ Cf. the incipit of CPG 4236a.7/5028: Σήμερον ἡμῖν ἡ τοῦ Σωτῆρος Ἀνάληψις τὸν οὐρανὸν ἤνοιξε καὶ ὁδὸν ἀληθείας ὑπέδειξε.

cally problematic, the former for the presence of two articles, the latter for the lack of any article. The emendation of Montfaucon (κατ'αὐτὴν τὴν ἡμέραν), followed in the PG, solves the grammatical problem, but at the expense of the particle δὲ, which is present in all the mss. that preserve this portion of the sermon. The solution, if not the entire correct reading, is preserved by V: κατ'αὐτὴν has become κατὰ τὴν in α. Examples of constructions comparable to the text we adopt (κατ'αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν) are fairly numerous in the TLG.

7.18 κυριακῆς] κυριακὴν MVP₁A κυριακ P₃

Since the hyparchetype α clearly reads κυριακὴν and β must have done the same, this accusative singular form goes back to the archetype Ω. Grammar, however, forbids it being original, as the scribes of P₃ and O have seen. The scribe of P₃ must have encountered κυριακὴν in his text, but left the problematic ending off, perhaps intending to return to the matter later. The scribe of O has emended κυριακὴν to κυριακῆς, an emendation made independently by Montfaucon, and one which we also follow.

9.1 μεταδιδίνωμεν^{edd.}] μεταδιδῶμεν V M_fPg μεταδιδίνομεν MP₁AP₃O

We adopt the subjunctive form here, as more appropriate to the context (cf. ἀναδιδῶμεν in the scriptural citation and συνανέλωμεν in the penultimate line of the paragraph) than the indicative form transmitted by the majority of the mss. The ms. V agrees with the subjunctive mood we adopt, but transmits the more common aorist form.

9.10 κακείνη ... ταύτη e. corr. M_f] κακείνης... ταύτης MVP₁P₂AP₃O

Despite the unanimous testimony of the mss., which seem to construe κακείνης and ταύτης with the preceding preposition ἀπέναντι, it is probably best to construe the words in question with the following imperative, πρόσσεχε, according to the emendation of Montfaucon and, following him, the PG. The resulting late placement of τοίνυν may be excused as a feature of Severian's oral delivery.

10.4 αὐτῇ] αὐτὴ MVP₂AP₃O M_fPg

The accentuation of this word as the personal pronoun αὐτὴ (here intensive) in MVP₂AP₃O must go back to the first minuscule transcription of the sermon. The scribe of P₁, however, has seen that the demonstrative pronoun αὐτῇ is the more sensible reading and emended accordingly. Cf. Αὐτῇ ἡ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ Πατρός (18.29) and τουτέστιν αὐτῇ ἡ σάρξ ἡ Δεσποτική (34.10).

15.24 ἐνδεκα] δώδεκα *M* δέκα *V* 31 ἐνδεκα¹] δώδεκα *MP*₁ ἐνδεκα²] δώδεκα *MP*₁

If Judas Iscariot died before the death of Jesus, or at any rate before the resurrection (cf. Mt. 27,3-5 and Act. 1,16-18), and if Matthias was not selected in place of Judas until after the ascension (Act. 1,20-26), then between the death of Judas and the selection of Matthias, there were only eleven disciples (Mt. 28,16; Lc. 24,9,33). How then can Paul say in I Cor. 15,5 that the resurrected Christ “appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve”? The dilemma exercised the mind of more than one ancient Christian and is reflected in the variation between ἐνδεκα and δώδεκα in the mss. of our sermon.¹²⁶ Since Severian’s argument in paragraph 15 is that there were eleven post-resurrection appearances of Christ in accordance with the number of apostles at the time, it seems unlikely that he would have cited the reference to the twelve in I Cor. 15,5 without providing any explanation of the discrepancy between his argument and the biblical text. Since there is no such explanation, it is more probable that Severian’s text of I Cor. 15,5, like a minority of biblical mss., referred to eleven apostles (or at least that he knew of this variant reading, or was willing for rhetorical purposes to make the “pedantic correction” of δώδεκα to ἐνδεκα himself).¹²⁷ The hyparchetype α probably had δώδεκα in the three instances cited above, in accordance with the standard scriptural reading, while β had ἐνδεκα.¹²⁸ The scribe of γ or P₁ seems to have corrected δώδεκα back to ἐνδεκα in 15.24, but apparently not in the two instances of 15.31. If the scribe of δ inherited ἐνδεκα at 15.24 and δώδεκα twice at 15.31, he may have decided to bring the latter two occurrences into conformity with the first and with the rest of Severian’s argument. Alternatively, the scribes of P₁ and δ may have made their corrections independently. Neither can corruption in the stemma, perhaps between β and δ, be ruled out as an explanation for the presence of ἐνδεκα in δ.

15.32 ἡτοι^{edd.}] εἰτα *MAP*₃*O*

After arriving in his enumeration of the post-resurrection appearances at the appearance to “all the apostles,” mentioned by Paul in I Cor. 15,7, Severian provides the phrase with an explanation, which we print as fol-

¹²⁶ For an overview of ancient Greek treatments of the problem, see G. Bady, “Les Douze ou les Onze (Actes 1, 15-26)? Le destin de Matthias, apôtre oublié, chez Jean Chrysostome et les Pères grecs” in *Le livre scellé (Cahiers de Biblindex II)*, Turnhout, 2017, p. 107-127.

¹²⁷ “Pedantic correction” is how Bruce Metzger describes the correction of δώδεκα to ἐνδεκα in some biblical manuscripts and ancient commentators (Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, corrected ed. [United Bible Societies, 1975], p. 567).

¹²⁸ Photius also reads ἐνδεκα (*Amphil.* 124, 17).

lows: Οὐ περὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα λέγει· προλαβὼν γὰρ εἶπεν ὅτι ὤφθη Κηφᾶ, εἶτα τοῖς ἑνδεκα, εἶτα τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα ἥτοι τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν. “He is not speaking about the eleven, for he previously said that he appeared to Cephas, then to the eleven, then to the seventy, that is, to all the apostles.” The mss. take several different approaches to this sentence. V omits it, probably due to haplography.¹²⁹ In MAP₃O, the sentence is transmitted in much the form just given except that, in addition to the variation in the number of apostles discussed above, these mss. read εἶτα rather than ἥτοι. MAP₃O thus take the seventy and “all the apostles” as two distinct groups, each recipients of a post-resurrection appearance. This understanding of Severian’s meaning is difficult to maintain for two reasons. The first is that there is no recorded post-resurrection appearance to “the seventy,” a designation which must refer to the group mentioned in Lc. 10,1.17.¹³⁰ The second reason is that in the next two iterations of Severian’s list of post-resurrection appearances (lines 33/37 and lines 39/43), the phrase “all the apostles” does not appear; it is instead replaced by a reference to the seventy. In fact, Severian’s accounting does not work if we understand him to mean that there was an appearance to all the apostles and an appearance to the seventy. The scribe of P₁ has grasped this dilemma and solved it by omitting the problematic words τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα (along with either the preceding or following εἶτα).

The ms. P₂ preserves a different solution to the dilemma: Οὐ περὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα λέγει· προλαβὼν γὰρ εἶπεν ὡφθη Κηφᾶ, εἶτα τοῖς ἑνδεκα· ἀποστόλους δὲ λέγει νῦν τοὺς ἐβδομήκοντα. “He is not speaking about the eleven, for he previously said that he appeared to Cephas, then to the eleven; rather he is now calling the seventy, apostles.” The scribe of P₂ thus understands Severian to be saying that Paul’s reference to all the apostles is simply another way of referring to the seventy mentioned in Lc. 10. The corresponding passage in Photius is even more explicit: γὰρ προλαβὼν εἶπεν ὡφθη Κηφᾶ εἶτα τοῖς ἑνδεκα, ... εἶτα τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα (*Amphil.* 124,16-20). Chrysostom also seems to know this understanding of “all the apostles”: Εἶτα τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν. Ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι ἀπόστολοι, ὡς οἱ ἐβδομήκοντα (*In epistulam i ad Corinthios* 38, 4; PG 61, col. 326, 1-2 a.i.).¹³¹

Given the approaches of α on the one hand, and P₂ and Photius on the other, the relevant question is what reading in the archetype Ω could have given rise to them all? If Ω originally read εἶτα τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα ἥτοι

¹²⁹ Montfaucon follows V here with no indication of what P₂ or P₃ read. The *editio Parisina altera* of 1837, followed by the PG, prints the readings of these two mss. in a note.

¹³⁰ Seventy-two is a variant reading in some biblical mss.

¹³¹ Origen may have been the first to make the connection (*Contra Celsum* 2. 65).

τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν, the word ἦτοι could have easily become εἶτα in α , and it could easily account for the readings of P_2 and Photius. Severian thus wishes to make clear who “all the apostles” were. He first rejects the supposition that this phrase could refer to the group of eleven apostles, because Paul has already said (προλαβὼν εἶπεν) that Christ appeared to Cephas, then to the eleven. Who are “all the apostles”? They must be some other group, namely, the seventy. In Severian’s view, 1 Cor 15,7b informs us about a post-resurrection appearance to the seventy not elsewhere attested in scripture.

19.1 ὅτι] εἰ *add.* M εἰ P_2

The presence of εἰ in M and P_2 is probably the result of one or more attempts to bring ὅτι into conformity with the εἰ of the following sentence.

24.40 καὶ] ἦ VP_1AP_3O $MfPg$

It is easier to imagine an original καὶ being changed into ἦ in VP_1AP_3O (to accord with the scriptural text as Severian cites it) than to imagine an original ἦ being changed into καὶ. The reading preserved by MP_2 thus reflects what stood in the hyparchetypes α and β and therefore also in the archetype Ω .

29.3 τὸ παθὼν αὐτὸ] τὸ παθὼν αὐτῷ M τὸ παθεῖν αὐτὸν P_1 αὐτὸ τὸ παθὼν σῶμα AP_3O K

The text transmitted by AP_3O seems to have undergone two changes in order to improve readability. The pronoun αὐτὸ has been placed before τὸ παθὼν, and a noun (σῶμα) has been added to clarify the meaning. The remaining three witnesses present three readings similar in sound and form; the readings of M and P_1 both seem to be malformations of the reading preserved by P_2 , which we adopt.

29.5 λαμπρότητα P_2] λαμπρότητος MP_1A λαμπρότατον P_3 K λαμπρότατα O

The reading of MP_1A (λαμπρότητος), which must have been the reading of α as well, strains the grammar of the sentence. It may have arisen through duplication of the initial letter of the following word. The reading of P_3 , λαμπρότατον, is fairly rare in the TLG (16×) and does not seem to be used adverbially. When it is used substantively, it is accompanied by the definite article. The reading of O , λαμπρότατα, is the correct superlative adverbial form, but is very rare (4× in the TLG). Both P_3 and O appear to be attempts to ameliorate the reading of α . We adopt the reading of

P₂, λαμπρότητα, which is a fairly common substantival form (160× in the TLG) and probably represents what stood in β and Ω.

29.10 ὄψονται] κόψονται *K^{coni}*

The “prophetic oracle” that Severian cites here, Ὅψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν καὶ τότε ὄψονται πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς, is in fact an amalgam of John 19,36 and Matt 24,30. Severian’s introductory formula recognizes the ultimate source of both New Testament texts in Zach. 12,10-12. Although Apoc. 1,7 is very similar to the words Severian cites, there is no evidence that he used the book of Revelation and the correspondence here in any case is not exact.¹³² Since the relevant portion of Mt. 24,30 reads, καὶ τότε κόψονται πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, Kecskeméti plausibly emends Severian’s second ὄψονται to κόψονται. Nevertheless, it seems just as likely that Severian has cited the scriptural text in a confused form, replacing κόψονται with the next verb in the verse, namely, ὄψονται.

29.24 σταυρώσει] τρώσει *P₂AP₃O K*

MP₁ preserve στρώσει, a *nomen sacrum* for σταυρώσει, though at least in the case of M, the bar over the word appears to have been added subsequent to the original copying, perhaps by a second hand. The reading of δ (τρώσει) may have originated as an accidental misreading, or it may have been a deliberate attempt to soften a difficult statement. The presence of the same reading in P₂ may be due to contamination from δ, or it may have come from β. In either case, because Severian goes on to expend considerable effort in justifying the assertion of violent judgment, we follow the reading of MP₁.

37.10 φωνήν] παρρησίαν *VP₂ M_fPg* τήν φωνήν *AO*

Since P₁ omits the sentence, the reading of α is preserved in MAP₃O (with the addition of an article in A and O), while that of β is preserved in VP₂. Since stemmatic arguments do not favor one reading over the other, internal arguments must decide the issue. Considerations of usage seem to favor the reading φωνήν. While both nouns occur as the object of the verb φέρει, modification of the noun παρρησία by the adjective γύμνος is extremely rare; on the other hand, modification of the noun φωνή by the same adjective, though not especially common, does occur. Considerations

¹³² See Robert E. CARTER, “An Index of Scriptural References in the Homilies of Severian of Gabala” *Traditio* 54 (1999), p. 323-351.

of context also seem to favor the reading $\phi\omega\nu\eta\nu$. Though the early placement of the subject δ $\pi\rho\omicron\phi\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ in the sentence could suggest that a comment about the prophet's character is intended, a suggestion that would support the reading $\pi\alpha\rho\rho\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$, in the larger context of the paragraph, the concern is not with the character of scriptural authors, but rather with the varied scriptural ways of describing the ascension, with some texts emphasizing its human character and some, such as Ps. 46,6, its divine character. While the ultimate difference in meaning is not great, the totality of the evidence inclines us to adopt the reading of MAP_3O , without the article.

39.4/6 οὐχί – γὰρ] *om.* P_1 οὐχί – εἰκῶν] *om.* $VP_2AP_3O M_P Pg$ 6 οὐχ
ή] οὐχὶ M

As with the preceding instance, the choice here is between the reading of α , preserved with some variation by MP_1 , and the reading of β , preserved by VP_2 (here with the agreement of AP_3O). Internal arguments favor retaining the text preserved by α and omitted by β , which is in total accord with Severian's theology of the ascension expressed elsewhere in this sermon, as well as in CPG 4236a.7/5028.¹³³ Moreover, the lines make good sense in the immediate context:

ὅτι ἐπήρθη ἡ μεγαλοπρέπείά σου ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν! Ἐπήρθη ἡ
θεότης; Οὐχί! Θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἀναλαμβάνεται, ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐν
τῇ γῇ· ἀλλ' ἡ σὰρξ ἡ ἐμὴ, ἡ τοῦ δούλου μορφή· οὐχ ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκῶν.
Αὐτολεξεῖ καίτοι· Βλεπόντων αὐτῶν ἐπήρθη. Ὅ τὰ πάντα μέγας, μέγας
ὁ Θεός, μέγας ὁ Κύριος· Μέγας Κύριος καὶ αἰνετὸς σφόδρα (39.4/8).

¹³³ In fact the reading of MP_1 (cited in full in the main comment) repeats words Severian uses earlier in the present sermon: *Οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀναληφθεὶς ἀφ' ἑμῶν. Ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἀναληφθεὶς ἀνάξιον ἦν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐ λέγουσιν· Οὗτος ὁ υἱὸς ὁ μονογενὴς ὁ ἀναληφθεὶς. Θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἀναλαμβάνεται, ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ πανταχοῦ. Οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς· τουτέστιν αὕτη ἡ σὰρξ ἡ Δεσποτική. Ὅπου γὰρ σωματικὸν ἐμφάνει, τῇ δεικτικῇ κέχρηται φωνῇ καὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (34.6/11).* In both of these passages, the denial that God was assumed is part of an interpretive approach that attributes passive terminology describing the ascension (assumed, lifted up, taken up) to Christ's flesh, and active terminology (ascend, go up, pass through) to Christ as divine: *Νεφέλη ὑπέλαβεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν· καὶ ὡς ἀτενίζοντες ἦσαν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν πορευομένου αὐτοῦ. Οὐκέτι λαλεῖ, ἀναλαμβάνον· μένου αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ πορευομένου· σχήματι γὰρ τῆς σαρκὸς ἀνελήφθη, τῇ αὐθεντίᾳ δὲ ἐπορεύετο (32.7/10).* Cf. also: *τὸ παθὼν αὐτὸ καὶ σταυρωθὲν καὶ ἡλωθὲν, τοῦτο ἀναλαμβάνεται (29.3/4) and Ἀνῆλθεν, ἀνέβη, ἀνελήφθη, ἐπορεύετο, διῆλθε. Πῶς σεχε. Ἀνέβη ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ τοῦ προφήτου λόγιον· Ἀνέβη ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ἀλαλαγμῷ (37.7/9).* See also the following statement, and the ensuing paragraph, in CPG 4236a.7/5028, preached two days before CPG 4187: *Οὐ γὰρ ὁ μονογενὴς, ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος, ὁ συναϊδὸς καὶ σύνθηρονος τῷ Πατρὶ, ἀνάγεται ἄνω – τῶν γὰρ ἄνω ἐστὶ Δεσπότης –, ἀλλ' ἡ θνητὴ φύσις ἀνάγεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (CHATZOGLIOU-BALTA p. 333, 20-22).*

Severian's concern here is to explain what is meant by ἐπήρθη ἡ μεγαλοπρέπειά σου. He poses a rhetorical question (Ἐπήρθη ἡ θεότης;), which has an obvious answer (Ὁὐχί!). The explanation (Θεός – εἰκὼν) is followed by proof: Βλεπόντων αὐτῶν ἐπήρθη. The lifting up was an observable event; because it was observable, it had to do not with the deity, but with the visible Jesus (cf. *Οὗτος ὁ φαινόμενος Ἰησοῦς* 34.11/12).

On the other hand, the omission of the reading preserved by MP₁ renders the passage somewhat less than comprehensible. It forces the reader to take Ἐπήρθη ἡ θεότης as an assertion of fact, even though Severian has been at pains elsewhere in the sermon to deny such an understanding of the passive terminology associated with the ascension. The omission also forces readers to discern how Αὐτολεξεῖ κεῖται. Βλεπόντων αὐτῶν ἐπήρθη proves this assertion; one possibility would be to take ὁ τὰ πάντα μέγας as the subject of ἐπήρθη, but such a construal makes what immediately follows rather awkward. Ὁ τὰ πάντα μέγας is in fact not the subject of ἐπήρθη but the beginning of a new thought, or rather it resumes the train of thought interrupted by the potentially misleading phrase, ἐπήρθη ἡ μεγαλοπρέπειά σου. Adopting the reading of MP₁ therefore makes the best contextual sense. What then explains the original omission? Inadequate punctuation, the oral characteristics of the preserved text, and a failure to understand the significance of ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκὼν may all have contributed to making the passage appear hopelessly confused and therefore inauthentic or best omitted.¹³⁴ After all, as illustrated by P₁'s omission of οὐχί θεός γάρ, it is not at first glance evident how we ought to construe: ἐπήρθη ἡ θεότης οὐχί θεός γάρ οὐκ ἀναλαμβάνεται . . . ἀλλ' ἡ σὰρξ ἡ ἐμὴ ἡ τοῦ δούλου μορφή οὐχί τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκὼν (so M). Such a judgment may have been made independently by β and δ, though contamination between the two may also play a role.

40.9 λόγου] λόγου θεοῦ ἀλλὰ AP₃O θεοῦ ἀλλὰ M₁Pg

The mss. AP₃O have understood λόγου as referring to the Logos and have sought to clarify the text accordingly. Montfaucon's emendation has gone further in the same direction, eliminating the reference to the Logos altogether. Both of these attempts at amelioration, however, appear to have overlooked another possible meaning of λόγου: sermon, a meaning suggested by the anarthrous state of the noun. The expression λόγος λόγου, which was clearly the reading of both α and β and therefore of Ω as well,

¹³⁴ ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκὼν refers not to humans as made in the image of God, and thus in this context to Christ as human, but rather to the Son as the image of the Father (cf. LAMPE, *Lexicon*, s.v. εἰκὼν IV.C; II Cor. 4,4; Col. 1,15).

is thus an example of *antanaclasis*, the rhetorical device by which the same word is repeated, the second time with a different meaning than the first. Severian seems to have been fond of this rhetorical device. Cf. his use of the verb *κολακεύω* and its cognates (CHATZOGLU-BALTA, p. 341-342) and of the noun *γένος* (CHATZOGLU-BALTA, p. 336, 116) in CPG 4236a.7/5028.

À propos du « Grand commentaire » d'Hésychius de Jérusalem (CPG 6554) au Psaume 71

Jean-Marie OLIVIER

(Olivet)

Quelques manuscrits nous ont transmis des homélies commentant le Psautier que l'on s'accorde généralement aujourd'hui à considérer comme les restes du « Grand commentaire » d'Hésychius de Jérusalem (CPG 6554)¹. Le commentaire au Psaume 71 en « tradition directe »² n'est connu que par deux manuscrits, le *Vaticanus graecus* 525 (fols 262-265)³ du onzième

¹ M. GEERARD, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum volumen III A Cyrillo Alexandrino ad Iohannem Damascenum*, Turnhout, 1979, editio altera, 2003, p. 259-260; M. GEERARD – J. NORET (adjuvantibus F. GLORIE et J. DESMET), *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Supplementum*, Turnhout, 1998, p. 386. Voir R. DEVRESSE, « La chaîne sur les Psaumes de Daniele Barbaro », *Revue Biblique*, 33 (1924), p. 503-521; R. DEVRESSE, « Chaînes exégétiques grecques », in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, edd. L. PIROT et alii, t. I, Paris, 1928, col. 1134-1135; R. DEVRESSE, *Les anciens commentateurs grecs des Psaumes*, Città del Vaticano, 1970 (*Studi e Testi*, 264), p. 250-261; R. MENNES, *Hesychius van Jeruzalem. Inventaris van de Griekse handschriftelijke overlevering met de uitgave en vertaling van het Groot Commentaar op psalm 100 en 102* [Rijksuniversiteit te Gent. Fakulteit van de Letteren en Wijsbegeerte. Sectie Klassieke Filologie. Verhandeling ingediend tot het behalen van de graad van licentiaat in de Letteren en Wijsbegeerte – sectie Klassieke Filologie], Gent, 1971, p. 13-77; M.J. RONDEAU, *Les commentaires patristiques du Psautier (III^e-V^e siècles)*, I: *Les travaux des Pères grecs et latins sur le Psautier. Recherches et bilan*, Roma, 1982 (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 219), p. 137-143; S. J. VOICU, « How many authors? Hesychius on the Psalms », in *A book of Psalms from eleventh-century Byzantium: the complex of texts and images in Vat. gr. 752*, edd. B. CROSTINI – G. PEERS, Città del Vaticano, 2016 (*Studi e Testi*, 504), p. 301-327.

² Par commodité, j'utilise ce terme pour désigner les manuscrits qui nous transmettent les homélies tirées de ce « Grand commentaire ». La « tradition indirecte » serait alors représentée par les fragments caténiques tirés de ce commentaire.

³ Voir R. DEVRESSE, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti ... Codices Vaticani graeci. Tomus II. Codices 330-603*, In *Bibliotheca Vaticana*, 1937, p. 382-386; R. MENNES, *Hesychius van Jeruzalem*, p. 57-58. Bibliographie de ce manuscrit dans P. CANART – V. PERI, *Sussidi bibliografici per i manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Città del Vaticano, 1970 (*Studi e Testi*, 261), p. 443; M. CERESA, *Bibliografia dei fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca Vaticana (1981-1985)*, Città del Vaticano, 1991 (*Studi e Testi*, 342), p. 346 et à l'adresse: <http://www.mss.vatlib.it/gui/console?service=scan>.

siècle et l'*Oxoniensis*, *Bodleianus Auct.* T. II. 3 (fols 194v-198v)⁴ de la fin du onzième ou du début du douzième siècle.

Il est possible d'ajouter à ces manuscrits trois autres témoins. Le premier n'est autre que le *Vaticanus graecus* 1223 (du onzième siècle)⁵, connu de Robert Devreesse⁶, de R. Mennes⁷ et d'A. Cataldi Palau⁸ pour offrir une partie du « Grand commentaire ». Pour Robert Devreesse, on y trouverait le commentaire aux Psaumes 51-53, 66-68, 72-76; pour R. Mennes, on y lit le commentaire aux Psaumes 51-53, 66-68, 72, 74-76 et pour A. Cataldi Palau, celui des Psaumes 51-53, 65-68, 72-76. En réalité, le *Vaticanus graecus* 1223 – dont j'ai analysé le contenu sur un microfilm disponible à l'IRHT – est en tous points semblable aux folios 7-278v du *Vaticanus graecus* 525⁹. Le commentaire au Psaume 71 s'y lit aux folios 373-378, col. a, l. 9 *ab imo* (inc. Οὐ τὸν αἰσθητὸν Σολομῶντα λέγει· οὐ μόνω γὰρ ἐκείνω..., des. ... τότε ὁ παρὼν κόσμος συντελεῖται καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐμφανίζεται) et est suivi (folio 378, col. a, l. 9 *ab imo*-col. b, l. 17) de la même note sur la division du Psautier (inc. Εἰδέναι δὲ χρὴ ὅτι τῶν ψαλμῶν εἰς πέντε βίβλους..., des. ... πέμπτην γὰρ τὴν τελευταίαν ἔχουσιν) que dans le *Vaticanus graecus* 525 et l'*Oxoniensis*¹⁰.

Le deuxième est le *Parisinus graecus* 145 du seizième siècle¹¹. Son contenu est en tous points semblable aux folios 7-278v du *Vaticanus graecus*

⁴ Voir A. CATALDI PALAU, « Un nuovo manoscritto del "Grande Commento" ai salmi di Esichio di Gerusalemme, Oxford Auct. T.II.3 », *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferata*, n. s., 52 (1998) [Ὁπίωρα. Studi in onore di mgr Paul Canart per il LXX compleanno, II], p. 161-183 et 4 pll. (réimpression dans A. CATALDI PALAU, *Studies in Greek Manuscripts*, Spoleto, 2008 [Testi, Studi, Strumenti, 24], p. 157-181 et 4 pll.); A. CATALDI PALAU, *A Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts from the Meerman Collection in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 2011, p. 197-204.

⁵ Ce manuscrit n'a fait l'objet d'aucune description scientifique. Bibliographie dans P. CANART – V. PERI, *Sussidi*, p. 559; M. CERESA, *Bibliografia dei fondi manoscritti*, p. 373 et à l'adresse: <<http://www.mss.vatlib.it/guui/console?service=scan>>.

⁶ *Les anciens commentateurs*, p. 253-256.

⁷ *Hesychius van Jeruzalem*, p. 60.

⁸ « Un nuovo manoscritto del "Grande Commento" », p. 169-170 (réimpression dans A. CATALDI PALAU, *Studies*, op. cit., n. 4, p. 165-167).

⁹ Il ne présente pas les lacunes qui affectent le *Vaticanus graecus* 525 pour le commentaire de Chrysostome au Psaume 48. L'étroite parenté des deux *Vaticani* avait été signalée dès 1952 par Giovanni Mercati (*Alla ricerca dei nomi degli «altri» traduttori nelle omilie sui salmi di S. Giovanni Crisostomo e variazioni su alcune catene del Salterio*, Città del Vaticano, 1952 [Studi e Testi, 158], p. 32-36).

¹⁰ Voir A. CATALDI PALAU, *A Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts*, op. cit., n. 4, p. 201.

¹¹ Voir G. MERCATI, *Alla ricerca*, p. 32, 35; J. DARROUZÈS, « Manuscrits originaux de Chypre à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris », *Revue des Études byzantines*, t. 8 (1950), p. 169 (disponible à l'adresse: <http://www.persee.fr/doc/rebyz_0766-5598_1950_num_8_1_1028> ; réimpression dans J. DARROUZÈS, *Littérature et histoire des textes byzantins* [Collected studies series, 10], London, 1972, n° XI); G. DORIVAL, « La postérité littéraire des

525¹² et à celui du *Vaticanus graecus* 1223. Le commentaire au Psaume 71 s'y lit aux folios 341-345v, col. b, l. 11 *ab imo* (inc. Οὐ τὸν αἰσθητὸν Σολομῶντα λέγει· οὐ μόνω γὰρ ἐκεῖνω..., des. ... τότε ὁ παρὼν κόσμος συντελεῖται καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐμφανίζεται) et est suivi (fols 345v, col. b, l. 10 *ab imo*-346, col. a, l. 13) de la même note sur la division du Psautier que dans le *Vaticanus graecus* 525, le *Vaticanus graecus* 1223 et l'*Oxoniensis*.

Le troisième permet peut-être de relancer une vieille question concernant la nature même de ce commentaire. Comme l'a en effet récemment rappelé J. Noret à propos des fragments palimpsestes de ce « Grand commentaire » présents dans les *Messina*, *Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria* « *Giacomo Longo* », *SS. Salvatore* 30 et 29: « ... on affirme couramment qu'il s'agit du "Grand commentaire des psaumes" de cet auteur (CPG 6554). Je ne le nie aucunement, mais il faut quand même rappeler l'aporie soulevée dès 1901 par Mgr Giovanni Mercati (*Note di letteratura biblica e cristiana antica*, Rome, 1901 [*Studi e Testi*, 5], p. 171, n. 2), qui a trouvé les versets 4 à 17 du psaume 103 commentés à la fois sur les fol. 103 et 42 du *Messanensis* 29 et sur les fol. 236-237 du *Messanensis* 30; or, on sait que dans un commentaire exégétique le commentateur suit le texte verset après verset et, normalement, ne commente pas deux fois le même passage. Personne, à ma connaissance, n'a encore résolu ce problème, pour la bonne raison que, depuis la première décennie du XX^e siècle, plus personne ne semble avoir étudié de manière un peu approfondie cet ensemble de folios palimpsestes¹³. »

Il n'est pas certain que la remarque de Giovanni Mercati soit exacte. Dans son tout récent article, S. J. Voicu, qui a examiné les palimpsestes de

chaînes exégétiques grecques », *Revue des Études byzantines*, 43 (1985), p. 223-225 (disponible à l'adresse: http://www.persee.fr/doc/rebyz_0766-5598_1985_num_43_1_2173). Je ne connais ce manuscrit que par sa reproduction numérique disponible à l'adresse: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b107241039?rk=21459;2>. G. Dorival signale l'utilisation du « Grand commentaire » d'Hésychius de Jérusalem dans cinq manuscrits: le *Città del Vaticano*, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, *Vat. gr.* 525, l'*al-Iskandarīya*, *Βιβλιοθήκη τοῦ Πατριάρχου* 11, l'*Oxford*, *Bodleian Library*, *Roe* 13, le *Paris*, *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, *Grec* 145 et le *Torino*, *Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria* B I 8 (b. IV. 2; Pasini 2; Cosentini 86). Le *Roe* 13 ne porte le « Grand commentaire » que pour les Psaumes 77-107. Je n'ai pu avoir accès ni au manuscrit de Torino ni à celui d'al-Iskandarīya et ne peux donc dire si le commentaire au Psaume 71 y figure. La notice très partielle du manuscrit d'al-Iskandarīya établie jadis par Marcel Richard (<http://ideal.irht.cnrs.fr/document/818960>) montre que ce manuscrit est bien en tout cas très proche des *Vaticani graeci* 525 et 1223 et du *Parisinus graecus* 145.

¹² Il ne présente pas les lacunes qui affectent le *Vaticanus graecus* 525 pour le commentaire de Chrysostome au Psaume 48.

¹³ J. NORET, « Un folio du "Grand commentaire d'Hésychius de Jérusalem sur les psaumes" conservé à Bruxelles », *Sacris Erudiri*, 49 (2010), p. 244, n. 6.

Messine, propose une explication à ce qui ne pourrait n'être qu'un accident¹⁴. Même si les versets 4 à 17 du Psaume 103 ne sont pas commentés deux fois dans les palimpsestes de Messine, la remarque de J. Noret suivant laquelle « dans un commentaire exégétique le commentateur suit le texte verset après verset et, normalement, ne commente pas deux fois le même passage » garde toute sa valeur.

Or, le *Sofija, Naucen centar za slavjano-vizantijski proučavanja „Ivan Dujčev“*, Gr. 392¹⁵, fragment de deux folios, provenant de la Μονή τοῦ Προδρόμου de Serrès¹⁶, daté du douzième siècle par les auteurs de la *Checklist* des manuscrits grecs du Centre Ivan Dujčev¹⁷, mais plus probablement de la fin du onzième ou du début du douzième siècle, porte, aux fols 1v, col. a-2v, col. b, non une Homélie de s. Basile sur le Psaume 71 comme l'indique la *Checklist*, mais le « Grand commentaire » d'Hésychius de Jérusalem pour les versets 1-5 (inc. Οὐ τὸν αἰσθητὸν Σολομῶντα λέγει· οὐ μόνω γὰρ ἐκείνω..., des. ... καὶ τὸ θνητὸν ἀθανασίαν ὅταν ἑαυτῷ παραστήσῃ τὴν/), tel que l'on peut le lire dans les quatre témoins de « tradition directe » désormais connus¹⁸. Ce commentaire porte le titre : Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ΟΑ' ψαλμόν. Ἄλλως. Ψαλμὸς Σολομῶντος¹⁹. Il est pré-

¹⁴ S. J. VOICU, « How many authors? Hesychius on the Psalms », p. 311-312.

¹⁵ Étudié sur place il y a une vingtaine d'années.

¹⁶ B. KATSAROS, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῶν μονῶν Τιμίου Προδρόμου Σερρών καὶ Παναγίας Ἀχειροποιήτου τοῦ Παγγαίου* (Κοσινίτσας). *Ἡ ἱστορία τῶν ἀριθμῶν. Ὁ ἀνέκδοτος περιγραφικὸς κατάλογος τῶν ἐλληνικῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἐπιστημῶν τῆς Βουλγαρίας* (Αρχεῖο Κέντρον σλαβο-βυζαντινῶν σπουδῶν «Ivan Dujčev» τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Σόφιας) καὶ ἡ συμβολὴ του στὴν προσπάθεια γιὰ τὴν ἀνασύνθεση τοῦ «σκορπισμένου ψηφιδωτοῦ» τῶν χειρογράφων τῶν δύο μονῶν, Serrès, 1995 (*Δημόσια Κεντρικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη Σερρών. Σειρά ἐκδόσεων γιὰ τὴν πόλη καὶ τὸ νομὸ Σερρών*, 4), p. 106, 127, 157, 209; B. KATSAROS, «Θεωρία γιὰ τὴ συνολικὴ ἐπιστημονικὴ διευθέτηση τοῦ ζητήματος τῆς ἱστορίας τῶν συλλόγων ἐλληνικῶν χειρογράφων τῶν μονῶν Παναγίας Ἀχειροποιήτου τοῦ Παγγαίου, τῆς ἐπονομαζομένης Κοσινίτσας (νεωτ. Εἰκοσιφοινίσσης), καὶ τοῦ Τιμίου Προδρόμου Σερρών», in *Διεθνὲς συνέδριο «Οἱ Σέρρες καὶ ἡ περιοχὴ τους. Ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχαία σὴ μεταβυζαντινὴ κοινωνία»*, Σέρρες 29 Σεπτεμβρίου-3 Ὀκτωβρίου 1993. *Πρακτικά*, τ. II, Thessaloniki, 1998, p. 658.

¹⁷ A. DZUROVA – K. STANČEV – V. ATSALOS – V. KATSAROS, « *Checklist* » de la collection de manuscrits grecs conservée au Centre de recherches slavo-byzantines «Ivan Dujčev» auprès de l'Université «St. Clément d'Ohrid» de Sofia [Ἀριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης. Publications du Programme de la coopération entre le Centre «Ivan Dujčev» de l'Université «St. Clément d'Ohrid» de Sofia et l'Université Aristote de Thessalonique, 3], Thessalonique, 1994, p. 42, 73.

¹⁸ En réalité, les folios étant amputés d'une partie de leur haut, il manque 5/6 lignes en haut de chaque colonne. Une collation des cinq manuscrits montre que le texte de Sofija semble être plus proche des *Vaticani* et du *Parisinus* que de l'*Oxoniensis*.

¹⁹ Voici le titre porté par les quatre autres témoins : Εἰς Σαλωμῶν ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυΐδ (*Vat. gr.* 525), Εἰς Σαλωμῶν ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυΐδ (*Vat. gr.* 1223), Ψαλμὸς εἰς Σαλωμῶν (*Oxoniensis, Auct. T. II. 3*), Εἰς Σαλωμῶν ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυΐδ (*Par. Gr.* 145).

cédé, au fol. 1r-v, d'un commentaire des versets 4c-7 du même Psaume 71 (voir *infra*). Ce commentaire n'a rien à voir avec le commentaire des versets en question dans les *Vaticani*, l'*Oxonien* et le *Parisinus*. Je ne connais pas d'autre exemple de cette interprétation et espère que de plus compétents que moi pourront en repérer. Si l'auteur de ce texte est le même que celui du texte qui suit, doit-on imaginer l'existence d'un commentaire inconnu dû à Hésychius? Faut-il au contraire penser que le « Grand commentaire » n'est pas d'Hésychius?

Appendice: texte du *Sofija*, *Научен център за славяно-византийски проучвания „Иван Дуйчев“*, Gr. 392 qui, par déduction, serait attribuable à Hésychius de Jérusalem

Fol. 1 recto, col. a

//οὖν **ταπεινώσει συκοφάντην καὶ συμπαραμενεῖ τῷ ἡλίῳ** (Ps. 71, v. 4c-5a). Αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς ὅστις ἀεὶ συμπαραμένει μετὰ τῆς θεότητος, καθὼς ὁ ἀπόστολος μαρτυρεῖ λέγων· *Χριστὸς ἀναστὰς ἐκ νεκρῶν οὐκέτι ἀποθνήσκει, θάνατος αὐτοῦ οὐκέτι κυριεύει* (Rom. 6, 9). *Συμπαραμενεῖ οὖν τῷ ἡλίῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, καθὼς ὁ αὐτὸς προφήτης ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει· Ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ ἔθετο τὸ σκῆνωμα αὐτοῦ· καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς νυμφίος ἐκπορευόμενος ἐκ παστοῦ αὐτοῦ* (Ps. 18, 5c-6a). *Ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ ἔθετο τὸ σκῆνωμα τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ τῆς θεότητος· καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν νύμφην ἔλαβε καὶ τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ ἐξηγοράσατο αὐτὴν καὶ σφραγισάμενος αὐτὴν ὕδατι καὶ πνεύματι ἐλεύκανε καὶ δι' αὐτὴν εἰς ἄδου κατέδραμεν, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄδῃ τὰ αὐτῆς λελυμένα καὶ διεσκορπισμένα μέλη ἀνασώσῃ καὶ//*

Fol. 1 recto, col. b

//μεν <*>ραν σου <***>μα ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων πατούμενον. Γενέσθω δὴ υἱοθεσία τῶν ἀνθρώπων· γινώμεν ὅτι ἀνάξιοί σοι δουλεύομεν τῷ ἐλεήμονι. Ἀπολάβουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὴν οὐράνιον τροφήν· ἀπολάβουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τῶν ἀγγέλων τὸν ἄρτον. Οὐ γὰρ φθονοῦμεν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος λεγέτωσαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι· *ἄρτον οὐρανοῦ ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν, ἄρτον ἀγγέλων ἔφαγεν ἄνθρωπος* (Ps. 77, 24b-25a). **Ὁ θεὸς οὖν τὸ κρίμα σου τῷ βασιλεῖ δός** (Ps. 71, v. 1), ἵνα τῷ ξύλῳ τοῦ σταυροῦ συντρίψῃ τὸν συκοφάντην ὃν τρόπον κακεῖνος διὰ τῆς τοῦ ξύλου γεύσεως τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ τὴν Εὐάν ἐθανάτωσεν. Εὐδοκεῖ οὖν ὁ πατήρ, ἐπινεύει ὁ υἱός. Σφραγίζει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἐπαγγέλλεται λέγων· **καταθήσεται ὡς ὑετὸς ἐπὶ πόκον καὶ ὡσεὶ στάγων ἢ στάζουσα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν** (Ps. 71, v. 6). Ἐτεὸς δέ ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς λόγος· καὶ πόκος ἡ ἀγία παρθένος. Στάγονες δέ τῆς γῆς, οἱ ἀπόστολοι. Ἐπὶ πᾶσαν οὖν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα δύο//

Fol. 1 verso, col. a

//〈καταβή〉σεται ὡς 〈ὑετὸς〉 ἐπὶ πόκον καὶ ὡσεὶ στάγων ἡ
στάζουσα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (Ps. 71, v. 6). Ἐκέλευσε λέγων· ἀνατελεῖ ἐν ταῖς
ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ δικαιοσύνη καὶ πληθὸς εἰρήνης ἕως οὗ ἀνταναιρεθῇ
ἡ σελήνη (Ps. 71, v. 7). Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀνταναιρεθῆναι τὴν σελήνην οὐκέτι
ἔσται πληθὸς εἰρήνης, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ ἡ εἰρήνη ἐν πᾶσιν ὁ Χριστός, ἵνα ἢ ὁ θεὸς
τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν (1 Cor. 15, 28; Col. 3, 11)· ὅς πρέπει ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ
κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Résumé

Dans cette courte note l'auteur signale quatre « nouveaux » témoins du « Grand commentaire » d'Hésychius de Jérusalem au Psaume 71 (CPG 6554). L'un d'eux présente une particularité très intéressante : le texte traditionnellement présenté comme le « Grand commentaire » d'Hésychius de Jérusalem y porte le titre Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ΟΑ' ψαλμόν. Ἄλλως. Ψαλμὸς Σολομῶντος et est précédé d'un commentaire des versets 4c-7 du même Psaume 71. On peut donc s'interroger sur l'auteur des homélies qu'à de rares exceptions près les chercheurs contemporains attribuent à Hésychius. En effet, comme l'avait fait remarquer dès 1901 Giovanni Mercati, il n'y a pas d'exemple d'un commentaire exégétique commentant deux fois le même passage.

Summary

In this short note the author points out four 'new' witnesses to the "Great Commentary" of Hesychius of Jerusalem at Psalm 71 (CPG 6554). One of them has a very interesting peculiarity: the text traditionally presented as the "Great Commentary" by Hesychius of Jerusalem bears the title Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ΟΑ' ψαλμόν. Ἄλλως. Ψαλμὸς Σολομῶντος and is preceded by a commentary on verses 4c-7 of the same Psalm 71. We can therefore wonder about the author of the homilies which, with very few exceptions, contemporary scholars attribute to Hesychius. Indeed, as noted in 1901 by Giovanni Mercati, there is no example of an exegetical commentary commenting the same passage twice.

Jean-Marie OLIVIER
<jean-marie.olivier6@wanadoo.fr>

A Dispute in Dispute: Revisiting the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* Attributed to Maximus the Confessor (CPG 7698)*

Ryan W. STRICKLER

(Sydney)

The *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* (CPG 7698) is a seventh-century text which describes a dispute which occurred in North Africa between Maximus the Confessor and Pyrrhus, the ex-Patriarch of Constantinople. The document consists of two major sections; the first addresses monotheletism, the theological position which asserted that Jesus Christ had a single divine and human will, followed by a second dispute concerning monenergism, the doctrine which held that Christ had a single divine and human operation. Within these two sections, Pyrrhus, representing the monothelete and monenergist perspectives, objects to Maximus, a known opponent of both doctrines. Maximus proceeds, point by point, to overwhelmingly refute Pyrrhus, who repeatedly concedes. In the end, Pyrrhus renounces his positions and seeks permission to travel to Rome to be absolved by the Pope.

Because of its rare systematic exposition of both dogmas and methodical refutation by the opposition, the *Disputatio* has long been considered an important document. Moreover, the *Disputatio* offers a concrete date and depicts the spoken words and thought of two of the most significant actors in seventh-century Byzantine history. Such features have led scholars to use this document as the *terminus ante et post quem* for much of Maximus's corpus. Traditionally scholars have attributed the document to Maximus or to a scribal witness, and have accepted the date of July 645, given in the prologue, as the date of composition.¹ However, considering its impor-

* I thank David M. Olster who first drew my attention to the *Disputatio* and who, along with David G. Hunter and Daniel J. Gargola supervised the M.A. thesis which formed the basis of this article. I also thank Bronwen Neil, Pauline Allen, Johan Leemans, Bart Janssens, and the anonymous reviewers whose comments greatly improved this final version. All translations are mine.

¹ Following P. SHERWOOD, *An Annotated Date-List of the Works of St. Maximus the Confessor*, Rome, 1952. A reconsideration of Sherwood's work considering recent developments can be found in M. JANKOWIAK – P. BOOTH, "A New Date-List of the Works of Maximus the Confessor", in *The Oxford Handbook of Maximus the Confessor*, ed. by P. ALLEN – B. NEIL,

tance, there has been a paucity of critical scholarship on the date, origin, and purpose of document's production.

After a brief survey of scholarship and an examination of the historical context of the *Disputatio*, this study argues, based on a close textual analysis of the document, that the *Disputatio* is a composite document consisting of an earlier text written by a disciple within Maximus's inner circle, and a later redaction by an anonymous follower. Evidence suggests that the redactor may have been from the Greek diaspora community in Rome, working shortly before the Sixth Ecumenical Council at Constantinople of 680-681.

1. Previous Scholarship on the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho*

Since the years leading to the Second Vatican Council there has been an increase in scholarly interest in the figure of Maximus the Confessor.² While some theological research has been done on the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho*, by and large the document has not yet benefited from these recent trends. What follows is a brief consideration of previous scholarship related to the *Disputatio*.

a. Editions of the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho*

The *editio princeps* of the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* was produced by cardinal Baronius in 1599. François Combefis revised Baronius's edition which he included in his incomplete edition of Maximus's works in 1675. Jacques-Paul Migne reproduced the Combefis edition in his *Patrologia Graeca*.³ By grouping the *Disputatio* in the section *Opuscula Theologica et Polemica*,

Oxford, 2015, p. 19-83. Jankowiak and Booth suggest that the *Disputatio*, along with other trial literature, could have been written by Maximus, but do not discuss the document in detail. See *IBID.*, p. 72. The exception of Jacques Noret will be discussed below. See J. NORET, "La rédaction de la *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* (CPG 7698) de saint Maxime le Confesseur serait-elle postérieure à 655?", *AB*, 117 (1999), p. 291-296.

² For a review of scholarship from the beginning of this period of renewed interest, see P. SHERWOOD, "Survey of Recent Work on St. Maximus the Confessor", *Traditio*, 20 (1964), p. 428-437. For a bibliography of recent scholarship, the work of Peter Van Deun is indispensable. See P. VAN DEUN, "Maxime le Confesseur. État de la question et bibliographie exhaustive", *SE*, 38 (1998-1999), p. 485-573; P. VAN DEUN, "Développements récents des recherches sur Maxime le Confesseur (1998-2009)", *SE*, 48 (2009), p. 97-167; P. VAN DEUN – P. MUELLER-JOURDAN, "Maxime le Confesseur", in *La Théologie byzantine et sa tradition, vol. I/1: VI^e-XII^e siècle*, ed. by C. G. CONTICELLO, Turnhout, 2015, p. 375-510. The most up-to-date collected scholarship on Maximus can be found in *The Oxford Handbook of Maximus the Confessor*, *op. cit.*, n. 1.

³ *PG* 91, coll. 288-353.

Combefis set the standard of how this text would be understood, as a theological treatise written by Maximus, well into the later twentieth century.⁴ Combefis's edition, through Migne, was the last edition of the *Disputatio* until Marcel Doucet's hand written edition included in his unpublished 1972 dissertation.⁵ In 2004, a team of Russian scholars produced the most recent edition to date.⁶

b. Scholarship on the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho*

After Migne, the next development in scholarship on the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* came with Karl Joseph von Hefele's landmark *Conciliengeschichte* in 1869.⁷ Hefele discussed the *Disputatio* in detail and provided a German paraphrase of the *Disputatio* in volume three, which along with the subsequent translations of Hefele's work into English and French, made the *Disputatio* accessible in modern languages. It would not be until Doucet's dissertation that the *Disputatio* would be translated in full into a modern language.⁸

Hefele's work also provided one of the first and most enduring scholarly analyses of the *Disputatio*. Hefele, noting Maximus's "dialectical ability and great superiority to Pyrrhus, whom at times he treated with scant courtesy," accepted the text as authentic, considering it to be the complete acts, composed in 645.⁹ Hefele's perspective set the standard which would remain in place, with slight modifications, until the end of the twentieth century.

Polycarp Sherwood built upon this understanding in his *An Annotated Date-List of the Works of St. Maximus the Confessor*. In his entry on the *Disputatio*, Sherwood accepted the authenticity of the document, saying that "the scribe wrote in Rome where Pyrrhus had made his profession

⁴ J.-C. LARCHET, *Saint Maxime le Confesseur (580-662)*, Paris, 2003, p. 47.

⁵ M. DOUCET, *Dispute de Maxime le Confesseur avec Pyrrhus*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Montreal, 1972.

⁶ D. AFINOGENOV – D. POSPELOV – D. SHLENOV, *Disput s Pirrom: Prp. Maxim Ispovedin i Christologicheskie Spori VII stoletija*, Moscow, 2004.

⁷ K. J. VON HEFELE, *Conciliengeschichte*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1869. For the English translation, see K. J. VON HEFELE, *A History of the Christian Councils from the Original Documents*, trans. by W. R. CLARK, vol. 5, Edinburgh, 1883.

⁸ Since Doucet, the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* has been translated into English, German, Modern Greek, and Russian. See J. P. FARRELL, *The Disputation with Pyrrhus of Our Father Among the Saints Maximus the Confessor*, South Caanan, P. A., 1990; G. BAUSENHART, *In allem uns gleich ausser der Sünde: Studien zum Beitrag Maximus des Bekenner zur altkirchlichen Christologie: mit einer Kommentierten Übersetzung der "Disputatio cum Pyrrho"*, Mainz, 1992; N. ΣΑΜΟΘΡΑΚΗ, *Περί Θελησεως: Πρὸς Μαρίνον Ἐπιστολή, Ζήτησις Μετὰ Πύρρον*, Athens, 1995; and D. AFINOGENOV – D. POSPELOV – D. SHLENOV, *Disput s Pirrom*.

⁹ K. J. VON HEFELE, *A History of the Christian Councils from the Original Documents*, trans. CLARK vol. 5, p. 74.

of the apostolic faith, before, however, the latter had reverted to his heresy..."¹⁰ Most scholarship since has accepted this traditional understanding.¹¹

Jacques Noret has offered the only significant challenge so far to traditional dating and attribution of the *Disputatio*. Noret observed that in the *Relatio Motionis*, the record of the first trial of Maximus in Constantinople, Maximus does not appeal to a record of the disputation when interrogated.¹² Based on that this fact, coupled with the generic similarity between the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho*, the *Relatio Motionis*, and the *Disputatio Bizyae*, Noret argued that the document was written during this period.¹³ This conclusion led Noret to date the *Disputatio* to between 655 and 667, between the date of the *Relatio Motionis* and the death of Anastasius, the disciple of Maximus whom Noret suggested may have composed the *Relatio Motionis*.¹⁴ Noret left the question of authorship open, suggesting Maximus and Anastasius as likely candidates, but noting that it cannot be known for certain.¹⁵

While Noret raises important questions, his answers leave much room for expansion. His short article is not an extensive textual critique of the *Disputatio*. There are further internal problems within the text which, if he had considered them, may have led him to revise his assessment. This study accepts Noret's date range as applicable for the primary composition of the *Disputatio*, while suggesting that it was redacted later by a second hand.

c. Scholarship on Forgery in Maximus and Late-Antique Byzantium

In two articles, Patrick Gray demonstrated the rise in the use of "select Fathers" as authorities in settling doctrinal disputes, and the related phe-

¹⁰ SHERWOOD, *An Annotated Date-List*, p. 53.

¹¹ Cf. DOUCET, *Dispute de Maxime le Confesseur avec Pyrrhus*; FARRELL, *The Disputation with Pyrrhus of Our Father Among the Saints Maximus the Confessor*; BAUSENHART, *In allem uns gleich ausser der Sünde*; A. LOUTH, *Maximus the Confessor*, London, 1996; T. A. WATTS, "Two Wills in Christ? Contemporary Objections Considered in the Light of a Critical Examination of Maximus the Confessor's Disputation with Pyrrhus", *The Westminster Theological Journal*, 71 (2009), no. 2, p. 455-488; and C. HOVORUN, *Will, Action and Freedom: Christological Controversies in the Seventh Century*, Leiden, 2008.

¹² NORET, "La rédaction de la *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* (CPG 7698) de saint Maxime le Confesseur serait-elle postérieure à 655?", *art. cit.*, n. 1, p. 291-296.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 292-293.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 296. *Relatio Motionis* (CPG 7736), *Disputatio Bizyae* (CPG 7735).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 295-296. Consensus is growing around Noret, whose dating is taken increasingly for granted. Cf. LARCHET, *Saint Maxime Le Confesseur (580-662)*; C. BOUDIGNON, "Maxime le Confesseur était-il Constantinopolitain?", in B. JANSSENS – B. ROOSEN – P. VAN DEUN (eds), *Philomathestatos: Studies in Greek and Byzantine Texts Presented to Jacques Noret for his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by B. JANSSENS – B. ROOSEN – P. VAN DEUN, Leuven, 2004, p. 11-43; P. BOOTH, *Crisis of Empire: Doctrine and Dissent at the End of Late Antiquity*, Berkeley, 2013, p. 28; VAN DEUN – MUELLER-JOURDAN, *Maxime le Confesseur*, *op. cit.*, n. 2, p. 414.

nomenon of “pious forgery” of documents attributed to such authorities by polemicists.¹⁶ Gray showed that polemicists used sophisticated techniques to discover forgeries of their opponents, while simultaneously, and without dissonance, forging documents to prove their own arguments. This phenomenon depended upon the idea that the “select Fathers” cannot contradict the truth, and therefore, instances when they do must be corrected. Gray argued that such practices were seen by their perpetrators not as malicious manipulation of evidence, but as providing the thoughts which the Fathers had lacked the opportunity to express in their own lifetimes.¹⁷

Recent studies by Susan Wessel and Daniel Larison have applied this principle to the study of the Sixth Ecumenical Council.¹⁸ Wessel examined what she calls the “scrupulous use of deception” through literary forgery. Building on Gray’s description of forgery as “an act of progress,” Wessel concluded that “early Byzantine forgers and falsifiers of Christian texts did not ‘intend to deceive’ their opponents in the way that most modern scholars believe. The forgers merely thought that they were altering or fabricating texts in order to attest to the unchanging truth of their theological positions.”¹⁹

John D. Madden explored the authenticity of the patristic evidence Maximus cites in defence of his definition of *θέλησις*.²⁰ Among other documents he addressed the *Disputatio*, including a passage which Maximus attributes to Clement of Alexandria. Madden, who accepted Maximus’s authorship, suggests that Maximus fabricated this reference, along with other references in other works, to provide evidence for his unique definition of a word which was rare in pagan Greek authors, and nearly non-existent in Christian Greek authors.

¹⁶ P. GRAY, “‘The Select Fathers’: Canonizing the Patristic Past”, in *Studia Patristica*, 23 (1989), p. 21-36; and IDEM, “Forgery as an Instrument of Progress: Reconstructing the Theological Tradition in the Sixth Century”, *BZ*, 81 (1988), p. 284-289. See also K-H UTHEMANN, “Syllogistik im Dienst der Orthodoxie. Zwei unedierte Texte byzantinischer Kontroverstheologie des 6. Jahrhunderts”, in *JÖB*, 30 (1981), p. 103-112.

¹⁷ GRAY, “Forgery as an Instrument of Progress”, *art. cit.*, n. 16, p. 289.

¹⁸ S. WESSEL, “Literary Forgery and the Monothelete Controversy: Some Scrupulous Uses of Deception”, in *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 42 (2001), no. 2, p. 201-220; D. LARISON, *Return to Authority: The Monothelete Controversy and the Role of Text, Emperor and Council in the Sixth Ecumenical Council*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Chicago, 2009.

¹⁹ WESSEL, “Literary Forgery and the Monothelete Controversy”, *art. cit.*, n. 18, p. 219.

²⁰ J. D. MADDEN, “The Authenticity of Early Definitions of the Will”, in *Actes du Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur Fribourg, 2-5 septembre 1980*, ed. by F. HEINZER – C. SCHÖNBORN, Fribourg, 1982, p. 61-79.

2. The Historical Background of the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho*

a. Crisis and Controversy

The seventh century was a period of significant turmoil. From his coronation at the hand of Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople (610-638) on 10 October 610, the Emperor Heraclius (r. 610-641) inherited an empire in crisis.²¹ His predecessor, the usurper Phocas (r. 602-610), left an empire divided and at war against the Persians under Chosroes II (r. 590-628). Moreover, Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian factions had been quarrelling for decades over whether Jesus Christ, as God incarnate, had one or two natures.

Heraclius and Sergius believed that they had found a means for union through the concept of one energy, or operation in Christ. The formula maintained the status quo of Chalcedon while suggesting that the incarnate Christ had one “theandric” operation. On 3 June 633, a pact of union, known as the *Nine Chapters* was achieved in Alexandria.²²

A monk named Sophronius questioned the orthodoxy of the union. In response Sergius issued a *Psephos* in August 633 forbidding any discussion of one or two operations.²³ Heraclius confirmed this policy with an imperial decree shortly thereafter.²⁴ Sophronius initially agreed, however, at his elevation to the patriarchate of Jerusalem in 634, Sophronius questioned the orthodoxy of monenergism in his *Synodical Letter*.²⁵ Sergius wrote to Pope Honorius (625-638) announcing the union and raising Sophronius’s concerns.²⁶ In his response, Honorius recommended avoiding the expression “one operation”, and instead offered the phrase “we confess one will in our Lord Jesus Christ.”²⁷ This letter marked the end of monenergism and its replacement by monotheletism.²⁸

²¹ J. F. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture*, Cambridge, 1990, p. 41.

²² F. WINKELMANN, *Der monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit*, Frankfurt am Main, 2001, no. 27; BOOTH, *Crisis of Empire*, *op. cit.*, n. 15, p. 205-222.

²³ WINKELMANN, *Der monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit*, *op. cit.*, n. 22, no. 36.

²⁴ P. ALLEN, *Sophronius of Jerusalem and Seventh-Century Heresy: The Synodical Letter and Other Documents*, New York – Oxford, 2009, p. 29.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

²⁶ HOVORUN, *Will, Action and Freedom*, *op. cit.*, n. 11, p. 72.

²⁷ ALLEN, *Sophronius of Jerusalem and Seventh-Century Heresy*, *op. cit.*, n. 24, p. 31.

²⁸ HOVORUN, *Will, Action and Freedom*, *op. cit.*, n. 11, p. 72. Recent years have seen a much-needed increase in attention on the question of monotheletism. Cf. F. WINKELMANN, *Der monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit*, *op. cit.*, n. 22; W. BRANDES, “Konstantin der Grosse in den monotheletischen Streitigkeit des 7. Jahrhunderts”, in *The Dark Centuries of Byzantium (7-9th c.)*, ed. by E. KUNTURA-GALAKI, Athens, 2001, p. 89-107; M. JANKOWIAK, *Essai*

In March 638, Heraclius issued the *Ekthesis*, forbidding the discussion of the operations of Christ, and advocating the agreement of one will instead.²⁹ In November 638 Sergius confirmed the *Ekthesis* in a synod convened in Constantinople, which decreed that violating clergy would be defrocked, and monks and lay people would be excommunicated.³⁰ Upon his death, Sergius's successor Pyrrhus (638-641, 654), affirmed the synod in an encyclical letter.³¹ With Heraclius's death on 2 February 641 Pyrrhus found himself on the losing side of a struggle for succession, and fled Constantinople for North Africa.³²

The crises of the seventh century led to widespread displacement. Significant portions of the Greek-speaking population, including important members of the intelligentsia and influential monastics, fled the invading armies. Many, including Pyrrhus and Maximus, found refuge in North Africa, particularly in Carthage, as well as Rome.³³

b. Pyrrhus, Patriarch of Constantinople

Little information survives concerning the life of Pyrrhus. Only three documents by his hand survive as fragments preserved in the acts of the Lateran Synod and of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, both of which are hostile sources.³⁴ It is known that he was an abbot at the monastery of Chrysopolis, located near Constantinople.³⁵ Before his election, Pyrrhus wrote to

d'histoire politique du monothélisme, Ph.D. Dissertation, Paris-Warsaw, 2009; BOOTH, *Crisis of Empire*, *op. cit.*, n. 15, p. 259-269. Jankowiak counters the prevailing interpretation that monenergism and monotheletism were mere political expediencies and nearly indistinguishable (cf. HOVORUN, *Will, Action and Freedom*, *op. cit.*, n. 11, p. 217) in M. JANKOWIAK, "The Invention of Dyothelitism", in *Studia Patristica*, 63 (2013), p. 335-342.

²⁹ WINKELMANN, *Der monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit*, *op. cit.*, n. 22, n. 50. Marek Jankowiak has associated the *Ekthesis* with a synod which took place in Cyprus in 636. See JANKOWIAK, *Essai d'histoire politique du monothélisme*, p. 159.

³⁰ WINKELMANN, *Der monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit*, *op. cit.*, n. 22, n. 55.

³¹ WINKELMANN, *Der monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit*, *op. cit.*, n. 22, p. 87-88.

³² LARISON, *Return to Authority*, *op. cit.*, n. 18, p. 429. It is unclear whether Pyrrhus fled voluntarily, or whether he was deposed and banished. See J. L. VAN DIETEN, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI. (610-715)*, *Enzyklopädie der griechischen Patriarchen von Konstantinopel*, Teil 4, Amsterdam, 1972, 57-75; BOOTH, *Crisis of Empire*, *op. cit.*, n. 15, p. 252-253.

³³ Averil Cameron notes: "It may seem curious that the first half of the seventh century was to see a vigorous intellectual activity in Africa, all of it conducted in Greek." A. CAMERON, "Byzantine Africa: The Literary Evidence", in *Excavations at Carthage 1978*, ed. by J. H. HUMPHREY, Ann Arbor, 1982, p. 32.

³⁴ *Decretum Synodale* (CPG 7615), *Epistula ad Iohannem IV papam* (CPG 7616), and *Tomus Dogmaticus* (CPG 7617).

³⁵ HOVORUN, *Will, Action and Freedom*, *op. cit.*, n. 11, p. 76.

Maximus seeking his opinion about the *Psephos* somewhere between 633 and 636.³⁶

Pyrrhus seems to have been a precarious figure in Africa. He is the subject of a letter written by Maximus which predates the historical disputation by 1-2 years.³⁷ A fragment of the letter survives, and is a response to an inquiry from Peter the Illustis, the *Strategos* of Numidia, regarding whether Pyrrhus should retain his patriarchal title. Maximus responds that Pyrrhus has been judged and the title should be withheld until he repents.³⁸

c. Maximus the Confessor

Despite the wealth of material that survives, the early life and career of Maximus are still a matter of debate.³⁹ It is sufficient to note that Maximus developed a reputation as a doctrinal authority, particularly against monotheletism. His reputation as an authority grew through several smaller treatises on the subject.

In July 645, a formal debate took place between Maximus and Pyrrhus over the question of monotheletism. The historicity of the debate itself is not questioned here, as it is well attested.⁴⁰ Pyrrhus recanted his position and immediately departed for Rome to be restored by Pope Theodore in person.⁴¹ Maximus followed soon after, arriving in Rome in 646.⁴²

In Rome Maximus continued to actively oppose monotheletism. He worked closely with Pope Theodore I toward a council to condemn monotheletism. In October 649, under the presidency of Pope Martin I (649-654) the Lateran Synod was convened.⁴³ The synod condemned Theodore

³⁶ JANKOWIAK-BOOTH, "A New Date-List of the Works of Maximus the Confessor", *art. cit.*, n. 1, p. 42-43.

³⁷ *Opusculum* 12 (CPG 7697.12), PG 91, cols 141A-146A; PL 129, cols 573B-576D. JANKOWIAK-BOOTH, "A New Date-List of the Works of Maximus the Confessor", *art. cit.*, n. 1, p. 63. This letter survives in an excerpted Latin translation by Anastasius Bibliothecarius which he used in his *Collectanea*. Migne included a version both in his collected works of Maximus (as PG 91, cols 141-146) as well as his edition of Anastasius' *Collectanea*. Strangely enough there are textual variants between the two editions. As relevant quotations are identical in both versions, I have chosen to cite the PL version.

³⁸ *Opusculum* 12, PL 129, col. 576B.

³⁹ For the current state of the debate, see P. VAN DEUN – P. MUELLER-JOURDAN, "Maxime le Confesseur", p. 375-388. For an updated biography based on current scholarship, see P. ALLEN, "The Life and Times of Maximus the Confessor", in *The Oxford Handbook of Maximus the Confessor*, *op. cit.*, n. 1, p. 3-18.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Relatio Motionis*, 6 in P. ALLEN – B. NEIL, *Maximus the Confessor and His Companions: Documents from Exile*, Oxford, 2002, p. 60-61.

⁴¹ PG 91, 353 A-353 B4.

⁴² ALLEN, "The Life and Times of Maximus the Confessor", *art. cit.*, n. 40, p. 8.

⁴³ LOUTH, *Maximus the Confessor*, *op. cit.*, n. 11, p. 17.

of Pharan, Cyrus of Alexandria, patriarchs Sergius, Pyrrhus and Paul, and explicitly stated that the two natures of Christ necessitated two operations and two wills.

Maximus was arrested with Martin I in Rome, and tried in Constantinople for treason.⁴⁴ Maximus was exiled to Bizya, and was tried again and convicted in Constantinople for heresy. Maximus's right hand and tongue were amputated, and he was exiled to Lazica, where he died on 13 August 662.⁴⁵ Maximus's theology and position were vindicated at the Sixth Ecumenical Council.⁴⁶

3. Structure and Content of the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho*

The *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* is divided into four sections based on the subject-matter:

- 1.) Prologue (288A)⁴⁷
- 2.) Debate about monothelism (288B1-333B11)
- 3.) Debate about monenergism (333B12-353A8)
- 4.) Epilogue (353A9-353B4)

This basic division is self-evident. However, upon analysis the text can be understood as a composite of two texts, written on separate occasions. The following is an overview of the four primary divisions of the text, with an indication of seams which suggest a redaction.

a. *The Prologue*

The prologue provides the rhetorical construction of the document's purpose and the date, location, participants, and witnesses. The stated purpose is limited to an investigation of "the one will".⁴⁸ If the *Disputatio* was originally composed to address monothelism and redacted later, the absence of monenergism suggests that the prologue belongs to the original text.

⁴⁴ On the Trial of Maximus and Martin, see W. BRANDES, "Juristische' Krisenbewältigung im 7. Jahrhundert? Die Prozesse gegen Martin I. und Maximus Homologetes", in *Fontes minores*, 10 (1998), p. 141-212; BOOTH, *Crisis of Empire*, p. 300-313. On the trial and treatment of Martin I, see B. NEIL, *Seventh-Century Popes and Martyrs: The Political Hagiography of Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, Turnhout, 2006.

⁴⁵ LOUTH, *Maximus the Confessor*, *op. cit.*, n. 11, p. 18.

⁴⁶ LARSON, *Return to Authority*, *op. cit.*, n. 18, p. 206.

⁴⁷ All citations of the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* employ the numbering used in DOUCET, *Dispute de Maxime le Confesseur avec Pyrrhus*.

⁴⁸ 288 A. τοῦτέστιν τοῦ ἑνὸς θελήματος.

The opening words of the prologue describe what follows as “a record of the inquiry which took place on account of the disturbances which had occurred concerning ecclesiastical dogmas.”⁴⁹ The document is described as a παρασημείωσις, the Greek equivalent of the Latin *adnotatio*, or a legal transcription.⁵⁰ In the context of an event described as a ζήτησις, a judicial inquiry or investigation, it appears that the document was intended to be read as an official legal transcript of a formal judicial inquiry.⁵¹

In addition to dating the disputation “in the month of July, of the third indiction,”⁵² the prologue provides information about the presidency of the disputation and its witnesses, namely “Gregory, the most blessed patrician, the most holy bishops who were found with him, and the rest of the God-loving and esteemed men.”⁵³ This Gregory is the same exarch who led an unsuccessful rebellion against Constans II. By referring to him as the “most blessed patrician,” the author takes sides against Constans II and official imperial policy. Moreover, an unnamed crowd of “most holy bishops” and “God-loving and esteemed men,” provides a sense of authority without specificity.

The prologue demonstrates the partisan nature of the *Disputatio* by referring to monothelism as καινοτομία, or an “innovation,” perhaps the greatest attack one could level at a theological opponent.⁵⁴ Finally, Maximus is established as the protagonist and Pyrrhus as the antagonist, juxtaposing Pyrrhus, the “former patriarch of Constantinople,”⁵⁵ with “Maximus, the most pious monk.”⁵⁶

b. The Debate about Monothelism

The prologue is followed by the first and lengthiest section, the debate concerning monothelism.⁵⁷ A theological analysis of the arguments provided is beyond our scope. However, the following provides an overview of the types of questions and evidence employed in the discussion.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Παρασημείωσις τῆς γενομένης ζητήσεως χάριν τῶν κεκινημένων περὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν δογμάτων.

⁵⁰ *LSJ*, 9th ed., s.v. “παρασημείωσις”.

⁵¹ *LSJ*, 9th ed., s.v. “ζήτησις”.

⁵² 288 A. μηνὶ Ἰουλίῳ ἡνδικτιῶνος γ’. It should be noted that the author does not claim that the text was composed on this date, but rather that the dispute itself took place on this date. Previous researchers have made the mistake of extrapolating a date of composition, when none is given.

⁵³ 288 A. Γρηγορίου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου πατρικίου, καὶ τῶν συνευρεθέντων αὐτῷ ὁσιωτάτων ἐπισκόπων, καὶ λοιπῶν θεοφιλῶν καὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν.

⁵⁴ 288 A.

⁵⁵ 288 A. Πύρρου τοῦ γενομένου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Μαξίμου τοῦ ἐλλαβεστάτου μοναχοῦ.

⁵⁷ 288B-333B11.

Pyrrhus begins by asking how he or his predecessor Sergius had personally offended Maximus, and why the *Ekthesis* and the concept of a single will in Christ are objectionable.⁵⁸ Pyrrhus protests that two wills in Christ would violate the oneness of God,⁵⁹ that two wills cannot exist in one person without opposition,⁶⁰ and similar objections. Pyrrhus continues to pose objections and agree to Maximus's responses while replying with further objections.

After this theological discussion, and after Pyrrhus has thus far conceded to Maximus, Pyrrhus suggests that to prevent abuse by heretics, it is best to avoid the discussion of the wills and to be content with using the councils.⁶¹ Here the dispute turns toward a discussion of conciliar evidence. Maximus dismisses Pyrrhus's suggestion, and argues that the matter of the will was discussed in councils. He states that Apollinaris and Arius used the phrase "one will," and were condemned, citing the Fifth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople in 553, suggesting that Athanasius, Basil, Gregory and others taught "two wills."⁶²

The discussion then shifts toward philosophy, including discussions of the different forms of life, and whether the faculty of willing is attached to nature. An in-depth analysis is beyond our scope. It is sufficient to say that this section provides answers to philosophical and anthropological objections, with Pyrrhus conceding.⁶³

The *Disputatio* turns next to a discussion of patristic evidence cited by Pyrrhus against Maximus, including citations from Gregory Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Athanasius, and a series of references attributed to Clement of Alexandria.⁶⁴ Pyrrhus proposes each citation, and Maximus explains how each reference proves his position, or offers a counter example.

Pyrrhus then challenges Maximus to prove two wills from the "Old and New Testament," which Maximus does without interruption or objection. Included are examples from the Gospels, citations from Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews, Psalm 39 (LXX), and Genesis 1. Maximus provides exegeses for each citation, and Pyrrhus concedes without objection.

Here we find our first indication of a textual seam. Pyrrhus moves from scriptural proof to a discussion of recent proof texts; the *Libellus* of Menas, the letter of Pope Honorius to Sergius, and the exchange of letters which introduced monotheletism. This matter will be discussed in detail below.

⁵⁸ 288B1-288C2.

⁵⁹ 288D6-289A3.

⁶⁰ 289C8.

⁶¹ 300C1-4.

⁶² 300D-301A3.

⁶³ This grouping is 301A4-316B3.

⁶⁴ 316B4-320C15.

Here it is sufficient to say that this material, which received little attention prior to the *Disputatio*, was significant at the Sixth Ecumenical Council in 680-681.

I suggest that the primary text ends with the proof from scripture, and the line following this discussion of contemporary texts, in which Pyrrhus says: "Your logic has made the proper demolition of everything I put forth, and the inquiry about the wills has wholly left nothing undone."⁶⁵ This fulfils the prologue's mandate, and provides a well-concluded debate in which Pyrrhus admitted the error of monothelism.

c. The Debate about Monenergism

Immediately after Pyrrhus's concession, Maximus insists on discussing monenergism. Although the doctrine of monenergism had been replaced by monothelism, and its discussion forbidden by Sergius and Pyrrhus himself, Pyrrhus agrees to defend his outdated position. The format is similar to the monothelism debate, with Maximus answering Pyrrhus's objections, which focus on whether Christ's unity necessitates a single operation.⁶⁶ The first section includes an analogy by Maximus to describe how one body can have two energies, and a discussion of the *Nine Chapters*.

The next section includes a discussion of patristic objections to two operations. This involves two citations, one by Cyril of Alexandria, and a discussion of the meaning of the phrase "a new theandric operation," coined by pseudo-Dionysius. This discussion is followed by objections raised by Pyrrhus from "the Fathers," none of whom are named.⁶⁷

At the conclusion of the monenergism debate, Pyrrhus concedes and confesses that he and Sergius were in error. Pleading ignorance, Pyrrhus asks if there is a way to deny "the absurdity" of his error while preserving Sergius's memory. When Maximus denies his request, Pyrrhus objects that it would negate the "councils" presided over by Sergius and later himself. A discussion follows concerning what constitutes a legitimate council and ends with Pyrrhus condemning Sergius, and asking for leave to travel to Rome to receive absolution.⁶⁸

d. The Epilogue

The *Disputatio* concludes with the Epilogue. Maximus and Gregory grant Pyrrhus permission to travel to Rome for the sake of unity. The final para-

⁶⁵ 333B9-11. Πάντων τῶν προταθέντων τὴν ἀνατροπὴν δεόντως ὁ λόγος ἐποιήσατο καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐλλείπει ἢ περὶ θελημάτων ζητήσις.

⁶⁶ 341B1-344A14.

⁶⁷ 344B1-352B11.

⁶⁸ 352C1-353A8.

graph says that Pyrrhus condemned the *Ekthesis*, made confession in Rome, and was restored to communion. It also notes that Pyrrhus arrived “with us in this most glorified city of the Romans.”⁶⁹

4. Issues and Problems within the Text of the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho*

We now turn to features within the text which raise questions about the unity of the *Disputatio*, suggest the possibility of a later redaction, and hint at the purpose of such a redaction. One such feature is the attention to documentary evidence, particularly the discrediting of texts used by Pyrrhus to defend his position. This process resembles efforts expended by the fathers of the Sixth Ecumenical Council.

a. *Forgery Detection in the Disputatio cum Pyrrho*

The *Disputatio* shifts suddenly to an examination of contemporary documents employed by Pyrrhus, including accusations of deliberate mishandling and manipulation. Included here are the *Libellus* attributed to Patriarch Menas, the letter of Honorius to Sergius, and the alteration of the formula “a new theandric operation” by pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite.

This examination begins with a discussion of the *Libellus* of Menas as follows:

Pyrrhus: But how could Vigilius, the bishop presiding over the Romans at that time, accept the *Libellus*, which held one will, from Menas, who was the bishop of the capital, when he was shown these things in the imperial privy council chamber of the Emperor of the Romans at the time?

Maximus: I am amazed how both of you, who are patriarchs, tell brazen lies! Your predecessor [Sergius], writing to Honorius, said that “on the one hand, [the *Libellus*] was dictated, but it was not given nor shown clearly [to Vigilius];” but you said, to Pope John who is now among the saints, that “[the *Libellus*] was given and shown clearly [to Vigilius], having been read by Constantine the Quaestor.” Who are we to believe, you or your predecessor? For it is not possible for both to be true...

Pyrrhus: Let these things concerning Vigilius be granted...⁷⁰

⁶⁹ 353A12: Ἐν ταύτῃ οὖν τῇ μεγαλυνύμῳ σὺν ἡμῖν γενόμενος Ῥωμαίων πόλει.

⁷⁰ 328 A9-B12: Π. ...Πῶς οὖν τὸν ἐπιδοθέντα λίβελλον ὑπὸ Μηναῖ τοῦ γενομένου ἐπισκόπου τῆς βασιλίδος ἐν θέλημα ἔχοντα ἐδέξατο Βιγίλιος ὁ τῆς Ῥωμαίων τηνικαῦτα πρόεδρος καὶ ταῦτα ἐμφανισθέντος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ σεκρέτῳ τοῦ τηνικαῦτα τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεύοντος καὶ τῆς συγγλήτου;

Μ. Θαυμάζω πῶς πατριάρχαι ὄντες κατατολμᾶτε τοῦ ψεύδους. Ὁ προηγησάμενός σε πρὸς τὸν ἐν ἀγίοις Ὀνώριον γράφων εἶπεν ὅτι «Ἵπτηγορεύθη μὲν οὐκ ἐπεδόθη δὲ οὔτε ἐνε-

Here Maximus draws attention to the contradictory accounts given by Pyrrhus and Sergius, going so far as to call them both liars. This line of inquiry renders the account of Vigilius's reception of the *Libellus* suspect. If no confirmation can be offered regarding whether the letter was delivered, let alone received by the pope, the legitimacy of the letter, and claim to early papal assent to monothelitism is brought into question. Pyrrhus acknowledges the conflict, but offers no explanation, instead conceding and changing the subject.

It is difficult to overemphasize the importance of this passage. The *Libellus* was a significant weapon in the monothelite arsenal. If authentic, it would have provided a link between a respected and orthodox patriarch and pope, which attested to the one will. This document was critical for legitimizing the monothelite cause, and disproving its authenticity was part of the dyothelite strategy during the Sixth Ecumenical Council.⁷¹ If the *Libellus* had been accepted, it would have proven a victory for the monothelites, both as a documentary source of authority and as evidence for the historical continuity of monothelitism. On the other hand, proving the document to be a forgery would render the remaining monothelite *florilegia* suspect.⁷²

The importance of the *Libellus* places this exchange in perspective. It provides the first extant reference to the possible forgery of the *Libellus*, and records a key monothelite proponent unable to account for its chain of reception. While Pyrrhus stops short of admitting that the *Libellus* is a forgery, his acknowledgement that the *Libellus* is moot delegitimizes the document's use as a monothelite source.

After Pyrrhus concedes the *Libellus*, he offers another critical document as evidence of his position, the letter of Pope Honorius to Patriarch Sergius, in which the former employed the phrase "one will in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," initiating the rise of monothelitism. Pyrrhus states that Honorius "clearly taught one will of our Lord Jesus Christ to my predecessor."⁷³ Maximus responds by appealing to the amanuensis who composed the letter. After Pyrrhus agrees that this individual is the best witness to the truth, Maximus states:

φανίσθη». Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τὸν ἐν ἀγίοις Ἰωάννην τὸν πάπαν ἔφης ὅτι «Καὶ ἐπεδόθη καὶ ἐνεφανίσθη ἀναγνωσθεῖς διὰ Κωνσταντίνου κοιαιστῶρος». Τίνι οὖν πιστεύομεν; σοὶ ἢ τῷ πρὸ σοῦ; Οὐ γὰρ δυνατὸν ἀμφοτέρους ἀληθεύειν...

Π. Ἔστω περὶ Βιγιλίου ταῦτα...

⁷¹ LARISON, *Return to Authority*, *op. cit.*, n. 18, p. 269.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 277.

⁷³ 328B12-13: εἰπεῖν φανερώς πρὸς τὸν πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἐν δογματίσαντος θέλημα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Maximus: This same man who, writing to Constantine, who is among the saints, who was Emperor, again writing for Pope John, who is among the saints, concerning the same letter, said that “We said one will for Christ, not for his divinity and humanity, but only his humanity. For with Sergius having written that some say that the two wills of Christ are in opposition, we write against this, that Jesus did not have two opposing wills (I speak of flesh and spirit, as we have after the fall), but one, characterized by his humanity according to his nature,”...Then in anticipation of the reply being made, he said “If one says: ‘when thinking about something concerning the humanity of Christ, do you make mention of his divinity?’ We say that the answer was made for a specific question...”⁷⁴

Pyrrhus concedes to Maximus, stating that Sergius understood the text “simplistically.”

Maximus’s support for Pope Honorius is well documented in his *Dogmatic Tome* to Marinus the priest and in his letter to Peter the Illustis. However, the defence offered in the *Disputatio* is unique. For example, in the *Dogmatic Tome* Maximus wrote:

And indeed I do not think that Honorius Pope of the Romans opposes the two inborn wills of Christ, in that letter which was written to Sergius to speak about the one will, but I think rather that he agrees, and that he (as is reasonable) affirms this duality, that he was not speaking in rejection of the human and natural will of our Saviour, but that the will of the flesh by no means ruled over His unbegotten conception, or His incorrupt birth, or was subject to desire.⁷⁵

Here Maximus defends Honorius by suggesting that he was misunderstood by Sergius.

⁷⁴ 329A5-329B8: **M.** Αὐτὸς οὖν πρὸς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν γενόμενον βασιλέα ἐκ προσώπου πάλιν Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πάπα περὶ αὐτῆς γράφων ἔφη ὅτι «Ἐν θέλημα ἔφημεν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρίου οὐ τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ἀλλὰ μόνως τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος. Σεργίου γὰρ γράψαντος ὡς τινες δύο θελήματα λέγουσι ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ ἐναντία, ἀντεγράψαμεν ὅτι Ὁ Χριστὸς δύο θελήματα ἐναντία οὐκ εἶχε – σαρκὸς φημι καὶ πνεύματος – ὡς ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν μετὰ τὴν παράβασιν ἀλλ’ ἐν μόνον τὸ φυσικῶς χαρακτηρίζον τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνθρωπότητα»...Εἶτα καὶ προκατάληψιν ἀνθυποφορᾶς ποιούμενος φησὶν· «Εἰ δέ τις λέγοι καὶ τίνος χάριν περὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος τοῦ Χριστοῦ διαλαβόντες περὶ τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ μνήμην οὐκ ἐποιήσαθε; φαμὲν ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐρώτησιν ἡ ἀπόκρισις γέγονεν...

⁷⁵ *Opusculum* 20 (CPG 7697.20), PG 91, col. 237C-D: Τὸν δέ γε τῆς Ῥωμαίων πάπαν Ὀνώριον, οὐ καταγορεύειν οἶμαι τῆς τῶν ἐμφύτων θελημάτων ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ δυνάδος, ἐν τῇ γραφείᾳ πρὸς Σέργιον ἐπιστολῇ διὰ τὸ ἐν θέλημα φάναι, συναγορεύειν δὲ μᾶλλον, καὶ ταύτην ὡς εἰκὸς συνιστᾶν, οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀθετήσει τοῦτό γε λέγοντα τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου καὶ φυσικοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος θελήματος, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τοῦ μηδαμῶς τῆς ἀσπόρου συλλήψεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀφθόρου γεννήσεως προκατηγεῖσθαι θέλημα σαρκὸς, ἢ λογισμὸν ἐμπαθῆ.

In his letter to Peter the Illustis Maximus offers a different sort of defence:

Concerning all of these things they are wretched, nor have the opinions of the apostolic see been accomplished, and that which is laughable, nay it is better that we say, most deserving of lament, in as much as it is demonstrative of the audacity of these men, they did not hesitate to lie rashly to that very apostolic see: but as if they had taken the counsel of that see, and just as if a decree had been received from that see, *these men usurped the great Honorius for their own purposes in their own continuous actions on behalf the impious Ekthesis*, making the most eminent man in the cause of piety a witness of their presumption to others.⁷⁶

Here, Maximus accuses Pyrrhus and Sergius, of “usurping” Honorius for their own purpose. Thus, Maximus suggests that rather than simply misunderstanding Honorius, the patriarchs willingly usurped the letter, and concealed their usurpation.

Both defences differ significantly from the *Disputatio*. All three are interested in absolving Honorius of belief in a single will. However, unlike the other two, the *Disputatio* appeals not to Honorius’s words but to the papal amanuensis, who composed both Honorius’s letter to Sergius and John IV’s letter in defence of Honorius, which opposed monothelism.

The amanuensis defence fits within the context of the legitimacy of contemporary proof texts. The author, rather than redeeming Honorius *per se*, delegitimizes the monothelite use of this letter. This mirrors the Sixth Ecumenical Council’s archival emphasis. While Honorius would be condemned, the exercise reflects the critique of monothelite evidence.

b. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite

In addition to epistolary evidence, the *Disputatio* addresses the monenergist use of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. The discussion focuses on the proper interpretation of the Dionysian phrase “a new theandric operation (καινήν τινα τὴν θεανδρικὴν ἐνέργειαν).” Pyrrhus argues that “newness (καινότης)” refers to the “quantity (ποσότης)” rather than the “quality (ποιότης)” of the operations of Christ, i.e. newness is synonymous with oneness. Likewise, he suggests that the adjective “theandric (θεανδρικὴ)” implies a unity and requires a single operation in Christ. Maximus replies:

⁷⁶ *Opusculum* 12, PL 129, col. 575A, emphasis mine: De quibus omnibus miseri nec sensus apostolicae facti sunt sedis, et quod est risu, imo ut magis proprie dicamus, lamento dignissimum, utpote illorum demonstrativum audaciae, nec adversus ipsam apostolicam sedem mentiri temere pigritati sunt: sed quasi illius effecti consilii, et veluti quodam ab ea recepto decreto, in suis contextis pro impia ecthesi actionibus secum magnum Honorium acceperunt, suae praesumptionis attestationem ad alios facientes viri in causa pietatis maximam eminentiam.

Maximus:...When the Apostle says “behold, all things become new,” he says nothing else than “behold, all things become one”...But if the newness is a quality, then it does not demonstrate one operation, but a new and mysterious mode of the manifestation of the natural operations of Christ, mingling the natures of Christ into one another as is fitting, and his manner of living according to his humanity, being foreign and paradoxical, and unknowable by natural beings, and a means of exchange according to the mystical union.⁷⁷

Pyrrhus raises the primary interpretation of this citation in favour of monenergism, that “newness” was synonymous with “oneness.” Maximus objects that newness refers to the quality of the operation, not a number. Pyrrhus eventually concedes.

The use of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite in the Sixth Ecumenical Council is one of the great ironies of the seventh century. Both sides appealed to pseudo-Dionysius as a source, and neither recognized the Dionysian corpus as a forgery. The phrase “a new theandric operation” was critical to the monenergist position. It was a primary proof employed at the Union at Alexandria in 633. While the rise of monotheletism would cause this reference to lose some of its importance, the desire of the fathers of the Sixth Ecumenical Council to condemn monenergism along with monotheletism restored the importance of this text.

c. What Constitutes a Council?

The final exchange in this section involves a discussion concerning the legitimacy of the synod presided over by Sergius in 638, and its continuation under the presidency of Pyrrhus in 639 which approved the *Ekthesis*.⁷⁸ In this passage, Pyrrhus considers these synods to be an ecumenical council. The exchange is as follows:

Pyrrhus: By truth, this inquiry concerning the operations has demonstrated that “one operation” is absurd, in whatever way it is said, when applied to Christ; but I ask for pardon both on my own behalf, and for my predecessors. For it was from ignorance that we proclaimed these

⁷⁷ 345D3-348A2. **M.** ...ὅταν λέγῃ ὁ Ἀπόστολος· «Ἴδού γέγονε τὰ πάντα καινὰ» οὐδὲν ἕτερον λέγει, ἢ ὅτι Ἴδού γέγονε τὰ πάντα ἓν... Εἰ δὲ ποιότης ἐστὶν ἡ καινότης, οὐ μίαν δηλοῖ ἐνέργειαν ἀλλὰ τὸν καινὸν καὶ ἀπόρρητον τρόπον τῆς τῶν φυσικῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνεργειῶν ἐκφάνσεως, τῷ ἀπορρήτῳ τρόπῳ τῆς εἰς ἀλλήλας τῶν Χριστοῦ φύσεων περιχωρήσεως προσφόρως καὶ τὴν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον αὐτοῦ πολιτείαν ζήνῃ οὖσαν καὶ παράδοξον καὶ τῇ φύσει τῶν ὄντων ἄγνωστον καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀπόρρητον ἑνώσεως ἀντιδόσεως.

⁷⁸ For these synods see above, see WINKELMANN, *Der monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit*, *op. cit.*, n. 22, p. 87-88. Fragments of the *Acta* of the synods have been preserved in the *Acta* of the Lateran Council of 649. See *ACO* 2 II, 168-170.

absurd opinions and arguments. And I ask you to find a way, so that this alien absurdity may be destroyed, and the memory of my predecessors may be preserved.

Maximus: There is no other way than to pass over the persons in silence and to anathematize the dogmas.

Pyrrhus: But if this happens, both Sergius and the council which happened under my patriarchate would be cast out along with the dogmas!

Maximus: It is amazing to me, how you call this a council, which did not occur according to the laws and canons for councils, or ecclesiastical ordinances; for there was neither an encyclical letter for the assent of the patriarchs, nor was the place or date for meeting announced. Nor was there an introduction of charges or an accuser present. Those who assembled did not have letters of recommendation, nor were there bishops from the metropolitans, nor metropolitans from the patriarchs. There were no letters or legates sent from the other patriarchs. Therefore, who by this logic would lift this up to be called a council, which distributed scandal and discord throughout the entire Empire?

Pyrrhus: If therefore there is no other way than this, for the salvation of my all of my honours, I am ready to do this with full assurance; and asking for one thing, principally that I be considered worthy on the one hand to pray at the apostolic sepulchres, and especially, the chiefs of the apostles; and finally, to see the most holy Pope face to face, and to give to him a letter concerning the absurdity of my errors.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ 352C-353A8: **Π.** 'Επ' ἀληθείας καὶ ἡ περὶ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν ζήτησις ἄτοπον ἔδειξε τὴν μίαν ἐνέργειαν καθ' οἷονδ' ἴποτε τρόπον ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ λεγομένην. Ἀλλὰ συγγνώμην αἰτῶ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν προλαβόντων. Ἐξ ἀγνοίας γὰρ εἰς τὰς ἀτόπους ταύτας ἐξηγέθημεν ἐννοίας καὶ ἐπιχειρήσεις· καὶ παρακαλῶ εὐρεῖν τρόπον ἵνα καὶ ἡ ἐπέσαστος αὕτη ἀτοπία καταργηθῇ καὶ ἡ μνήμη τῶν προλαβόντων φυλαχθῇ.

Μ. Ἄλλος οὐκ ἔστι τρόπος ἢ παρασιωπηθῆναι μὲν τὰ πρόσωπα ἀναθεματισθῆναι δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα δόγματα.

Π. Ἄλλ' εἰ τοῦτο γένηται, εὐρίσκονται τούτοις συνεκβαλλόμενοι Σέργιος τε καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ ἐμοῦ γενομένη σύνοδος.

Μ. Θαυμάζειν ὕπεστί μοι πῶς σύνοδον ἀποκαλεῖς τὴν μὴ κατὰ νόμους καὶ κανόνας συνδικούς ἢ θεσμούς γενομένην ἐκκλησιαστικούς. Οὔτε γὰρ ἐπιστολὴ ἐγκύκλιος κατὰ συναινέσειν τῶν πατριαρχῶν γέγονεν οὔτε τόπος ἢ ἡμέρα ὑπαντήσεως ὠρίσθη. Οὐκ εἰσαγωγίμος τις ἢ κατηγορος ἦν. Συστατικὰς οἱ συνελθόντες οὐκ εἶχον οὔτε οἱ ἐπίσκοποι ἀπὸ τῶν μητροπολιτῶν οὔτε οἱ μητροπολιταὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πατριαρχῶν. Οὐκ ἐπιστολαὶ ἢ τοποτηρηταὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πατριαρχῶν ἐπέμφθησαν. Τίς οὖν λόγου μεμοιραμένος σύνοδον καλεῖν ἀνάσχοιτο τὴν σκανδάλων καὶ διχονοίας ἄπασαν πληρώσασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην;

Π. Εἰ οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτερος τρόπος ἢ οὗτος πάντων τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ προτιμῶν σωτηρίαν ἐτόίμως ἔχω μετὰ πάσης τοῦτο ποιῆσαι πληροφορίας· ἐν καὶ μόνον παρακαλῶν ὥστε ἀξιωθῆναι με προηγουμένως μὲν τῆς τῶν ἀποστολικῶν σηκῶν μάλλον δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν κορυφαίων

History has remembered these two episcopal gatherings as local synods.⁸⁰ However, based on Pyrrhus's reluctance to renounce them, and Maximus's procedural objections, it seems that Pyrrhus and the monotheletes considered them to hold ecumenical status. This may be supported by a reference made by Maximus in his letter to Peter the Illustis to "robber councils" contrived by Sergius and Pyrrhus "against the pious."⁸¹ It is unclear which "robber councils" Maximus is referring to; however these two synods, which threatened to defrock offending clergy and excommunicate laity, are likely candidates.⁸²

Regardless of their ecumenical status, these synods would have created a problem of legitimacy for any future council which might overturn their findings. Here Pyrrhus is on record denying the legitimacy and ecumenical status of the synods. This would be useful in countering potential contests against a future council based on the authority of previous "councils," or any assertion that monotheletism was enshrined by conciliar decree. Likewise, a list of requirements by Maximus for an ecumenical council could establish the standards of legitimacy for a future council, and create a contrast with previous synods.

Pyrrhus is also placed on record anathematizing Sergius, his own "errors," and appealing to Rome for absolution. This is significant for anyone attempting to delegitimize these former patriarchs of Constantinople, and to promote the authority of Rome, depicted here as a supreme authority, to which even a patriarch of Constantinople must appeal for absolution.

5. Genre and Tone

We turn now to the dialogue genre and the tone of the *Disputatio*. The literary nature of the *Disputatio* is manifest in its rhetorical construction, in which Maximus is the clear protagonist while Pyrrhus is a foil. Rather than a stenographer's account, the *Disputatio* is formulaic. Pyrrhus raises simple questions which Maximus expounds upon, and Pyrrhus accepts without protest. This either demonstrates that Maximus excelled beyond measure

ἀποστέλων προσκυνήσεως, λοιπὸν δὲ καὶ τῆς κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πάπα θέας καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπιδοῦναι τῶν ἀτόπως γεγενημένων λίβελλον.

⁸⁰ VAN DIETEN, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI. (610-715)*, p. 59-61; WINKELMANN, *Der monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit*, *op. cit.*, n. 22, p. 87-88; HOVORUN, *Will, Action, and Freedom*, *op. cit.*, n. 11, p. 73; R. PRICE – P. BOOTH – C. CUBIT, *The Acts of the Lateran Synod of 649*, Liverpool, 2014, p. 231-234. This is not an unreasonable conclusion, considering dual meaning of σύνοδος in late antiquity. Cf. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. "σύνοδος".

⁸¹ *Opusculum* 12, PL 129, col. 574C.

⁸² WINKELMANN, *Der monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit*, *op. cit.*, n. 22, n. 55.

above an entirely incompetent Pyrrhus, or, what is certainly more likely, that this is a literary trope, reminiscent of Platonic dialogues in which Socrates excels over his interlocutors.

Stylized theological disputations developed as an important sub-genre of late-antique polemical literature. The seventh century alone saw an increase of *adversus Judaeos* dialogues, in which a Christian protagonist would convince a Jewish interlocutor of the truth of Christianity.⁸³ Within the Maximus corpus, as Noret has observed, the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* bears similarities with the *Relatio Motionis* and the *Disputatio Bizyae*, each composed by Maximus's disciples. The *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* is a typical example of this genre.⁸⁴

Related to the genre is the treatment of Pyrrhus. If the *Disputatio* were composed between his recantation in Rome and his reversion in 647, we would expect a deferential tone, and based on Maximus's own criteria, the restoration of his honorific title. In his letter to Peter the Illustis, on the question of Pyrrhus's title, Maximus wrote that his title could be restored if he were to return to the Church, "indeed to the Lord our God through pious confession and orthodox faith, by which he may recover sanctification, and a holy name."⁸⁵

Considering that Pyrrhus met these requirements, one would expect this to be reflected in the *Disputatio*. Instead Pyrrhus is treated poorly and is never addressed by honorific titles. This strongly suggests, and confirms what Noret has already noted, that the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* was written after Pyrrhus's reversion to Monotheletism.

6. Documentary Divisions

We have argued that the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* is a composite document. What follows is a proposed division between primary document and later redaction.

⁸³ Cf. the anonymous *Doctrina Jacobi nuper Baptizati*, in G. DAGRON and V. DÉROCHE, "Juifs et Chrétiens dans l'Orient du VII^e siècle", in *TM*, 11(1991), p. 17-273; *Trophies of Damascus*, in *Les Trophées de Damas, controverse judéo-chrétienne du VII^e siècle*, ed. by G. BARDY, PO 15, Paris, 1927; the *Disputation Between Gregentius and Herbanus the Jew*, in *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar*, ed. by A. BERGER, Berlin – New York, 2006, p. 450-802; and the *Dialogue Between Papiscus and Philo*, in *Dialogue Between a Christian and a Jew*, ed. by A. C. MCGIFFERT, New York, 1889.

⁸⁴ On Christian dialogues in late antiquity, see A. CAMERON, "Can Christians Do Dialogue?", in *Studia Patristica*, 63 (2013), p. 103-120; EADEM, *Dialoguing in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge MA, 2014, and P. ANDRIST, "Literary Distance and Complexity in Late Antique and Early Byzantine Greek dialogues *Adversus Iudaeos*", in *Dialogues and Debates from Late Antiquity to Byzantium*, ed. by A. CAMERON and N. GAUL, New York, 2017, p. 43-64.

⁸⁵ *Opusculum* 12, PL 129, col. 576A-B: ...imo ad Dominum Deum nostrum per piam confessionem et orthodoxam fidem, qua sanctificationem recipiat, sanctumque vocabulum.

a. *Disputatio* α (288A-328A7, and 333B9-11)

We begin with the primary composition, hereafter referred to as *Disputatio* α. This consists of 288A-328A7, beginning with the prologue, and including the primary discussion of monothelitism through to the discussion of biblical proofs, and resuming, after a redacted insertion, with 333B9-11, including Pyrrhus's final concession that monothelitism had been thoroughly refuted. This is based on the following: these sections form a coherent whole, and produce a substantial discussion and refutation of monothelitism, the goal stated in the prologue. Moreover, these sections contain the primary appeals to authority relevant at the time, i.e., patristic tradition and scripture, with philosophical and theological objections.

The section in between (328A8-333B8), while relevant to monothelitism, is peculiar. The focus on documentary authentication of the *Libellus* of Menas and the Letter of Honorius are unique to this period. The *Libellus* of Menas, for example, does not appear in the *Acta* of the Lateran Synod of 649. The only other mention of the *Libellus* appears in the *Disputatio Bizyae*.⁸⁶ While Noret has suggested that these two documents are related, Maximus does not contest the *Libellus's* authenticity in the *Disputatio Bizyae*, but rejects Menas's orthodoxy in passing. Likewise, no argument in support of Honorius, outside of the *Disputatio*, appeals to the papal amanuensis. Thus, I suggest that this section is an insertion by the later redactor.

b. *Disputatio* β (328A8-333B8, and 333B12-353B4)

We turn now to the proposed redaction, hereafter referred to as *Disputatio* β. This redaction includes sections 328A8-333B8 discussed above, along with sections 333B12-353B4, including the discussion of monenergism, the Constantinopolitan synods, and the epilogue. The discussion of monenergism within a disputation whose stated subject is limited to monothelitism, held in 645, raises questions. By 638-639 monenergism had been replaced by monothelitism, and its discussion condemned in a synod presided over by Pyrrhus, to which he attributed ecumenical status. It must be granted that Maximus, as well as the Lateran Synod, condemned monenergism after the disputation.⁸⁷ However, some token objection from Pyrrhus would be expected. Instead he gives a thorough defence. Moreover, If the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* were a single document, including both debates when

⁸⁶ *Disputatio Bizyae*, in ALLEN – NEIL, *Maximus the Confessor and His Companions: Documents from Exile*, p. 90.

⁸⁷ Cf. *Opusculum* 15 (CPG 7697.15), PG, 91, cols 153C-184C. See JANKOWIAK-BOOTH, "A New Date-List of the Works of Maximus the Confessor", *art. cit.*, n. 1, p. 65-66.

published, it is peculiar that the author failed to mention monenergism in the prologue. Finally, monenergism is absent from the *Relatio Motionis*, the document which Noret argues inspired initial creation of the *Disputatio*. Accepting that *Disputatio* α was composed after Maximus's trial in Constantinople, an unbilled debate about monenergism seems unnecessary.

7. Authorship and Purpose

a. Authorship of *Disputatio* α

Having proposed a division between *Disputatio* α and *Disputatio* β, we turn now to the question of authorship, beginning with the initial author. We build upon Noret's suggestion that Anastasius, Maximus, or someone within his inner circle composed the *Disputatio*. I suggest that we can both safely rule out Maximus and confirm Noret's other suggestion based on a close reading of the text in comparison with Maximus's corpus.

Textual analysis indicates that the author of *Disputatio* α was a close disciple of Maximus, likely part of his inner circle. This is inferred from a familiarity with texts used by Maximus, including the use of phrases uniquely used by Maximus in other documents. This familiarity is so close that one could almost argue that this portion of the text was from Maximus's hand.

We see this familiarity in a unique formula which appears in two documents by Maximus. This formula uses a word which appears in only one other extant author in Greek literature prior to the seventh century. Moreover, it is used only when demonstrating the negative logical conclusions of an opponent's argument. The formula is as follows:

[the opponent will be compelled to do X] εἴπερ εὐσυνάρτητον τὸν τοῦ οἰκείου δόγματος [form of aorist infinitive of δείκνυμι] λόγον βούλεσθε/βούλονται.

[the opponent will be compelled to do X] if you/he wishes to demonstrate that the logic of your/his own teaching is well-knit.

Aside from a variation in prefix for the infinitive of δείκνυμι, and variation in person of βούλομαι based on context, this formula is repeated verbatim in two documents by Maximus.

This formula is unique partially because of the adjective εὐσυνάρτητος, -ον. This word, meaning "well-knit," is rare in Greek literature.⁸⁸ A search

⁸⁸ *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. "εὐσυνάρτητος," and *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, vol. III, s.v. "εὐσυνάρτητος". It should be noted that *LSJ* does not include an entry on εὐσυνάρτητος.

of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* finds one other recorded use of this word outside of Maximus prior to the seventh century, by John Philoponus, and then only once, as “ἵνα καὶ εὐσυνάρτητος ὁ λόγος γένηται.”⁸⁹

We will now compare Maximus’s use of this formula in two works; *Epistula* 13, and his *Ten Chapters on the Two Wills of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, with its use in the *Disputatio*. The earliest of these texts is *Epistula* 13, written to Peter the Illustis and dated to 633-634.⁹⁰ The latter is a short treatise refuting the doctrine of the two wills, written c. 643.⁹¹

The following excerpts are the places in which the formula, given in boldface, appears:

Epistula 13

Οὐ χωρὶς ποσὸν καθ’ ὅλου γνωσθῆναι ἀδύνατον, λέγειν αὐτοὺς **ἀνάγκη** μετὰ τὴν ἑνωσιν· **εἴπερ** κατὰ τὴν εὐτακτον ἀκολουθίαν, **εὐσυνάρτητον τὸν τοῦ οἰκείου δόγματος ἀποδείξει βούλονται λόγον.**⁹²

Without which it will be necessary for them to say that it is not possible for the number to be known, on the whole, if, according to a well-ordered sequence, they wish to demonstrate that the logic of their teaching is well-knit.

Ten Chapters on the Wills

Θ’. Εἰ τῷ θελήματι καὶ πρόσωπον συνεισάγεσθαι λέγουσι, καὶ δια-
τοῦτο τὸν οὐκ ὄντα φοβούμενοι φόβον, δύο θελήματα ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ
λέγειν οὐκ ἀνέχονται, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δύο πρόσωπα ἐξ ἀνάγκης αὐτοῖς
συνεισάχθῃ, **βιασθήσονται, εἴπερ εὐσυνάρτητον τὸν τοῦ οἰκείου**
δόγματος λόγον δεῖξει βούλονται, ἢ διὰ τὸ ἐν θέλημα τῆς θεότη-
τος καὶ ἐν πρόσωπον, ἐπειδὴ τῷ θελήματι κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ

⁸⁹ “And in order that the logic may be well-knit.” John Philoponus, *Aristotelis analytica posteriora commentaria cum anonymo in librum ii*, in *Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis analytica posteriora commentaria cum anonymo in librum ii*, ed. by M. Wallies, vol. 13.3 of *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, Berlin, 1909, 342:5.

⁹⁰ *Epistula* 13 (CPG 7699.13) PG 91, cols 509B-533A. See JANKOWIAK-BOOTH, “A New Date-List of the Works of Maximus the Confessor”, *art. cit.*, n. 1, p. 33-34. This is not to be confused with *Opusculum* 12, a later letter of Maximus to Peter the Illustis, which survives only in a Latin fragment.

⁹¹ *Opusculum* 25 (CPG 7697.25), ed. by P. VAN DEUN, “Les Capita X de duplici voluntate Domini attribué à Maxime le Confesseur”, in *Heretics and Heresies in the Ancient Church and in Eastern Christianity: Studies in Honour of Adelbert Davids*, ed. by J. VERHEYDEN – H. TEULE, Leuven, 2011, p. 195-213. See JANKOWIAK-BOOTH, “A New Date-List of the Works of Maximus the Confessor”, *art. cit.*, n. 1, p. 62.

⁹² *Epistula* 13, PG 91, col. 513C.

πρόσωπον ἔπεται, ἥ διὰ τὰ τρία πρόσωπα καὶ θελήματα, Σαβελλίου τὲ τὴν συναίρεσιν καὶ Ἀρείου τὴν διαίρεσιν εἰσάγειν.⁹³

10. If they say that the person is united to the will, and because of this they are “not afraid of that which is fearful,” they are not content to speak of two wills of Christ, in order that the two persons, by necessity, might not be united to each other; then they will be compelled, if they wish to demonstrate that the logic of their own teaching is well-knit, either to say that because of the one will of the divinity, there is also one for the person; since according to them the person follows the will; or because of the three persons, there are also three wills, and to introduce the synthesis of Sabellius and the division of Arius.

Disputatio cum Pyrrho

Εἰ δὲ τῶν θελημάτων σύνθεσιν λέγετε, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φυσικῶν τὴν σύνθεσιν λέγειν **ἐκβιασθήσεσθε· εἴπερ εὐσυνάρτητον τὸν τοῦ οἰκείου δόγματος λόγον δεῖξαι βούλεσθε**, τουτέστι τοῦ κτίστου καὶ τοῦ ἀκτίστου, τοῦ ἀπείρου καὶ τοῦ πεπερασμένου, τοῦ ἀορίστου καὶ τοῦ ὀρισμένου, τοῦ θνητοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀθανάτου, τοῦ φθαρτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀφθάρτου, καὶ εἰς ἀτόπους ἐξενεχθήσεσθε ὑπολήψεις.⁹⁴

And if you speak of a synthesis of the wills, you will be forced to speak of a synthesis of other natural things; if indeed you wish to demonstrate that the logic of your teaching is well-knit, namely, of the created and uncreated, of the infinite and limited, of the boundless and bounded, of the mortal and immortal, of the destructible and indestructible, you will also be delivered into foolish assumptions.

These three excerpts represent the only extant examples of this formula, aside from quotations, found in Greek literature. The formula is unique to Maximus, includes a rare adjective, and seems to suggest Maximus's authorship. However, within the greater context of the *Disputatio*, another explanation is possible.

This formula suggests that the author was a close disciple, familiar with *Epistula* 13 and the *Ten Chapters*, and familiar with Maximus's idiomatic style. Maximus was known for his many well-educated disciples who were prolific writers. His two most famous disciples, Anastasius the disciple and Anastasius Apocrisiarius, composed several documents related to his life.

⁹³ *Opusculum* 25, P. VAN DEUN, “Les Capita X de duplici voluntate Domini attribué à Maxime le Confesseur”, *art. cit.*, n. 95, p. 211.

⁹⁴ 296B13-296C6.

It is impossible to say exactly who composed this section.⁹⁵ However, it is reasonable to confirm Noret's suggestion that the author was among such disciples.

In addition, the author is familiar with many texts which Maximus addressed elsewhere, but differs with Maximus in his explanations. For example, Pyrrhus questions Maximus about a passage of Gregory Nazianzus by offering a paraphrase as follows:

Τί οὖν; τὸ εἰρημένον τῷ Θεολόγῳ Γρηγορίῳ « **Τὸ γὰρ ἐκείνου θέλειν οὐδὲν ὑπεναντίον Θεῷ, θεωθὲν ὅλον** », οὐκ ἔναντίον τῶν δύο θελημάτων ἐστὶ;⁹⁶

What about the saying of Gregory the Theologian “**For his willing faculty is in no way opposed to God, being wholly deified;**” is this not opposed to two wills?

This can be compared with the following from the *Dogmatic Tome* to the priest Marinus:

Περὶ δὲ τῆς εἰς τὴν χρῆσιν ἐρμηνείας τοῦ Θεολόγου καὶ μεγάλου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας [ἀληθείας] κήρυκος Γρηγορίου, τὴν « Παρὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τυποῦσθαι τὸν λόγον φάσκουσιν, οὐ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Σωτῆρα νοουμένου. **Τὸ γὰρ ἐκείνου θέλειν, οὐδὲ ὑπεναντίον Θεῷ θεωθὲν ὅλον** ».⁹⁷

Concerning the interpretation in the saying of the theologian and great herald of the [true] Church, Gregory, which is as follows, that “the word being spoken is formed by the man, who does not think in a way which is against the Saviour. **For the faculty of willing is His, and is in no way opposed to God, being wholly deified.**”

However, the responses offered to the objections differ in striking ways. Maximus, in the *Dogmatic Tome* suggests a misreading in the manuscript tradition in the following:

Τὸ δὲ γε παροξύτωνως ὡς ἐξ ἀντιγράφων τινῶν ἐκφωνεῖν τὸ θεωθὲν ὅλον, καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον ὀξύτωνως, δέοι τοῦ μὴ τὸ ἐν εἰσαχθῆναι θέλημα πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων, λαβὴν δίδωσι καθ’ ἡμῶν... Ἡ γὰρ ὀξύτωνος τοῦ θεωθὲν φράσις, οὔτε εἰς ταυτὸν οὐσιώδους καὶ φυσικοῦ θελήματος ἄγει τὸ, ὡς ἀνθρώπου κατὰ τὸν Σωτῆρα θέλειν, (τίς γὰρ ὁ δεῖξαι δυνάμενος;) καὶ τὴν ἄκραν ἔνωσιν τε καὶ συμφυεῖαν παρίστησι.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ NORET, “La rédaction de la Disputatio cum Pyrrho (CPG 7698) de saint Maxime le Confesseur serait-elle postérieure à 655?”, *art. cit.*, n. 1, p. 295-296.

⁹⁶ 316C6.

⁹⁷ *Opusculum* 20, PG 91, col. 233B.

⁹⁸ *Opusculum* 20, PG 91, coll. 233D-236A.

But indeed, an accent on the penult [θεόθεν] as τὸ θεωθὲν ὅλον is rendered in some copies, is not preferable to the oxytone, lest we necessitate the introduction of one will by our opponents, an addition which they introduce against us...The oxytone expression of “θεωθὲν” provides neither an essential nor a natural will, as they say the Saviour wills like man (for who would be able to demonstrate this?), and it demonstrates the highest union and commingling.

Maximus argues that his opponents have used faulty manuscripts which replace correct reading, “being entirely *deified* (θεωθὲν)” with “being entirely *from God* (θεόθεν)”.

This analysis is missing from the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho*, which is ironic considering the attention paid to correcting monothelete “corruptions” and forgeries of texts which we explored above. Instead Maximus offers the following explanation:

M. Ὡςπερ ἡ πύρωσις τὸ πυρωθὲν καὶ τὸ πυρῶσαν ἑαυτῇ συνεισάγει καὶ ἡ ψύξις τὸ ψυχθὲν καὶ τὸ ψύξαν καὶ ἡ βάδισις τὸ βαδίζον καὶ τὸ βαδιζόμενον καὶ ἡ ὄρασις τὸ ὄρων καὶ τὸ ὀρώμενον καὶ ἡ νόησις τὸ νοοῦν καὶ τὸ νοούμενον – οὐ γὰρ δυνατὸν τὴν σχέσιν ἄνευ τῶν σχετῶν νοεῖν ἢ λέγειν – οὕτω κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον καὶ «ἡ θέωσις» τὸ θεωθὲν καὶ τὸ θεῶσαν.

Ἄλλως τε δὲ εἰ ἡ τοῦ θελήματος θέωσις ἐναντία ἐστὶ τῶν δύο θελημάτων κατ’αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἡ τῆς φύσεως θέωσις ἐναντία ἔσται τῶν δύο φύσεων. Ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς θεώσεως τέθεικεν ὁ Πατὴρ λόγον.⁹⁹

Maximus: Just as “burning” includes in itself that which is burned and that which burns, and “cooling” includes that which was cooled and that which cools, and “walking” includes the walker and that which is walked upon, and “sight” includes that which sees and that which is seen, and “thinking” includes the thinker and the thought; it is not possible to think or speak about a relationship apart from those things which are related. Thus, according to analogy, something deified (τὸ θεωθὲν) includes the deifier (τὸ θεῶσαν). Otherwise, if the deification (θέωσις) of the will is opposed to the two wills, according to them, then the deification of nature is opposed to the two natures. For the father used the same word of deification for both.

These differences demonstrate two important matters. The author of *Disputatio α* was familiar with Maximus’s store of patristic texts and potentially problematic texts, while he had developed a different hermeneutic from

⁹⁹ 316C14-D11.

Maximus. Second, if this text were part of *Disputatio* β, with its attention to textual analysis and critique of monothelete sources, it is strange that the author would not employ Maximus's argument from the *Dogmatic Tome*, which suggested a mishandling of the manuscript tradition. This would have bolstered his critique and his accusations of source manipulation which made up the bulk of *Disputatio* β. Thus, I argue that the author is neither Maximus nor the redactor of *Disputatio* β.

Based on these data we can compile the following profile of the author of *Disputatio* α: he was a contemporary of Maximus, a close disciple, and familiar with his style and problematic patristic citations. However, the author's responses to problematic texts differ significantly from those of Maximus in his extant corpus. Thus, some specificity can be given to Noret's thesis by eliminating Maximus and confirming a close disciple as the author of *Disputatio* α.

b. Purpose of *Disputatio* α

I do not object to Noret's thesis that *Disputatio* α was composed after Maximus's first trial in response to a need for a text of the dispute. I would add that a record of Pyrrhus undermining monothelete positions may have been expedient after his resumption of the patriarchate in 654 shortly before his death. While his death predated Noret's earliest date, a record of his recantation would have undermined his use as an authority.

c. The Redactor of *Disputatio* β

Using similar methods, we can assemble a profile of the redactor. He a follower of Maximus, but not a member of his inner circle. The following builds upon evidence discussed above using additional textual evidence to illuminate the redactor's relationship to Maximus.

Several aspects suggest that the author of *Disputatio* β was a member of the Greek diaspora in Rome. The redactor demonstrates a striking familiarity with the dictation of papal letters, and knowledge that the same amanuensis composed letters for both Popes Honorius and John IV. While Maximus had strong relationships with the popes, especially after he travelled to Rome in 646, his arguments in defence of Honorius were based on assertion of misunderstanding, not the identity of the amanuensis.

While this alone does not confirm a redactor, it is compelling evidence in favour of a Greek-speaking Roman contributor. This evidence is strengthened by the pro-Roman tone which permeates *Disputatio* β. Pyrrhus and Sergius are continually disparaged as deceivers and heresiarchs, whereas Popes Honorius and John IV are venerated as saints. Moreover, Rome is

considered the only bishopric capable of reconciling Pyrrhus. This juxtaposition reflects the rivalry between Rome and Constantinople which existed through most of the seventh century. The tone demonstrates a pro-Roman redactor, possibly living in Rome itself.

The redactor demonstrates a familiarity with Maximus's work and analogy, but lacks the same familiarity with Maximus's style displayed by the author of *Disputatio* α. For example, using Maximus as a mouthpiece to discuss the "new theandric operation" of pseudo-Dionysius would be natural, considering Maximus's extensive commentary on pseudo-Dionysius.¹⁰⁰ Likewise, Maximus would be an obvious candidate to defend Honorius, considering his well-documented position in Honorius's defence. However, the redactor, demonstrates an imperfect familiarity with Maximus, getting broad strokes correct, but differing in execution.

Using these data, we offer the following profile of the redactor of *Disputatio* β: he was a Roman sympathizer from the Greek community in Rome with insider knowledge of the papal scribal system. He was likely a product of the Greek monastery system which was heavily influenced by the theology of Maximus the Confessor and played a significant role in Roman ecclesiastical affairs. He was familiar with Maximus's thought and works, but not to the degree of the author of *Disputatio* α.

d. Purpose of the Redaction

Why would somebody redact *Disputatio* α? I have argued that the materials in *Disputatio* β would be peculiar if included in what was ostensibly a discussion about monothelism. The close examination of documentary evidence, monenergism, and conciliar legitimacy seem out of place. However, the *Libellus* of Menas, letter of Honorius, and pseudo-Dionysius were all scrutinized during the Sixth Ecumenical Council. The council was concerned with anathematizing both monothelism and monenergism. Likewise, the level of textual analysis displayed earned the Council the nickname "the council of archivists." Finally, by delegitimizing the synods of Constantinople any potential canonical objections based on the ecumenical status of monothelism and monenergism could be dismissed.

Based on this, I argue that the text of *Disputatio* α was redacted by a Roman party involved in the preparation for the Sixth Ecumenical Council. The redactor was privy to the documentary evidence to be offered by the monothelite party. He chose the *Disputatio*, which recorded one of the founding fathers of monothelism refuting the doctrine, and modified the document to include material which would be relevant at the upcoming council.

¹⁰⁰ Y. DE ANDIA, "Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and Maximus the Confessor", in *The Oxford Handbook of Maximus the Confessor*, *op. cit.*, n. 1, p. 177-193.

The final puzzle regards the audience of the redaction. We have emphasized the importance of the Greek diaspora in Rome. This community influenced papal policy, included several seventh-century popes, and was loyal to Maximus.¹⁰¹ Moreover, they played a significant role in the Sixth Ecumenical Council. It was this demographic, I argue, that the redactor had in mind. He wanted the Greek-Roman participants to be prepared for potential attacks, and have a reference to counter major theological and textual objections. It was unlikely a coincidence that the Roman party objected when the *Libellus* of Menas was submitted, and although it is uncertain, it is plausible that the delegation had read the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* with its extensive discussion of this controversial text.

8. Conclusion: What is the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho*?

The *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* has been considered among the most important texts in the corpus of Maximus the Confessor, and a critical source concerning monotheletism and monenergism. Most scholars have attributed this text to Maximus the Confessor, and accepted the date given in the prologue, July 645, as a date of composition. Jacques Noret has challenged this understanding, and continues to gain traction, by arguing that the *Disputatio* was produced after Maximus's first trial, either by Maximus or a close disciple.

Accepting Noret's dating, 655-667, and his circle of potential authors as a starting point, we have tried to bring some precision through a close reading of the text. The result has been the discovery of evidence that the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* is likely a composite document. The primary text, *Disputatio* α , fits the profile proposed by Noret and confirms the close relationship between the author and Maximus, while removing Maximus from contention.

The redaction, *Disputatio* β , was added several years after the original composition. The redactor demonstrates familiarity with Maximus, though did not likely know him personally. The interests of *Disputatio* β mirror those of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, particularly its close attention to documentary evidence. The author's familiarity and affinity with the Eternal City suggests that he was a Roman, his language that he was Greek, and his knowledge of the amanuensis system that he was familiar with the ecclesiastical elite.

¹⁰¹ For the influence of the Greek diaspora community on the Papacy, see A. J. EKONOMOU, *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes: Eastern Influences on Rome and the Papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias, 590-752 AD*, Lanham, 2007.

It must be recognized that these conclusions are necessarily tentative. As with any anonymous document, particularly those in which the authorship and date of composition is intentionally obscured, we cannot arrive at absolute certainty. Future discoveries may require a revisitation of these findings. However, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, the volume of evidence, considered in the context of the polemical nature of late seventh-century literature and the historical context of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, suggests that the findings presented here are reasonable and indeed plausible.

The implications for these findings are significant. Scholars should be cautious when using the *Disputatio* as a source for dates or prosopography. Documents within the corpus of Maximus the Confessor which are dated based on the *Disputatio* may require reconsideration. However, beyond simply causing frustration for scholars, understanding the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* as a composite document offers new data for analysis. It grants us a glimpse into the ways in which one of the foremost thinkers and theologians of the seventh century influenced his intellectual successors. It provides insight into the creativity of seventh-century ecclesiastical writers, and provides a case study in the “archival practices” of the seventh century. Moreover, it may open our understanding of the process of preparation for the Sixth Ecumenical Council, a process which is otherwise poorly documented.

Summary

This article revisits the authorship and dating of the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* (CPG 7698), a text which depicts a theological disputation between Maximus the Confessor and Pyrrhus, the former patriarch of Constantinople. Most scholars have attributed this document to Maximus himself, or an impartial scribe, accepting the text as a transcript of the historical disputation which took place in 645. Jacques Noret opened the possibility of an author other than Maximus by pushing the date to between 655 and 667, the date of trial of Maximus in Constantinople and the death of his disciple Anastasius. This article builds upon Noret’s work through a close examination of the *Disputatio cum Pyrrho*. By examining the language and arguments used, apparent textual seams, and the historical context of the Sixth Ecumenical Council in 680-681, this article argues that the *Disputatio* may be the product of two hands, including a primary composition following Noret’s dating, and a later redaction.

Ryan W. STRICKLER
Macquarie University
<ryan.strickler@hdr.mq.edu.au>

Per una futura edizione di Ugo Eteriano: censimento della tradizione manoscritta e problemi di cronologia*

Pietro PODOLAK

(Pisa)

Con un'appendice sui codici che conservano i frammenti greci
di Alessandra BUCOSI

(Venezia)

Considerazioni introduttive

La figura di Ugo Eteriano (come del resto anche quella del fratello, Leone Toscano) ha attratto solo molto tardi l'attenzione della ricerca storica¹.

* Il presente contributo nasce nell'ambito del progetto Futuro in Ricerca 2013: «I secoli XI e XII, prodromi dell'Europa unita e divisa: confronti e scontri tra l'Oriente bizantino e l'Occidente latino», come lavoro collaterale all'edizione critica del *De sancto et immortalis Deo* di Ugo Eteriano. Un ringraziamento va alla mia collega nell'ambito del progetto, Anna Zago, che ha contribuito al presente lavoro con la descrizione del manoscritto C e delle edizioni a stampa Parigi 1589; Parigi 1609; Parigi 1624 e 1644. Un ringraziamento particolare è dovuto anche ad Alessandra Bucosi e Antonio Rigo, che hanno incoraggiato e promosso in ogni modo il presente lavoro; Alessandra Bucosi è inoltre l'autrice dell'appendice con la descrizione dei manoscritti che contengono la versione greca perduta dell'opera (p. 49-57). Ernesto Stagni ha contribuito con dottrina infinita alla schedatura del documento nr. 8.1.

¹ Qui e di seguito si citano le opere di Ugo e dei suoi corrispondenti in base al siglario seguente da noi costituito (le opere inedite o il cui titolo non è attestato dalla tradizione sono indicate nello scioglimento con un titolo convenzionale in italiano; quelle edite sono citate secondo il titolo costituito nell'edizione di riferimento): Hugo, *De sancto* (= Ugo Eteriano, *De sancto et immortalis Deo*); Hugo, *Ep. Alexandr.* (Ugo Eteriano, *Lettera a papa Alessandro III*); Alexandr. III, *Rescr. Hug.* (Alessandro III, *Rescritto a Ugo Eteriano*); Hugo, *Ep. Aimer.* (Ugo Eteriano, *Lettera ad Aimerico di Limoges*); Aimer., *Rescr. Hug.* (Aimerico di Limoges, *Rescritto a Ugo Eteriano*); *Comp. Exp.* (= Anonimo, *Compendiosa expositio in libro De Spiritu Sancto maistri Hugonis*); Hugo, *De anima* (= Ugo Eteriano, *De anima corpore iam exuta*); Aimer., *Ep. De an. I* (= Aimerico di Limoges, *Lettera a Ugo Eteriano sul De anima*); Aimer., *Ep. De an. II* (= Aimerico di Limoges, *Lettera a Ugo Eteriano: conferma di ricezione del De anima*); Cler. Pis., *Hug.* (= Clero pisano, *Lettera ad Ugo Eteriano*); Hugo, *Rescr. cler.*

A distanza di 60 anni dai contributi pionieristici di Antoine Dondaine, a parte qualche lodevole eccezione dal punto di vista biografico o benemerite ma circoscritte imprese ecdotiche, si può dire che un vero interesse per i fratelli pisani non si sia ancora risvegliato².

L'unità di latino medievale del progetto FIR 2013 «I secoli XI e XII, prodromi dell'Europa unita e divisa: confronti e scontri tra l'Oriente bizantino e l'Occidente latino» (Università di Pisa), nelle persone mia e di Anna Zago, ha cominciato a colmare questa lacuna intraprendendo l'edizione del *De sancto*, ormai in fase avanzata di elaborazione, affrontando anche, a livello di *détour*, la pubblicazione di altri testi strettamente complementari e indispensabili alla comprensione dell'opera maggiore, come ad esempio la *Compendiosa expositio*, destinata ad essere stampata in appendice all'*opus magnum* sulla processione dello Spirito Santo, o il *De minoritate*, pubblicato insieme ad *Ep. Alex*³. I molti mesi di lavoro di équipe cominciano adesso a dare i loro frutti e si presenta qui all'attenzione del lettore un contributo concepito come preparatorio all'edizione del *De sancto*. Il suo scopo è quello di esporre – sarà bene accennarlo subito – nel modo

Pis. (= Ugo Eteriano, *Rescritto al clero pisano*); Hugo, *Ep. cons. Pis.* (= Ugo Eteriano, *Lettera ai consoli di Pisa*); Guill. Pis., *Ep. ad Hug.* (= Guglielmo arciprete di Santa Maria a Pisa, *Lettera ad Ugo Eteriano*); Hugo, *Contra Pat.* (Ugo Eteriano, *Contra Patarenos*); Hugo, *De diff.* (= Ugo Eteriano, *De differentia naturae et personae*); Hug. Hon., *Ep. Hugo. I* (= Ugo di Honau, *Epistola missa Hugoni Aetheriano Constantinopolim*); Hug. Hon., *Ep. Hugo. II* (= Ugo di Honau, *Epistola missa Hugoni Aetheriano Constantinopolim*); Petr. Wien., *Ep. Hug.* (= Pietro da Vienna, *Epistola missa de Austria Hugoni Aetheriano Constantinopolim*); Hugo, *De min.* (= Ugo Eteriano, *De minoritate ac equalitate Filii hominis ad Deum Patrem*); Hugo, *Ep. Petr.* (= Ugo Eteriano, *Epistola ad Petrum Wiennensem*); Hugo, *De haer.* (= Ugo Eteriano, *De haeresibus quas in Latinos Graeci deuoluunt*); Hugo, *Ep. Ard.* (= Ugo Eteriano, *Epistola ad uenerabilem card. Arduinum De haeresibus quas in Latinos Greci deuoluunt*); Hugo, *Ep. Alex.* (= Ugo Eteriano, *Epistola ad Alexin Romanum subdiaconum*); Lucius III, *Ep. Leo.* (= papa Lucio III, *Epistola consolatoria de obitu maistri Ugonis ad fratrem eius*).

² Per la riscoperta della figura e delle opere di Ugo resta ancora fondamentale A. DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan», *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 19 (1952), p. 67-134, poi seguito da A. DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et le concile de Constantinople de 1166», *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 77 (1958), p. 473-483; una prima rivisitazione biografica è quella di A. RIGO «Leone Toscano», in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 64, 2005, p. 557-560. Le opere principali e di maggiore spessore filosofico, il *De sancto* e il *De anima*, sono ancora leggibili nella pessima edizione di Migne; *De diff.* beneficia dell'edizione di Haring, ma *Contra Pat.* è leggibile nell'edizione di T. J. UHEN (di difficile reperimento) o in quella di J. HAMILTON – S. HAMILTON – B. HAMILTON, che è del tutto inaffidabile (cf. A. RIGO, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 99/2 [2006], p. 662-668). Per un inquadramento filosofico cf. G. D'ONOFRIO, «Quando la metafisica tornò in Occidente: Ugo Eteriano e la nascita della *theologia*», *Aquinas*, 55 (2012), p. 67-106.

³ Per il *De min.* e per *Ep. Alex.* cf. P. PODOLAK – A. ZAGO, «Ugo Eteriano e la controversia cristologica del 1166: edizione dell'opuscolo *De minoritate*. Appendice: edizione della *Lettera ad Alessio*», *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 74 (2016), p. 77-170, specie p. 92-167.

più sintetico possibile tutte le informazioni raccolte in vista dell'edizione e che riteniamo indispensabili alla comprensione dell'autore e del testo. Una prima sezione cercherà di tratteggiare la biografia di Ugo Eteriano, per alcuni aspetti ancora incerta; una seconda sezione passerà in rassegna opera per opera cercando di definirne la cronologia e l'entità della tradizione manoscritta e a stampa; una terza, frutto dello spoglio sistematico dei cataloghi dei manoscritti delle biblioteche storiche e dei repertori bibliografici, presenta una lista sistematica e una descrizione, per autopsia o condotta su riproduzione, dei testimoni del testo; in una quarta parte cercherò di rendere conto della sopravvivenza delle opere di Ugo presso gli autori successivi.

1. Introduzione biografica

Ripercorrendo la biografia di Ugo, anche sforzandosi di non ripetere quanto già trattato da altri, non si può fare a meno di riprendere, discutendoli criticamente ma in maniera sintetica, i risultati dei lavori di A. Dondaine.

Per quanto si brancoli nel buio per il periodo precedente il 1166⁴, alcuni elementi biografici dell'Eteriano non possono essere messi in dubbio; fra questi, l'origine pisana del nostro autore e le relazioni sempre mantenute con la città natale.

Più complessa la cronologia della nascita, per la quale, con Dondaine, si deve procedere a ritroso a partire dalla elevazione al cardinalato col titolo diaconale di Sant'Angelo: essa era già avvenuta alla metà di luglio del 1182, e poiché bisogna immaginare per Ugo un'età abbastanza avanzata in quella data, bisogna risalire agli anni 1110-1120 come lasso di tempo in cui collocare i natali del Nostro⁵. Porta nella stessa direzione il fatto che, al momento dello scoppio della controversia sul *Pater maior me est* nel 1166, Ugo è già stimato consigliere di Manuele Comneno, mentre un uomo in giovane età non potrebbe ricoprire tale ruolo e godere di così alta

⁴ Per la verità DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan», *art. cit.*, n. 2, p. 81 n. 2, identifica negli *Annales Pisani* il riferimento ad un «maestro Ugo» che potrebbe essere attivo come giudice, a Pisa, nel 1163; ma l'identificazione è troppo incerta e preferisco non considerare questa testimonianza.

⁵ DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan», *art. cit.*, n. 2, p. 72-74. In particolare: Lucio III, lettera in favore della chiesa del Santo Sepolcro (Ph. JAFFÉ – G. WATTENBACH, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum a condita ecclesia ad annum p. Christum MCXCVIII*, cur. S. LOEWENFELD – F. KALTENBRUNNER – P. EWALD, vol. II, Veit et comp., Lipsiae 1888, 14681 [= DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan», *art. cit.*, n. 2, p. 72 doc. nr. XVIII]; il testo in J. v. PFLUGK-HARTTUNG, *Urkunden der Päpste 590-1197*, vol. III, Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1886, nr. 322, p. 293-295).

stima⁶. Ugo e Leone, come afferma il secondo senza ombra di dubbio, sono fratelli *utraque origine*, cioè per parte di entrambi i genitori⁷; il fatto che i nomi che li qualificano (Eteriano/ Toscano) siano diversi indica che si tratta di *agnomina*. Se però è chiara l'origine del *cognomen* «Tuscus», derivato dalla città natale, la spiegazione di quello dell'Eteriano è un ostacolo che dobbiamo confessare insormontabile. Dondaine si diceva sensibile alla tentazione di porre il *cognomen* di Ugo in rapporto con il greco *ἐταιρία*, un corpo militare di stanza nel palazzo imperiale e spesso composto da avventurieri stranieri ripartiti in due compagnie; nonostante che il term. *ἐταιριανός* non sia mai attestato nelle fonti scritte, ipotizzandone l'appartenenza alla lingua esclusivamente parlata, il domenicano francese supponeva che Ugo: «aurait commencé sa carrière à Byzance dans quelque fonction des gardes impériales; non pas qu'il ait porté les armes, mais dans un service de chancellerie appartenant à l'une de ces deux compagnies»⁸.

Per parte mia, preferisco attestarmi su una posizione più aporetica. Bisogna in primo luogo cominciare con la rassegna delle attestazioni del nome nelle fonti latine e greche:

Attestazioni dalle opere di Ugo (quando possibile con indicazione delle varianti in base alla fonte manoscritta; si scartano tutte le attestazioni contenute nelle edizioni a stampa e nei *codices descripti*)

Hugo, *Ep. Alexandr.*: Vgo Eterianus: F, fol. 112v; Q, fol. 139r; T, fol. 111v; V, fol. 150v; Hugo Aeterianus P, fol. 101v

Hugo, *Ep. Aimer.*: Vgo Eterianus: F, fol. 113v; T, fol. 112r; V, fol. 152r; Hugo Aetherianus P, fol. 103v

Aimer., *Rescr. Hug.*: Hugo Eterianus: F, fol. 114r-v; T, fol. 113r; V, fol. 153r; Hugo Aeterianus P, fol. 104r

Hugo, *De sancto* 1: Hugo Eterianus codd. omnes; questa è anche la versione dei manoscritti perduti di Avignone e Colmar; il codice perduto dell'Escorial riportava invece Hugo Aetherianus (cf. la sezione sui codici perduti a 2.2.1.)

Hugo, *De sancto* 2, *inc.*: Vgo Eterianus: F, fol. 32v; Q, fol. 38r; P, fol. 27r; T, fol. 28v; Hugo Etherianus A, fol. 85r; Vgo Eterianus V, fol. 36r; *expl.* tace.

Hugo, *De sancto* 3, *inc.*: Vgo Eterianus, codd. omnes (A, fol. 106v; P, fol. 64r; V, fol. 91r; F, fol. 71v; T, fol. 68r; Q, deficit); *expl.* Hugo Etherianus: A,

⁶ Così anche DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan», *art. cit.*, n. 2, p. 72-73.

⁷ Leone Toscano, prefazione all'*Onirocritico*; DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan», *art. cit.*, n. 2, p. 73 citava il testo da C. H. HASKINS, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, Cambridge MA, 1924, p. 217; il passo è ora ripubblicato da A. CAMOZZI PISTOJA, «The *Onirocriticon* of Achmet in the West. A Contribution towards an Edition of Leo Tuscus' Translation», *Studi Medievali*, 55 (2014), p. 720-758, specie p. 29.

⁸ DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan», *art. cit.*, n. 2, p. 73-74.

fol. 127r; Vgo Eterianus: F, fol. 112v; P, fol. 101v; V, fol. 150v; A, fol. 127r; Q, fol. 138v

Hugo, *De min.*: Hugo Eterianus: U, fol. 176r; fol. 185v

Hugo, *De anima*: Vgo Eptianus (?): R, fol. 105r; Vgo Eterianus: U, fol. 143r-v; fol. 175v; 176r; W, fol. 1r; 48r; Hugo Eterianus: Z, fol. 87r; 130r

Hugo, *Contra Pat.*: Vgo Eterianus: S, fol. 67rb

Hugo, *De diff.* (e testi annessi): Hugo Etherianus M, fol. 33v; 34v; 35r; 36r; Hugo Eterianus fol. 36r

Hugo, *Ep. Petr.*: Vgo Eterianus: U, fol. 187v

Hugo, *De haer.*: Vgo Eterianus: S, fol. 76ra

Hugo, *Ep. Alex.*: Vgo Eterianus U, fol. 188r

Hugo, *Ep. cons. Pis.*: Vgo Eterianus (p. 11 Müller)

Gerhoch di Reichersberg, *excerptum* da *De min.* 2 (Salzburg, Erzabtei St. Peter, cod. A VI 33, fol. 64v: cf. CLASSEN, «Das Konzil von Konstantinopel» (*art. cit.*, n. 24), p. 364): Hugo Eterianus

Leo Tusc., *Praef. in Onir.*: Hugo Eterianus (Oxford, Digby 103, fol. 59r = cf. CAMOZZI PISTOJA, «The *Oneirocriticon* of Achmet» (*art. cit.*, n. 7), p. 749).

Leo Tusc., *Praef. In missam Ioh. Chrysost.* (cf. HASKINS, *Studies in the History* (*op. cit.*, n. 7), p. 215): Hugo Eterianus.

Mettendo da parte la variante Vgo/ Hugo, si ricavano dal prospetto le attestazioni che seguono: Eterianus/ Aeterianus/ Aetherianus/ Etherianus/ Eterianus/ Eptianus (?)/ Eterianus/ Eterianus. Analoghe le incertezze che si riscontrano per le fonti greche in cui il Nostro è citato:

Anonimo, *Tre trattati* (ed. archimandrita Arsenio [in russo], Mosca 1892): Οὐγῶν ὁ Ἐτερειανός secondo il manoscritto moscovita usato dall'editore; ma ad es. un manoscritto che ne conserva degli *excerpta*, il Sin. gr. 1117 fol. 220v: Οὐγῶν ὁ Ἐταρειανός.

Hugo, *De sancto* (fr. greci): Οὐγῶν ὁ Ἐταρειανός (N, fol. 90v; O, fol. 225ra; su queste attestazioni cf. DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 74).

Ora, se si scorrono le attestazioni riportate sopra, ci si rende conto che, nel generale contesto di «diffrazione» delle varianti, quella prevalente è Eterianus, senza segni di aspirazione iniziale; si aggiunga il fatto che, consultando il TLG, non si ottengono risultati per le ricerche: Ἐταρειαν-, Αἰθερειαν-, Ἐταρειαν-; in assenza di elementi ulteriori e di suggerimenti da parte di studiosi più competenti, credo sia meglio accogliere la variante Eterianus e rinunciare a qualsiasi spiegazione etimologica in analogia con la lingua greca o latina.

Il discepolato di Ugo presso Burgundione, già messo in dubbio da Dondaine⁹, sarà probabilmente da respingere; si potrà aggiungere che, nella lettera al clero pisano con cui Ugo accompagna l'invio del *De anima*, l'autore ricorda come ambasciatore a Bisanzio il console Alberto Bulsi *et illustres eius collegas*, fra i quali figurava appunto Burgundione, che però non è nominato: stante come sicuro il contatto personale in occasione della legazione, ma in assenza di menzione esplicita, si potrà pensare che il rapporto fra i due non fosse poi ottimo¹⁰.

Una notizia attendibile, anche se non precisa, sugli anni sconosciuti della formazione del Nostro è invece contenuta nella prefazione di Hugo di Honau al *Liber de diuersitate naturae et personae*, che qui si cita per esteso:

«qui [scil. Ugo] cum – ut ipso confitente audiui – Alberici cuiusdam in dialecticis fuisset auditor in Francia aliorumque a studiis nostris in theologia dissidentium uiam publicam triuisset, praefatorum uirorum et aliorum clarissimorum Graeciae doctorum sanctitate coactus est in Latinum transferre sermonem, unde suam propriam, quam de Gallia et Italia in Achaia detulerat, conuinceret opinionem»¹¹.

Il primo problema che si pone è l'identificazione di Alberico, che evidentemente non era chiara neppure ad Ugo di Honau (cf. *cuiusdam*). L'ipotesi più credibile, con Dondaine, è che si tratti di Alberico di Sainte-Geneviève, successore di Abelardo alla scuola sul Mont-Sainte-Geneviève (dove il nome di *Montani* per lui e i suoi discepoli) e che fu maestro, oltre che del nostro, anche di Giovanni di Salisbury, che lo qualifica con la celebre definizione di *nominalis sectae acerrimus impugnator*¹². L'insegnamento di

⁹ DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan», *art. cit.*, n. 2, p. 74.

¹⁰ La lettera (nr. 2.4. nella lista delle opere che seguono) è malamente stampata in *PL* 202, 167-168, ma si farà meglio a ricorrere ai codici. Per la legazione pisana a Bisanzio si veda solo S. P. P. SCALEATI, «Bulsi Alberto», *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 15 (1972), p. 62-63 e F. LIOTTA, «Burgundione da Pisa», *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 15 (1972), p. 423-428, specie p. 423. L'ambasceria (1169-1171) è anche prezioso termine di raffronto per la datazione del *De anima*.

¹¹ Hug. Hon., *Liber de diuersitate naturae et personae* 1, 7, ed. N. HARING, p. 122 [*Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 29 (1962), p. 103-216], da datare al 1179-1182; il testo è anche preziosa testimonianza per *De diff.* e *De sancto*; DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 68-69; 74-75, leggeva il testo in HASKINS, *Studies in the History of op. cit.*, n. 7), p. 210-211; per il *De diuersitate* cf. anche K. M. SETTON, «The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance», *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 100/1 (1956), p. 1-76, in particolare p. 25-26; alle p. 26-28 anche una rassegna biografica di Ugo, sintetica ma non innovativa rispetto a Dondaine.

¹² Cf. Ioh. Sarisb., *Metalog.* 2, 10, ed. J. B. HALL, auxiliata K. S. B. KEATS-ROHAN, Turnhout 1991 (*CCCM*, 98), p. 71, 11-12 (= p. 78-80 Webb). La figura di Alberico di Sainte Geneviève (o Alberico di Parigi) è ancora nel complesso poco conosciuta: cf. L. M. DE RIJK, «Some New Evidence on Twelfth Century Logic: Alberic and the School of Mont Ste Ge-

Alberico ebbe luogo a Parigi fra 1137 e 1142, anno in cui partì per Bologna; dopo il soggiorno nella città emiliana Alberico fece ritorno nella capitale francese negli anni 1146-1159 per riprendere l'insegnamento, ma su basi completamente diverse¹³; dunque, il discepolato di Ugo presso Alberico dovrebbe aver avuto luogo negli anni 1137-1142.

Il legame con Alberico si intreccia con una ulteriore questione, che, abbastanza chiara nei suoi termini generali, è di difficile precisazione nel dettaglio, ovvero i rapporti di Ugo con la scuola porretana e col suo capostipite, Gilberto Porreta.

I punti di contatto dottrinali fra i testi di Ugo e quelli della *petite école* sono nella sostanza chiari, in maniera particolare nel caso della *Lettera ad Alessio*. Il documento presenta i principali elementi distintivi della scuola¹⁴, quali l'uso frequente di citazioni patristiche (nel nostro caso, in particolare Gregorio di Nazianzo)¹⁵, la menzione di Ario e Sabellio come «prototipi dell'errore» (il primo perché nega l'unità della natura nella Trinità, il secondo perché confonde le tre persone) e la polemica contro le formule che Bernardo di Chiaravalle aveva tentato di far approvare intorno al 1147-1148, in concomitanza col concilio di Reims e con l'appoggio di papa Eugenio III. Una caratteristica ben evidente e particolarmente significativa è infine l'impiego dell'ablativo per significare la relazione tra Dio e l'essenza divina.

Limitiamoci però in questa sede ad attestazioni esterne ai testi, rinviando all'edizione del testo. Il nome di Gilberto, capostipite della scuola, non occorre mai a mia conoscenza sotto la penna di Ugo, e questo fatto può essere interpretato come una presa di distanza nei confronti del vescovo

neviève (Montani)», *Vivarium*, 4 (1966), p. 1-57; M. TWEEDALE, «Logic (i): from the Late Eleventh Century to the Time of Abelard», in *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, ed. P. DRONKE, Cambridge, 1988, p. 196-226, specie p. 225; Y. IWAKUMA – S. EBBESEN, «Logico-Theological Schools from the Second Half of the 12th Century: a List of Sources», *Vivarium*, 30 (1992), p. 173-210; Y. IWAKUMA, «Alberic of Paris on Mont Ste Geneviève against Peter Abelard», in *Logic and Language in the Middle Ages. A Volume in Honour of Sten Ebbesen*, edd. J. LETH FINK, H. HANSEN, A. M. MORA-MÁRQUEZ, «Investigating Medieval Philosophy», 4, Brill, Leiden, 2012, p. 27-47, ma soprattutto il prodigioso lavoro di pubblicazione e di interpretazione di L. M. DE RIJK, *Logica Modernorum. A Contribution to the History of Early Terminist Logic*, vol. 1. On the Twelfth Century Theories of Fallacy, «Wijsgerige Teksten en Studies», 6, Van Gorcum, Assen, 1962 e L. M. DE RIJK, *Logica Modernorum. A Contribution to the History of Early Terminist Logic*, vol. 2/1.2. The Origin and Early Development of the Theory of Supposition, «Wijsgerige Teksten en Studies», 16, Van Gorcum, Assen, 1967.

¹³ Per questa cronologia cf. DE RIJK, *Logica Modernorum*, vol. 1, *op. cit.*, n. 12, p. 86-88.

¹⁴ A. DONDAINE, *Écrits de la «petite école» Porretaine*, Institut d'études médiévales-Vrin, Montréal-Paris, 1962, p. 18-20.

¹⁵ Per quando DONDAINE, *Écrits de la «petite école»*, *op. cit.*, n. 14, ridimensioni di molto l'apporto della *petite école* alla conoscenza dei padri (p. 63-66).

(basti pensare, dall'altra parte, al fervido elogio di Gilberto nel *De diuersitate* di Ugo di Honau¹⁶). Tuttavia, i legami espliciti con Ugo di Honau e Pietro da Vienna lasciano immaginare che Ugo avesse conosciuto i due colleghi, se non alla scuola gilbertina, almeno in un ambiente comune a Parigi¹⁷. La cronologia, d'altro canto, non osta a una conoscenza diretta fra Ugo e il futuro vescovo di Poitiers, che insegnò a Parigi fra 1137 e 1141, proprio nello stesso periodo in cui il Nostro doveva ascoltare Alberico. La frequenza di Ugo alla scuola del porretano, per concludere, non è attestata a chiare lettere nelle fonti, ma non è cronologicamente impossibile e, a dire il vero, non sembra improbabile. Nello stesso milieu il pisano potrebbe aver conosciuto, oltre al già citato Giovanni di Salisbury, anche Ugo e Riccardo da San Vittore¹⁸. Accanto a queste frequentazioni non si potrà però fare a meno di collocare anche quella degli oppositori dell'impostazione rigidamente razionalista della teologia porretana, come sembrerebbe suggerire il testo di Hugo di Honau (cf. sopra: *aliorumque a studiis nostris in theologia dissidentium*). Che poi la formazione filosofica e teologica di Ugo si sia svolta prima in Francia e poi in Italia, come dedotto da Dondaine sulla base del testo citato sopra (*suam propriam, quam de Gallia et Italia in Achaïam detulerat, conuinceret opinionem*)¹⁹, data la scarsa chiarezza del testo di Ugo di Honau, non è sicuro.

Certo invece è lo stato non clericale del nostro autore, garantito com'è dal testo della lettera di Lucio III²⁰, che lo elevò al diaconato dallo stato di laico (per quanto tale condizione nel XII secolo possa sembrare strana per un erudito e uno studioso di teologia); in questo senso, per quanto non ci sia una vera e propria sicurezza, Ugo potrebbe essere anche stato sposato, e Fabrizio, rammentato da Leone e dalla lettera di Lucio III²¹ in veste di nipote, potrebbe essere il figlio di Ugo (anche se, a rigor di logica, potrebbe essere anche il figlio di un terzo fratello di cui si sono perdute le tracce, ma l'ipotesi non è economica).

¹⁶ Hugo Hon., *De diu.* 1, 8-10, ed. N. HARING, *op. cit.*, n. 11, p. 122-123; 30, 2 ed. N. HARING, p. 169. La presa di distanza di Ugo è forse legata alla condanna del concilio di Reims del 1148?

¹⁷ Va nella stessa direzione anche il testo più segnato dalla dottrina porretana, la lettera ad Alessio, dedicata appunto al suddiacono romano che aveva compiuto i suoi studi a Parigi.

¹⁸ DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan», *art. cit.*, n. 2, p. 76-77.

¹⁹ DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan», *art. cit.*, n. 2, p. 77.

²⁰ *Ep. Lucii ad Leo.* ed. G. MÜLLER, p. 25: *qui, cum laicus esset, eum clericum fecimus et usque ad diaconatus ordinem curauimus honorifice promouere.*

²¹ Prefazione all'*Onirocritico*, ed. CAMOZZI PISTOJA, *op. cit.*, n. 7, p. 30: *set enim desiderantissimus nepos Fabricius Graecarum sciolus*; Lucio III, *Ep. Leo.* ed. G. MÜLLER, p. 25: *cum autem dilectum filium nostrum, maistrum Fabricium, nepotem tuum, de familia nostra quem pro scientia sua carum habemus plurimum et acceptum...*

Più numerose e più sicure sono invece le informazioni sugli anni della permanenza di Ugo a Bisanzio, ricavabili per lo più dagli scritti dell'autore stesso. Al momento dello scoppio della controversia sul *Pater maior* nel 1166, come ricavabile da *De min.*, Ugo gode già di un favore particolare presso l'imperatore, che lo convoca con urgenza sul far della sera per informarsi sulla questione:

«peruenit tandem ad aures magni imperatoris qui multis tunc erat in ore sermo. Accersitus sum quidem cum diem iam absconderat nox et, futuri certaminis nescius, actutum ueni coram ne tardiusculus apparem. Interrogatus a clementissimo principe quid super exorto dogmate Romana dictaret ecclesia, diligenter expromsi. Placuit principi augustissimo ut eleganti iudiciorum spectatori sententia, adeo autem ut idem id pectoris sui sacrarium sentire confiteretur omnibus palam: nam in bonis uiris magni animi magna concordia²² et maxima ingenia sunt»²³.

Date le circostanze descritte, e su cui non c'è da dubitare storicamente, bisogna supporre che Ugo fosse ormai perfettamente ambientato a Costantinopoli, pienamente informato della teologia bizantina e padroneggiasse il greco a livello sia scritto che orale. Dobbiamo quindi pensare che il suo soggiorno nella capitale imperiale fosse cominciato diversi anni prima, diciamo all'inizio degli anni '60 del secolo. A questo proposito, Dondaine aveva posto in correlazione questo fatto con il bando dei pisani da Costantinopoli durante il decennio 1161-1171, convincendosi che Ugo e Leone fossero giunti alla corte comnena prima del 1161 e che, all'altezza di questa data, non fossero stati coinvolti dall'interdizione in quanto già personaggi di spicco, ma l'argomento, come già opportunamente notato, è fragile²⁴.

Da questo momento in poi la biografia di Ugo è ricostruibile con una certa approssimazione, per quanto le informazioni di cui disponiamo risultino incomplete. Dopo la disputa sfociata nel concilio del 1166, gli anni 1169-1171 vedono Ugo, sul versante intellettuale, alle prese con la composizione del *De anima*. In questo caso il testo dell'opera non contiene riferi-

²² concordia *correx*i] condordia U.

²³ Hugo, *Ep. Petr.* 2 (U, fol. 187v), secondo l'edizione Podolak-Zago; cf. anche il testo di DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et le concile», *art. cit.*, n. 2, p. 481.

²⁴ «D'où l'on sera tenté de conclure que leur arrivée n'a pas été postérieure à 1161... mais ce terme ne doit pas être considéré comme une limite "a parte ante": les deux frères peuvent être à Byzance depuis dix ans et plus quand ils apparaissent sur la scène historique»: DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 80-81; ma cf. A. RIGO, «Leone Toscano», in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, p. 558: «per questa ragione il 1161 come anno dell'inizio della loro permanenza a Costantinopoli, più volte proposto sulla base di questo evento, non può essere accettato»: cf. invece DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 80; P. CLASSEN, «Das Konzil von Konstantinopel 1166 und die Lateiner», *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 48 (1955), p. 339-368, specie p. 342.

menti utili alla datazione, ma uno dei pezzi di accompagnamento, ovvero la lettera di Ugo al clero pisano (2.4. nella sezione dedicata alle opere) fa riferimento all'ambasceria già citata e con cui la repubblica di Pisa ottenne la revoca del bando da Costantinopoli, e che va collocata negli anni compresi fra 1169 e 1171²⁵. Procedendo in maniera intuitiva, anche se in assenza di indicazioni esplicite, credo la lettera del clero pisano a Ugo (nr. 2.3.) vada collocata nel 1169, anno della partenza della legazione, e la stesura dell'opera nei mesi della permanenza degli ambasciatori a Bisanzio (1170-1171), mentre la risposta di Ugo al clero pisano cadrà verso la fine del soggiorno dei pisani presso Manuele, probabilmente nella seconda metà del 1171.

Di maggiore difficoltà risulta la cronologia della lettera a e da Aimerico di Limoges (2.1. e 2.2.), posteriori (forse non di molto?) alla stesura dell'opera; ma in assenza di elementi interni non è possibile nutrire certezze.

Indirettamente legata alla conseguenza del bando dei pisani da Costantinopoli è la vicenda di Signoretto, pisano che defunge a Bisanzio nel 1176 e lascia parte dei propri averi in vista della ristrutturazione delle chiese e degli altri edifici dei pisani sulle rive del Bosforo che erano rimasti abbandonati nel corso del decennio di forzata assenza dei pisani da Bisanzio (cf. il testo nr. 8.1. nella sezione qui sotto, fra i documenti storici)²⁶. Per quanto si riesce a ricavare dal testo, guasto o male pubblicato da Müller, la vicenda si sarebbe svolta nel modo che segue: in buona o in mala fede l'esattore imperiale, Astaforte, si sarebbe convinto che Ugo e gli altri esecutori testamentari di Sigoretto stessero sottraendo del denaro al fisco, e, sfruttando il sentimento antilatino del logoteta, apposti i sigili all'abitazione di Ugo avrebbe incarcerato prima gli altri occidentali coinvolti nella vicenda, poi anche l'Eteriano stesso, destando con ciò grande scandalo negli abitanti della capitale, sia greci che latini. L'intervento di Leone presso Manuele determinò la scarcerazione di Ugo e l'affido della controversia alla magistratura, che infatti diede ragione al pisano²⁷.

«Si Astaforte n'osa pas s'attaquer de prime abord à Hugues, principal responsable de l'exécution des volontés du défunt, c'est que la situation de ce Latin lui en imposait. Et s'il ameuta contre lui les gens du palais, c'est que Hugues jouissait de cette situation élevée, si non au palais lui même, du moins dans les cercles de la curie»²⁸.

²⁵ Cf. sopra, n. 10.

²⁶ Per la complessa questione della datazione esatta (1166 o 1176) cf. la sezione 8.1. relativa al testo.

²⁷ Cf. DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan», *art. cit.*, n. 2, p. 82.

²⁸ DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan», *art. cit.*, n. 2, p. 82.

Poiché la ricezione del *De sancto* già nei mesi immediatamente seguenti la sua pubblicazione è studiata qui di seguito²⁹, proseguiamo la presente rassegna con gli scritti successivi. Negli anni posteriori al 1176 Ugo deve avere alacrementemente lavorato, su richiesta di Ugo di Honau e probabilmente anche di Pietro da Vienna, alla redazione del *De diff.* La prefazione di Ugo di Honau al *De diuersitate*, del 1179, ci assicura della presenza di Ugo a Bisanzio nel corso dello stesso anno.

Il momento ed il motivo del rientro del pisano in Italia restano sconosciuti; fatto a mio avviso non adeguatamente valorizzato dalla critica, già negli anni prossimi alla conclusione del *De sancto*, l'autore aveva ricevuto dal papa l'invito a tornare in Occidente, ma Manuele si era opposto risolutamente a questo progetto³⁰; indubbiamente la morte di Manuele (24.09.1180) avrà lasciato il Nostro privo della ingombrante protezione di cui aveva goduto fino a quel momento; il massacro dei latini a Costantinopoli nel maggio del 1182 inoltre non avrà agevolato la situazione, per quanto Leone, sopravvissuto all'eccidio, sia attestato a Bisanzio nel dicembre dello stesso anno³¹.

Parimenti, non sono indicati nelle fonti modo e momento dell'arrivo di Ugo presso la corte papale né il giorno esatto della sua nomina a cardinale; la sua attività come membro del sacro collegio è invece attestata a Velletri nei giorni immediatamente prossimi alla metà del luglio 1182, quando sottoscrisse due documenti della curia pontificia³². È invece facilmente intuibile il motivo per cui Lucio III avrà elevato Ugo alla dignità della porpora. Prima di ascendere al soglio papale, il lucchese Ubaldo Allucignoli, dopo la

²⁹ Cf. qui sotto, sezione quarta, pp. 65-66.

³⁰ Cf. Leo Tusc., *De haer.* presso DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan», art. cit., n. 2, p. 126: *postremo, tempore quodam, euocatum illum fuisse a primo pontificum imperator cum audisset, ex itinere in ultimas Bitiniae partes, iuxta locum qui dicitur Pimannion, ad se uenire iussit et Italicas reuisere colonias prohibuit ex toto.* Cf. DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan», art. cit., n. 2, p. 84 n. 2: il luogo è citato dagli storici bizantini come *Poimannion*; l'esercito vi si accampò fra autunno 1175 fino alla campagna del 1176, poi interrotta dal disastro di *Myriocephalon*.

³¹ Cf. DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan», art. cit., n. 2, p. 92: «il n'y a aucune preuve décisive qu'il ait échappé au massacre de 1182; cependant la chose paraît très probable».

³² Cf. i documenti XVIII e XIX citati da DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan», art. cit., n. 2, p. 72: il primo è la lettera di Lucio III in favore della chiesa del Santo Sepolcro (JAFFÉ-WATTENBACH, *op. cit.*, n. 5, nr. 14681 [= DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan», art. cit., n. 2, p. 72 doc. nr. XVIII]; il testo in PFLUGK-HARTTUNG, *op. cit.*, n. 5, vol. III, 1886, nr. 322, p. 293-295, già citato sopra, n. 5); il secondo, nr. 14682 JAFFÉ-WATTENBACH, è una lettera del medesimo pontefice in favore della Badia di Cava datata 15.07.1182, pubblicato da P. KEHR, «Papsturkunden in Salerno, La Cava und Neapel», *Nachrichten der Königlich-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Philologisch-historische Klasse, 1900, p. 198-269, specie p. 257.

titolarità di Santa Prassede, era stato creato, nel 1158 e sotto il pontificato di Adriano IV, cardinale vescovo di Ostia e Velletri. Con l'avvento di Alessandro III (1159-1181) fu al fianco del pontefice rivelandosi uno dei suoi più fidati collaboratori, tanto che nel 1167 il papa lo inviò come legato a Costantinopoli insieme al collega Giovanni dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Ora, è facile pensare che i due cardinali legati e Ugo Eteriano si siano conosciuti già in occasione di questa ambasceria bizantina. La stima e l'interesse dei due cardinali per gli studi di Ugo – fatto strano, a mia conoscenza mai posto in luce dalla critica – sono testimoniati proprio dal prologo del *De sancto*, in cui si ricordano i due principi della Chiesa proprio come promotori della sua opera di studioso:

«huc quoque accessit Hubaldi Hostiae ac Bernardi Portus magnorum pontificum, Ioannis quoque sanctorum Ioannis et Pauli reuerendi cardinalis iterata eadem pro re petitio multoties»³³.

Una volta asceso al soglio pontificio, il cardinale Ubaldo avrà conservato la sua stima e per Ugo e per la sua attività intellettuale: «le nouveau cardinal possédait une expérience exceptionnelle du monde grec contemporain, de sa vie politique, du haut clergé; sa science théologique, sa connaissance des Pères en feraient pour la papauté un informateur et un conseiller autorisé»³⁴.

I progetti di Lucio III relativi al ruolo strategico di Ugo erano purtroppo destinati a restare vani: forse anch'egli stroncato dalla pestilenza che si abbatté su Roma e il Lazio a causa di un clima eccessivamente piovoso, il cardinale decedeva, con ogni probabilità, a Velletri, sede della curia, e veniva inumato nella chiesa di San Paolo, oggi scomparsa ma conservata fino al quindicesimo secolo. Con la scomparsa del suo sarcofago, insieme alla chiesa che lo custodiva, sprofondavano nell'oblio anche i resti mortali del cardinale di Sant'Angelo³⁵.

2. Le opere

2.1. Problemi di autenticità

Per quanto la questione sia in fondo marginale rispetto al *corpus* degli scritti di Ugo in senso stretto, prendiamo adesso in considerazione l'ipotesi avanzata da Hans Bayer in un articolo dedicato ad una ampia rassegna di testi pseudoepigrafici forgiati in ambiente cataro nel basso Medioevo. Lo studioso ha supposto come spuri, e anzi falsi intenzionali elaborati da ere-

³³ Hugo. *De sancto*, prol. 233 a-b.

³⁴ DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan», *art. cit.*, n. 2, p. 94.

³⁵ DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan», *art. cit.*, n. 2, p. 96-97.

tici dualisti, le lettere di Ugo di Honau e Pietro da Vienna rivolte ad Ugo Eteriano (4.1.-4.3. nella sezione dedicata alle opere)³⁶.

Per sostenere l'atetesi degli scritti rispetto ai presunti autori, Bayer conduce una ricostruzione del contesto in cui si collocano le opere del fantomatico Gunther di Pairis (in realtà Goffredo di Strasburgo), in particolar modo il trattato *De oratione*. Le due lettere attribuite agli amici di Ugo, impregnate di teologia spirituale, di una visione politica antifeudale, di tratti mistici ed esoterici³⁷, riprenderebbero in chiave polemica spunti della trattatistica anticatara dei cisterciensi, in particolare Enrico di Marcy; il fatto che esse sostengano la maggiore attendibilità della tradizione patristica greca si inquadra nella condanna della *ambiguitas* dei padri latini già denunciata nel carteggio fra Abelardo ed Eloisa (anch'esso considerato spurio dallo studioso). Le lettere, inoltre, insistendo ad esempio sui temi dell'incomprensibilità divina, presenterebbero delle divergenze dottrinali rispetto al *De diuersitate* di Ugo di Honau, di cui pure sono poste ad introduzione e che utilizzano come fonte³⁸. La coraggiosa ipotesi proposta da Bayer non ha, almeno a mia conoscenza, sollevato un dibattito critico, e i suoi contenuti, se non erro, sono discussi qui per la prima volta.

Un esame articolato della tesi, che in realtà coinvolge molti più testi che non quelli qui in discussione, non può avvenire in questa sede. Limitiamoci a notare che alcune delle osservazioni di Bayer (in particolare l'antifeudalesimo o il tono spiritualistico dei testi) mi sembrano poco fondate; altri tratti comuni con testi falsamente attribuiti sono invece spiegabili come fenomeni culturalmente poligenetici o eredità dalle fonti: questo valga ad esempio per la predilezione per la patristica greca, comune a diversi autori della scuola porretana³⁹, o per la menzione di Pitagora, Platone e Archita, che in realtà derivano da Girolamo⁴⁰, mentre l'incomprensibilità divina, peraltro tema assolutamente comune in tutta la tradizione cristiana, è ben attestato anche negli scritti di Ugo⁴¹.

³⁶ Cf. H. BAYER, «Fingierte häretische Brief- und Propagandaliteratur der Stauferzeit. Der Briefwechsel zwischen Hugo von Honau, Peter von Wien und Hugo Etherianus – “Metamorphosis Goliae” – Epistola Adelmanus an Berengar – Briefe Thomas Beckets an Konrad von Wittelsbach – “Raptor mei pilei”», *Sacris erudiri*, 36 (1996), p. 161-232.

³⁷ Cf. ad. es. Hug. Hon., *Ep. Hugo. I* 1, 3 ed. N. M. HARING, p. 16-17, con i riferimenti all'Egitto e a Pitagora.

³⁸ BAYER, «Fingierte häretische», *art. cit.*, n. 36, p. 164-184.

³⁹ Cf. solo N. M. HARING, «The Porretans and the Greek Fathers», *Mediaeval Studies*, 24 (1962), p. 181-209.

⁴⁰ Cf. il già citato Hug. Hon., *Ep. Hugo. I* 1, 3, ed. N. M. HARING, p. 16-17 e Hier. *Ep.* 52, 8.

⁴¹ Basta pensare alle celebri affermazioni di Hugo, *De min.* prol. 1-3 (che pure, prima inedito, Bayer non poteva leggere); ma si tenga presente anche il prologo del *De sancto* (232 c – 233 a) con chiarissime dichiarazioni nello stesso senso.

Un riesame complessivo della tesi di Bayer dovrebbe essere condotto da uno studioso che sia competente sulla tradizione degli apocrifi nel Medioevo, e questo non è il caso di chi scrive; in attesa di riscontri ulteriori nella letteratura scientifica concludiamo provvisoriamente rigettando l'ipotesi dello studioso tedesco e continuando a considerare le lettere di Ugo di Honau e Pietro da Vienna come testi autentici.

2.2. Catalogo ragionato delle opere

1. De sancto et immortalis Deo

DATA: 1176-1177 (cf. 274 b).

INC. Moyses quondam ex collocutione Dei, cum disciplinam omnem habere putaretur; EXPL. orbi uniuerso publicat et ab antiquo rite censet amplecti.

MANOSCRITTI: A, foll. 68r-127r; C, foll. 49r-151r; F, foll. 1r-110; G, foll. 1ra-71vb; H, foll. 2r-120v; P, foll. 1r-101v; Q, foll. 1r-139r; T, foll. 1r-111r; V, foll. 1-150v.

VARIANTI DEL TITOLO: «De haeresibus quas Graeci in Latinos deuoluunt» (Basilea 1543, e quindi le edizioni a stampa fino a Migne). Per Parigi 1589, non potendo riportare il titolo così come indicato nell'*Index operum* (l'esemplare consultato è mutilo), si riporta il titolo che compare prima dell'incipit del lib. I dell'opera, a coll. 1031-1032: «De haeresibus quas Graeci in Latinos deuoluunt, siue, quod Spiritus Sanctus Ex Utroque, Patre scilicet et Filio procedat, contra Graecos, Hugonis Eteriani»; in Parigi 1624 il titolo è «De haeresibus quas Graeci in Latinos deuoluunt, siue, quod Spiritus Sanctus Ex Utroque, Patre scilicet et Filio procedat, contra Graecos Hugonis Eteriani»; nell'*index operum* di Parigi 1644 l'opera è indicata come «Eiusdem [*scil.* D. Hugonis Etheriani], de Haeresibus quas Graeci in Latinos deuoluunt: siue; quod Spiritus sanctus ex utroque (Patre scilicet, & Filio) procedat, contra Graecos; Libri tres».

CODICI PERDUTI: Avignone. Inventario della biblioteca papale di Avignone del 1327: «Item in uolumine signato per CCLXXVI liber De sancto et immortalis Deo Hugonis Eteriani; item disputacio Grossolani archiepiscopi Mediolanensis contra Grecos de processione Sancti Spiritus»⁴².

⁴² Cf. F. EHRLE, *Historia Bibliothecae Romanorum Pontificum tum Bonifacianae tum Avenionensis*, Romae, 1890, p. 506 n. 777. Per l'edizione del testo di Grossolano cf. A. AMELLI (ed.), *Due sermoni inediti di Pietro Grossolano arcivescovo di Milano*, Leo Olschki editore, Firenze, 1933; cf. anche M. FERRARI, «Produzione libraria e biblioteche a Milano nei secoli XI e XII», in *Atti dell'11. Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*. Milano 26-30 Ottobre 1987, «Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo», Spoleto, 1989, vol. 2, p. 689-735, specialmente le pp. 702-704.

Escorial. «Hugo Aetherianus de immortalis deo et contra Grecos de processione Spiritus Sancti (tach. III.M.16)». II.E.25. (in P. ANTOLIN, *Catálogo de los Códices Latinos de la Biblioteca de El Escorial*, vol. V, Madrid, 1923, p. 409).

Colmar, Monastero agostiniano OSA, in B. Renano, lettera a Johannes Hoffmeister stampata a mo' di prefazione alla traduzione di Leone Toscano della liturgia di san Basilio, in *Missa latina quae olim ante Romanam circa 700 Domini annum in usu fuit*, Argentinae 1557, p. 103-116 (cf. T 8 nell'appendice al § 4⁴³). Dondaine colloca il manoscritto a Marbach⁴⁴, ma si tratta di una svista: la lettera del Renano afferma che il manoscritto si trova nella biblioteca del convento di cui Hoffmeister è priore, ma egli non fu canonico regolare, bensì monaco agostiniano, e la sua carica fu ricoperta a Colmar e non a Marbach⁴⁵, e ivi anche per il priorato a Colmar. Che poi, data la distanza assai ridotta fra Marbach e Colmar, il codice sia passato dalla prima sede alla seconda prima della visita di Beato Renano non si può escludere. Il codice non può comunque essere identificato con M, poiché non contiene il testo della traduzione di Leone né il *De sancto*.

EDIZIONI: Basilea 1543, p. 6-401; Parigi 1589, coll. 1029-1178; Parigi 1609, coll. 563-688; Colonia 1618, p. 360 c – 418 h; Parigi 1624, coll. 435-562; Parigi 1644, coll. 435-562; Parigi 1654, coll. 435-562; Lione 1677, p. 1199-1260; *PL* 202, 232-396.

BIBLIOGRAFIA: DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 98-104.

FRAMMENTI DELLA VERSIONE GRECA DEL TESTO: fr. 1 (1, 5, 239 c uidetur quidem iste – 240 b ad naturam pertineat): N, foll. 90v-91v; O, fol. 225ra; fr. 2 (2, 15, 318 b rursus idem haeresiarcha – 318 c Sancti Spiritus inspiratione condemnauit): O, ff. 225vb-226ra; fr. 3 (3, 21, 394 b solus uero Damascenus – c et minus est alterius): O, fol. 229vb; fr. 4 (3, 22, 395 c Spiritus Sanctus existens – 395 d dissimilitudo manifesta est): O, fol. 229vb.

APPENDICI

1.1. Ugo Eteriano, Lettera a papa Alessandro III

DATA: 1177 (DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2, p. 71).

⁴³ Pubblicato anche in P. FRAENKEL, «Une lettre oubliée de Beatus Rhenanus: sa préface à la Liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome dédiée à Johannes Hoffmeister, 24 Janvier 1540», *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 48 (1986), p. 387-404, specie p. 394.

⁴⁴ DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan», *art. cit.*, n. 2, p. 101 e 120.

⁴⁵ Cf. A. ZUMKELLER, «Hoffmeister, Johannes», in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, IX, herausgegeben von der historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie, Berlin, 1972, p. 441.

INC. Exactum a me opus de immortalī Deo; EXPL. ac seruante saeculorum posteris usibus.

MANOSCRITTI: F, foll. 112v-113r; G, foll. 71vb-72rb; H, foll. 120v-121r; P, foll. 101v-102r; Q, foll. 139r-139v; T, foll. 111v-112r; V, foll. 150v-151v.

EDIZIONI: Basilea 1543, p. 3-5; Parigi 1589, coll. 1027-1028; Colonia 1618, p. 360 a-c; Parigi 1624, coll. 433-434; Parigi 1644, coll. 433-434; Parigi 1654, coll. 433-434; Lione 1676, p. 1198; *PL* 202, 227-228.

1.2. Alessandro III, Rescritto ad Ugo Eteriano

DATA: Troiae, VIII idus novembris (= 6 novembre) l'anno è il 1177 secondo Jaffé Wattenbach, *Regesta*, nr. 12957.

INC. Cognoscentes laborem plurimum quem sustinuisti; EXPL. unum fiat ouile et unus pastor.

MANOSCRITTI: F, foll. 113r-113v; G, foll. 72rb-72va; H, foll. 121r-121v; P, foll. 102r-102v; Q, fol. 140r; T, fol. 112r; V, foll. 151v-152r.

EDIZIONI: Basilea 1543, p. 1-2 (non numerate); Parigi 1589, coll. 1027-1028; Colonia 1618, p. 359 f.-h; Parigi 1624, coll. 433-434; Parigi 1644, coll. 433-434; Parigi 1654, coll. 433-434; Lione 1676, p. 1198; *PL* 202, 227-230.

1.3. Ugo Eteriano, Lettera ad Aimerico di Limoges

DATA: 1176-1177: così anche DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 71; il latore della lettera è Rinaldo de Châtillon, che fu fatto prigioniero dai musulmani nel 1160 e fu liberato solo nel 1176; sposato con Stefania, erede della signoria di Oltregiordano, dal 1177 è in Palestina a capo delle truppe del regno di Gerusalemme (partecipò come tale alla battaglia di Montgisard contro il Saladino nel novembre 1177). Il suo ruolo di latore della lettera è pensabile solo fra settembre 1176 ed estate 1177, probabilmente in corrispondenza di una ambasciata a Costantinopoli del regno di Gerusalemme allo scopo di organizzare un'alleanza con l'impero bizantino.

INC. Florilegarum apum corpora seras quidem assumunt pennas; EXPL. qui nunquam nouistis audiendo bona saturari.

MANOSCRITTI: F, foll. 113v-114r; G, foll. 72va-b; H, foll. 121v-122r; P, foll. 102v-104r; T, fol. 112r-112v; V, fol. 152r-152v.

EDIZIONI: Parigi 1717, col. 479; *PL* 202, 229-230.

BIBLIOGRAFIA: R. HIESTAND, «Une centre intellectuel en Syrie du Nord? Notes sut la personnalité d'Aimery d'Antioche, Albert de Tarse et Rorgo Fretellus», *Le Moyen Âge*, s. 5, 100 (1994), p. 7-36, specie p. 11-12.

1.4. Aimerico di Limoges, Rescritto a Ugo Eteriano

DATA: non specificata.

INC. Pro eo quod scientiae uestrae splendor iam prope; EXPL. uoluntatis arbitrio non potuimus ea praeparare.

MANOSCRITTI: F, foll. 114r-114v; G, foll. 72vb-73rb; H, foll. 122r-122v; P, foll. 104r-104v; T, foll. 113r-113v; V, foll. 153r-153v.

EDIZIONI: Parigi 1717, coll. 480-481; *PL* 202, 231-232.

BIBLIOGRAFIA: R. HIESTAND, «Une centre intellectuel en Syrie du Nord? Notes sut la personnalité d'Aimery d'Antioche, Albert de Tarse et Rorgo Fretellus», *Le Moyen Âge*, s. 5, 100 (1994), p. 7-36, specie p. 11-12.

1.5. Compendiosa expositio

DATA: non specificata.

INC. Intentio huius prologi omnis hoc agit, ut operis difficultatem ostendat et beniuolentiam comparet; EXPL. idem namque est de utriusque substantia Spiritum emittere, non per generationem et ab utroque procedere.

MANOSCRITTI: C, fol. 49r (testo mutilo: inc. Intentio huius prologi omnis hoc agit, expl. historia nota est uel Moyses inquisitio Domini); F, foll. 116r-132v; P, foll. 105ra-112ra; T, fol. 1r (solo le prime glosse, senza il prologo); V, foll. 1^v-150v (nei margini ad hoc predisposti dei foll. che contengono il *De sancto*).

EDIZIONI: Podolak-Zago, in preparazione.

BIBLIOGRAFIA: DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 104-106.

2. De anima

DATA: 1170-1171: DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 106-108; «it was written before 1171, the year in which a Pisan delegation returned from Constantinople after signing a peace treaty with Manuel» (N. M. HARING, «The "Liber de differentia naturae et personae" by Hugh Etherian and the letters addressed to him by Peter of Vienna and Hugh of Honau», *Mediaeval Studies*, 24 (1962), p. 1-34, p. 13).

INC. Fortis est ut mors dilectio et defecatae beneuolentiae meraciter custoditum pignus; EXPL. ut illi et nos [non Parigi 1654] interni gaudii atque uitae interminabilis consortes efficiamur.

MANOSCRITTI: R, foll. 105r-195r; U, foll. 143v-175v; W, foll. 1r-48r (ovvero per tutta l'estensione del ms., che non contiene altro); Z, foll. 87r-130r.

VARIANTI DAL TITOLO: «De regressu animarum ab inferis» (Colonia 1540, p. 1, l'altra variante del titolo nel frontespizio; di conseguenza i due titoli sono spesso giustapposti nelle differenti ristampe). Per Parigi 1589, non potendo riportare il titolo così come indicato nell'*Index operum* (l'esemplare consultato è mutilo), si riporta quello che compare prima dell'in-

cipit dell'opera, a coll. 975-976: «D. Hugonis Eteriani, de regressu animarum ab inferis; liber, ad sacrum urbis Pisae clerum» (= Parigi 1654); in Parigi 1624 il titolo è «D. Hugonis Eteriani, De regressu animarum ab inferis; liber ad sacrum urbis Pisae clerum»; nell'*Index operum* di Parigi 1644 l'opera è indicata come «D. Hugonis Etheriani, de Anima, corpore iam exuta; siue de Regressu animarum ab inferis; ad sacrum urbis Pisae clerum».

MANOSCRITTI PERDUTI: Heiligenkreuz, attestato nel catalogo del 1381: cf. Yh. GOTTLIER, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, vol. I, Niederösterreich, Wien, 1915, p. 56.

EDIZIONI: Colonia 1540; *Monumenta SS. Patrum orthodoxographa*, ed. J. J. GRYNÆUS, Basilea 1569, t. 5, p. 1308-1351; Parigi 1589, coll. 975-1028; Parigi 1609, coll. 517-562; Colonia 1618, p. 339 c – 359 f.; Parigi 1624, coll. 389-434; Parigi 1644, coll. 389-434; Parigi 1654, coll. 389-434; Lione 1677, p. 1176-1198; *PL* 202, 167-226.

TRADUZIONE TEDESCA: Wittemberg 1540.

APPENDICI

2.1. Aimerico di Limoges, Lettera a Ugo Eteriano sul *De anima*

DATA: non specificata, prossima al 1171.

INC. Recolendum fili karissime fidelibus uniuersis librum De regressu animarum; EXPL. immo penitus ad nihilum ualde redigenda apponi exoramus.

MANOSCRITTI: U, fol. 143r.

EDIZIONI: inedita.

2.2. Aimerico di Limoges, Lettera a Ugo Eteriano: conferma di ricezione del *De anima*

DATA: non specificata, prossima al 1171.

INC. Libellus quidam uestri exercicii quem ad Pisane urbis clerum factum fuisse; EXPL. uolueritis. Quod infra octo dies cum ueneritis redditibus mille bisantiorum uos assignabimus.

MANOSCRITTI: U, fol. 143r.

EDIZIONI: inedita.

2.3. Clero pisano, Lettera ad Ugo Eteriano

REGESTO: il clero chiede un trattato sulla sorte escatologica dell'anima.

DATA: circa 1168-1170 secondo DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 70 e 106; preferisco collocare la lettera nel 1169, al momento della partenza della legazione da Pisa.

INC. Clarissimo ac prudentissimo magistro Ugoni tam Greco quam Latino sermone; EXPL. item ut de resurrectione interferatis deprecamur omnifariam (come da U = Z).

VARIANTI DALL'INCIPIT: Parigi 1589: Clarissimo atque prudentissimo Hugoni tam Graeca quam Latina Linguae elimatae instructo, Uniuersus Clerus Pisanus Salutem & optatae foelicitatis partum. Prudentiae tuae ac mirae scientiae fama...; Parigi 1624 = Parigi 1644 = Parigi 1654: Clarissimo et prudentissimo Hugoni tam Graecae quam Latinae Linguae elimatae instructo, Uniuersus Clerus Pisanus Salutem & optatae foelicitatis partum. Prudentiae tuae ac mirae scientiae fama... VARIANTI DALL'EXPLICIT: Parigi 1589: te eam non praeteriturum in iis quae concinnabis. Vade totus optime. Parigi 1624 = Parigi 1644 = Parigi 1654: te eam non praeteriturum in iis quae concinnabis. Vale totus optime.

MANOSCRITTI: U, fol. 143v; Z, fol. 87r.

EDIZIONI: Colonia 1540, p. A 8r; Parigi 1589, coll. 973-976; Colonia 1618, p. 338h-339 a; Parigi 1624, coll. 387-388; Parigi 1644, coll. 387-388; Parigi 1654, coll. 387-388; *PL* 202, 167-168, ma la versione del cod. U differisce da quella a stampa.

2.4. Ugo Eteriano, Rescritto al clero pisano

DATA: 1171: DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 70: è citato il console Alberto Bulsi come latore della lettera, ed egli ritorna a Pisa insieme a Burgundione nel 1171, cf. F. LIOTTA, «Burgundione da Pisa», *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 15 (1972), p. 423-428, specie p. 423.

INC. Quippe cum exorta fuerint aquilonis frigiditatem uehemenciam euri; EXPL. audire atque intelligere dignentur celum aperiet. Valet bene semper (come da U = Z).

VARIANTI DALL'INCIPIT: Parigi 1589 = Parigi 1624 = Parigi 1644 = Parigi 1654: Reuerendo Urbis Pisae Clero, Hugo Eterianus; Animo rectitudinis abundare, illumque semper complecti animo, Qui Est. Vberibus glebis semina constanti fide committuntur. Quippe cum exorta... VARIANTI DALL'EXPLICIT: Parigi 1589 = Parigi 1624 = Parigi 1644 = Parigi 1654: audire atque intelligere dignabuntur, coelum aperiet. Valet in eo, sine cuius auspiciis nihil usquam ualidum fuerit.

MANOSCRITTI: U, fol. 175v-176r; Z, fol. 87r-87v.

EDIZIONI: Colonia 1540, p. A 8v; Parigi 1589, coll. 975-976; Colonia 1618, p. 339 b-c; Parigi 1624, coll. 389-390; Parigi 1644, coll. 389-390; Parigi 1654, coll. 389-390; *PL* 202, 167-168, ma la versione del cod. U differisce da quella a stampa.

2.5. Guglielmo arciprete di Santa Maria a Pisa, Lettera ad Ugo Eteriano

REGESTO: Guglielmo conferma la ricezione del *De anima*, per il quale ringrazia Ugo.

DATA: non ancora precisata, successiva al novembre 1171.

INC. Diuine clementie laudes gratulabundi exsoluimus quod uirtutis et fidei uestre meritum iamdudum; EXPL. uos indiuidua caritate amplectimur et memoriam uestram nostris semper orationibus sociamus.

MANOSCRITTI: U, fol. 176r.

EDIZIONI: inedita.

3. Contra Patarenos

DATA: imprecisabile.

INC. Postulauerunt a me dudum memorandi quidam uiri et spectabiles, EXPL. Manuel innixi persuadeant facillime que nigra theta perditissime hominum secte frontibus infigi subeat.

MANOSCRITTI: B, foll. 1r-31r; S, foll. 67rb-75vb; Y, foll. 21v-25v.

EDIZIONI: T. J. UHEN, *The Treatise Adversus Patherenos of Hugh Ethernien*, Pontificium Athenaeum Sanctae Crucis, Facultas Theologiae. Thesis ad Doctoratum in Sacra Theologia totaliter edita, Romae, 1997; Hugh Eteriano, *Contra Patarenos*. Edited and translated by J. HAMILTON – S. HAMILTON – B. HAMILTON, «The Medieval Mediterranean. Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1500», 55, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2004 [cf. A. RIGO, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 99/ 2, 2006, p. 662-668].

4. De differentia naturae et personae

DATA: DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 71-72 (1179); «we are in a position for fixing the completion of his *Liber de differentia naturae et personae* for in the 1179 he gave a copy to Hugh of Honau who happened to be in Constantinople as a legate of Frederic Barbarossa»: N. M. HARING, «The “Liber de differentia naturae et personae” by Hugh Ethernien and the letters addressed to him by Peter of Vienna and Hugh of Honau», *Mediaeval Studies*, 24 (1962), p. 1-34, specie p. 13; HASKINS, *Studies in the History* (*art. cit.*, n. 7), p. 209-210.

INC. Karissimis amicis Hugoni atque Petro, theologiae optimis interpretibus; EXPL. que in multitudine uoluminum breuitate usus quoniam flos, si non properat ad fructum, phoebeis aduritur.

MANOSCRITTI: M, foll. 36r-44v.

EDIZIONI: DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 7), p. 133-134 (il prologo); HARING, «The “Liber de differentia naturae et personae”», p. 1-34.

APPENDICI

4.1. Ugo di Honau, Epistola I missa Hugoni Aetheriano Constantinopolim

DATA: 1173-1176 (HARING, «The “Liber de differentia naturae et personae”», p. 16).

INC. Praecordiali amico et in Christo reuerendo Hugoni in arce theologie sedenti; EXPL. magister Petrus in his mecum existens dubitationibus intimus tuus amicus.

MANOSCRITTI: M, foll. 33v-34r.

EDIZIONI: DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 128-130; HARING, «The “Liber de differentia naturae et personae”», p. 16-18.

4.2. Ugo di Honau, Epistola II missa Hugoni Aetheriano Constantinopolim

DATA: 1177-1178ca. (HARING, «The “Liber de differentia naturae et personae”», p. 18).

INC. Praecordiali amico et in Christo reuerendo Hugoni inclyto tam inter Graecos; EXPL. amicus tuus petimus impleueris et promissum tuum effectui mancipaueris.

MANOSCRITTI: M, fol. 34v.

EDIZIONI: DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 130-131; HARING, «The “Liber de differentia naturae et personae”», p. 18-19.

4.3. Pietro da Vienna, Epistola missa de Austria Hugoni Aetheriano Constantinopolim

DATA: 1171 (HARING, «The “Liber de differentia naturae et personae”», p. 19).

INC. Dilectissimo domino et amico suo Hugoni uenerabili theologo; EXPL. finaliter promouendo quod inter duos imperatores saluberrime tractatur.

MANOSCRITTI: M, fol. 35r-35v.

EDIZIONI: DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 131-132; HARING, «The “Liber de differentia naturae et personae”», p. 19-21.

5. De minoritate ac equalitate Filii hominis ad Deum Patrem

DATA: il primo libro è precedente al sinodo, dunque va collocato in data compresa fra il ritorno in Grecia di Demetrio di Lampe e la convocazione del concilio (fine 1165-fine febbraio 1166); il secondo libro è posteriore alla conclusione del concilio, di cui traduce parte degli atti: *terminus post quem* potrebbe essere estate-autunno 1166.

INC. Inaccessa uia est ac multum difficilis quae de diuinis ad scribendum perducit; EXPL. propriis subscriptionibus firmauerunt; ego autem quoniam ea diligenter expressi stilo ferias restituo.

MANOSCRITTI: U, foll. 176r-187v.

EDIZIONI: Ultima parte del libro primo (= U, foll. 185r-185v) in DONDAINE, «Hugues Ethérien et le concile» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 482; edizione completa PODOLAK – ZAGO, «Ugo Eteriano e la controversia» (*art. cit.*, n. 3), p. 92-151.

BIBLIOGRAFIA (solo relativa al trattato presente): CLASSEN, «Das Konzil von Konstantinopel» (*art. cit.*, n. 24); DONDAINE, «Hugues Ethérien et le concile» (*art. cit.*, n. 2); V. HUTH, «“Geheimes” Wissen zwischen Dogmenstreit und Herrscherdienst. Neue Aspekte hochmittelalterlichen Geisteslebens am Oberrhein», *Alemannisches Jahrbuch*, (1999-2000), p. 139-156, specie p. 147-148; G. SIDÉRIS, «“Ces gens ont raison”. La controverse christologique de 1165-1166, la question des échanges doctrinaux entre l’Occident latin et Byzance et leur portée politique», in *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes*, 24 (2012), p. 173-195.

APPENDICI

5.1. Ugo Eteriano, Epistola ad Petrum Wiennensem

DATA: aprile 1166-fine febbraio 1167 (cf. § 6: Kalendis preteriti Marcii).

INC. Plurimum gaudium amicitiae tuae scriptura ac exactionis mihi exhibuit festiuitas; EXPL. finem haec lectio nanciscitur quem non habebit oratio. Ergo habunde saluum esse te percupio.

MANOSCRITTI: U, foll. 187v-188r.

EDIZIONI: DONDAINE, «Hugues Ethérien et le concile» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 480-482; ZAGO in PODOLAK – ZAGO, «Ugo Eteriano e la controversia» (*art. cit.*, n. 3), p. 150-157.

6. Ugo Eteriano (trad.), De haeresibus quas in Latinos Graeci deuoluunt

Si tratta in realtà della traduzione del *Contra Francos* (J. HERGENRÖTHER (ed.), *Monumenta Graeca ad Photium eiusque historiam pertinentia*, Ratisbonae 1869, p. 62-71).

DATA: non ancora precisata.

INC. Romanus pontifex et omnes occidentalium partium Christiani sacerdotes; EXPL. ut si quando ad aures eorum peruenerint ad se reuersi correctionibus uacent.

MANOSCRITTI: S, foll. 76ra-78rb.

BIBLIOGRAFIA: DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 71.

EDIZIONI: inedito.

APPENDICI

6.1. Ugo Eteriano, Epistola ad uenerabilem card. Arduinum
De haeresibus quas in Latinos Greci deuoluunt

DATA: post 1178, DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 71, con dedica del *De haeresibus quas in Latinos Graeci deuoluunt*.

INC. Diligens prudentia tuae conquisitionis; EXPL. generosi animi tui postulatione linguam Latinam adepta sunt.

MANOSCRITTI: S, fol. 76ra

EDIZIONI: DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 116.

7. Ugo Eteriano, Epistola ad Alexin Romanum subdiaconum

DATA: non ancora specificata (probabilmente prima del *De differentia*).

INC. Alexi reuerendo sancte Romane ecclesie subdiacono et que significanciam sermonis; EXPL. ut flecti queas quatinus si in aliquo aures tuas offenderit lectio hec dande uenie non obliuiscaris.

MANOSCRITTI: U, foll. 188r-190r.

EDIZIONI: Zago in PODOLAK – ZAGO, «Ugo Eteriano e la controversia» (*art. cit.*, n. 3), p. 156-167.

BIBLIOGRAFIA: DONDAINE, *Écrits de la «petite école»* (*op. cit.*, n. 14), p. 54: «sous les dehors d'une simple lettre nous trouvons ici un document de haute qualité et malgré son étendue somme toute brève... nous le tenons pour la pièce la plus importante du dossier porrétaïn».

8. Documenti storici

8.1. Ugo Eteriano, Lettera ai consoli di Pisa

DATA: la datazione della lettera dipende dalla cronologia della morte di Signoretto, che si ricava dall'epitaffio: *annos post decem bene centum mille-que signo/ cum sex mox decies sex quoque connumeret annos*; la datazione al 1166 stabilita da Müller (p. 11) è stata spostata al 1176 da C. H. HASKINS, «Leo Tuscus», *The English Historical Review*, 33 (1918), p. 492-496, specie p. 492 n. 2 e da DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (n. 2), p. 80; propenso al contrario alla datazione al 1166 è SETTON, «The Byzantine Background», *art. cit.*, n. 11, p. 26. Nel generale panorama di scarsa attenzione riscossa dal testo si segnala il contributo di P. CLASSEN, *Burgundio von Pisa. Richter – Gesandter – Übersetzer*, «Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse», Winter, Heidelberg, 1974, p. 24 n. 16, che nel penultimo verso dell'epitaffio legge *Christum* in luogo di *decem*, e ricolloca la cronologia del pezzo al 1166, data che corrisponderebbe al rientro di Manuele dal viaggio in Ungheria

(p. 12 b, ll. 19-21 Müller). Tutta la questione richiederebbe un riesame sulla base di un'autopsia del documento, e ci limitiamo ad accogliere in via provvisoria la datazione al 1176.

INC. Clarissimis urbis Pisanae consulibus V. Eterianus salutem et incruentam de hostibus uictoriam; EXPL. cum diligentia tamen et ueritate perfeci, quod est amantium. Valet bene semper.

MANOSCRITTI: Pisa, Archivio di Stato, Diplomatico, Cartacei busta II = Atti pubblici, ATP06671, id. SIAS 703009305.

EDIZIONI: G. MÜLLER, *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll'Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi fino all'anno MDXXXI, raccolti ed annotati*, Cellini, Firenze 1879, p. 11-13.

BIBLIOGRAFIA: HASKINS, «Leo Tuscus», p. p. 492, n. 2; DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 80-82; B. CASINI, *Inventario dell'Archivio del Comune di Pisa (sec. XI-1509)*, Società Editrice «Il Telegrafo», Livorno 1969, nr. 91, p. 72; CLASSEN, *Burgundio von Pisa*, p. 24, n. 16; D. PENNA, *The Byzantine Imperial Acts to Venice, Pisa and Genoa, 10th – 12th centuries, A Comparative Legal Study*, tesi di dottorato, Groningen 2012, p. 16; 203.

8.2. Lucio III, Epistola consolatoria de obitu maistri Ugonis ad fratrem eius

DATA: «Data Velletri VII Idus decembris», dunque 07.12.1182.

INC. Vellemus tibi libentius uitam ac prosperitatem bonae memoriae;
EXPL. intimanda ueritatem nobis studeas expressim intimare.

MANOSCRITTI: F, fol. 1r; G, foll. 73rb-73vb; H, foll. 124r-124v.

EDIZIONI: A. M. BANDINI, *Catalogus codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, vol. IV, Florentiae, 1777, col. 632; MÜLLER, *Documenti sulle relazioni*, p. 24-25.

BIBLIOGRAFIA: JAFFÉ – WATTENBACH, *Regesta* (*op. cit.*, n. 5), nr. 14712; DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 72.

3. Conspectus Codicum et Editionum

1. Codices

A Assisi, Bibl. Comunale, 90

DATA: saec. XIII (Mazzatinti 1894, p. 38).

DESCRIZIONE: composito, foll. I (cart.) + 127 (membr.) + I' (cart.); mm. 250 × 175. Si evidenzia la presenza all'interno del manoscritto di 4 sezioni ciascuna delle quali con caratteristiche proprie; ciascuna è vergata da una mano diversa. In successione, esse sono costituite dai: 1. foll. 1-53r: colonne

di mm. 175 × 65 con 10 mm. di spazio fra le due colonne e colonne di 49-50 righe, rigatura a punta secca, con diversi livelli di evidenza nel corso della sezione; 2. foll. 53v-56v: colonne di mm. 175 × 65 con 10 mm. di spazio fra le due colonne e colonne di 48-49 righe, rigatura a punta secca chiaramente visibile; 3. foll. 57r-67v: colonne di mm. 160 × 60, spazio di 10 mm. fra le colonne e colonne di 36 righe, rigatura a punta secca; 4. foll. 68r-127r: colonne di mm. 165 × 55, spazio di 10 mm. fra le due colonne e colonne di 33-34 righe, rigatura a punta secca. Numerazione manuale moderna nel margine superiore destro e meccanica nel margine inferiore destro.

DECORAZIONE: si segue la suddivisione in 4 parti: 1. foll. 1-53r prevedeva titoli e capitoli rubricati, che però cessano al fol. 2r; 2. foll. 53v-56v: titoli, capitali e cambio battute dei dialoghi rubricati; 3. foll. 57r-67v titoli, capitali e cambio battute dei dialoghi rubricati; iniziali in blu; 4. foll. 68r-127r titoli e capitali rubricati. Segni di infestazione di tarli e presenza di buchi naturali nella pergamena; macchie di umidità; bianco il fol. 127v; mutili i foll. 80; 84.

FASCICOLAZIONE: 1¹², 2¹²⁺¹, 3¹⁰⁺¹, 4¹², 5⁸⁺¹, 6¹⁰, 7¹², 8-9⁶, 10-11¹², 12¹⁰⁺¹. Numerazione dei fascicoli antica espressa in numeri romani nel margine inferiore del primo e dell'ultimo foglio di ogni fascicolo; parola di richiamo in orizzontale nel margine inferiore destro dell'ultimo foglio dei fascicoli. Piatti di protezione in legno ricoperti di carta bruna screziata. Sul taglio del codice impressioni in oro su cuoio: «Hieron. August. Pirrus P.CP. Ugo».

CONTIENE: 1. Gerolamo, *Commentarium beati Hieronymi presbyteri super Mattheum apostolum* [come da colophon] (foll. 1r-38v), inc. Plures fuisse qui euangelia scripserunt et Lucas euangelista testatur dicens, expl. non ignorat eam diem in qua se scit futurum cum apostolis (PL 25, 15-228 = ed. D. Hurst-M. Adriaen, CCSL 77, 1969). 2. Agostino, *Expositio quarundam propositionum ex epistola apostoli Pauli ad Romanos sancti Augustini episcopi* (foll. 39r-43v), inc. Sensus hii sunt in epistola ad Romanos Pauli apostoli. Primum omnium ut quis [*sic*] intelligat, expl. hii enim Christo Domino nostro non seruiunt sed suo uentri. De quibus alio loco dicit: Quorum deus uenter est (PL 35, 2063-2088 = ed. J. Divjak, CSEL 84, 1971, p. 1-52). 3. *Sancti Augustini Expositio in epistola ad Galatas* (foll. 44r-53r), inc. Causa propter quam scribit apostolus ad Galatas hec est, ut intelligant gratiam dei id secum agere ut sub lege, expl. nam et in nonnullis aliis epistolis ea utitur: gratia Domini nostri Iesu Christi cum spiritu uestro fratres amen (PL 35, 2105-2148 = ed. J. Divjak, CSEL 84, 1971, p. 55-141). 4. (in rosso) Designatio facte questionis gratia eorum que mota erant de ecclesiasticis dogmatibus in presentia Gregorii inclitissimi patricii et coinuentorum ipsi sanctissimorum episcoporum et reliquorum theophylorum uirorum a Pirro existente patriarcha Constantinopoleos et Maximo reuerendissimo monacho mense iunio indictione tertia Pirro quidem coadiuuante subin-

troductam et ab ipso et ab eo qui ante ipsum in Byzantio nouam censuram hoc est unius uoluntatis... (foll. 53v-56v), inc. Quod tibi malum fecimus domine abba Maxime et ego et qui ante me quia sic ubique detrahis nobis?, expl. (mutilo) igitur secundum quod homo uult ut ubi est et ipsi sint et uoluntatis erat idem [= fol. 62rb penultima riga] (PG 91, 288-353; CPG 7698, ma la traduzione latina è inedita). 5. (in rosso) Designatio sancte [sic] questionis gratia eorum (stesso testo del nr. 4., qui ai foll. 57r-67v), incipit identico, explicit regolare: gratia et cooperatione magni Dei et saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi cui est gloria in secula seculorum amen. 6. Ugo Eteriano, *De sancto et immortalī Deo* (foll. 68r-127r), assenti le lettere di accompagnamento (a fol. 68r inc. del libro 1: Moyses quondam ex colloctione dei), assente la *Compendiosa expositio*. Fol. 127r: (in rosso) De sancto et immortalī Deo Vgonis Etheriani liber temporibus memorandarum uirtutum Alexandri pape tertii et magni imperatoris Manuel latine atque grece Constantinopoli editus explicit. Deo gratias amen. Aue Maria gratia plena Dominus tecum et cetera.

NOTE: fol. 127v: «In isto libro omnes quaterni sunt XII».

BIBLIOGRAFIA: G. MAZZATINTI, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, vol. I, Forlì, 1894, p. 38; *Bibliotheca Manuscripta ad sacrum Conuentum Assisiensem*, cur. C. CENCI, Assisi, 1981, 2 voll., vol. I, p. 220, nr. 324.

[autopsia, 26.09.2014]

B Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Canon. Palat. Lat. 1

DATA: saec. XIII (S. Hamilton, p. 104) da preferirsi alla datazione al XIV ex. (Coxe, col. 281).

DESCRIZIONE: foll. II (cart.) + 72 (membr.) + II' (cart., numerati come 73-74), mm. 169 × 103/109; specchio di scrittura di mm. 120 × 65, scrittura su una sola colonna di 13 righe fino a fol. 56v; dal fol. 57r il numero di righe sale a 18. Si riscontra anche la presenza di due mani, entrambe di origine gotica; la prima di modulo ridotto e con ampio interlineo fino al fol. 56v, la seconda di assetto più compatto per i foll. 57-72. Visibili i forelini-guida per la rigatura; ai foll. 17r-56v la rigatura si fa particolarmente evidente. Numerazione fogli manuale moderna sul margine superiore sinistro; per errore della numerazione foll. 39a e 39 b.

DECORAZIONE: capitali rubricate; bianco il fol. 56v, fortemente deteriorato dall'umidità; presenza di buchi naturali e imperfezioni nella pergamena.

FASCICOLAZIONE: la fascicolazione è studiata da S. Hamilton (p. 104-107), da cui è mutuata: 1-2⁸, 3⁸, 4-5¹⁰, 6¹², 7-8⁸. Numerazione moderna dei fascicoli in cifre arabe nel margine inferiore destro del primo foglio di ogni

fascicolo; parole di richiamo mutile per la rifilatura a fol. 24v; 34v; 64v; 72v.

CONTIENE: **1.** Ugo Eteriano, *Contra Patarenos* (foll. 1r-31r), assente la tavola con il contenuto dell'opera. **2.** Testo non identificato (foll. 31v-32r), inc. Etenim ueni in altitudine maris et tempestas demersit me, expl. factus est uisibilis; cum esset impassibilis factus est passibilis. Deo gratias. **3.** Cinquantaquattro capitoli sulla fede ortodossa (foll. 32r-56r), inc. Firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum unum naturaliter esse, expl. hoc omnibus catholicis anathematizandus (Ivo di Chartres, *Decretum* 1, 4-44, *PL* 161, 67 d 2-78 b 4; il testo corrisponde a ps.Agostino [Fulgenzio di Ruspe], *De fide ad Petrum*, *PL* 40, 769, 30-778, 2). **4.** *Excerpta* da Gregorio Magno, *Dialogi* 3, 16, 3-5 (foll. 57r-58r), inc. mutilo: eicere facto terrore conatus est. Cepit enim serpens in spelunca inueniri, expl. famulum ausu improbo contristauit (*SC* 206, p. 328, 19-330, 49); *Dial.* 3, 18, 1-3, 21, 4 (foll. 58r-63v), inc. Frater quidam mecum est in monasterio conuersatus, expl. in porcos intrare non potuit nisi permissus (*SC* 260, p. 344, 1-354, 39). **5.** *Passio sancti Andreae apostoli* (foll. 63v-66v): inc. Passionem beati Andreae apostoli quam oculis nostris uidimus, expl. qui uiuit et regnat cum Patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus per omnia saecula saeculorum (BHL 428, M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* II/1, 1898, p. 1-37). **6.** Testo non identificato, *De Sibylla* (foll. 66v-72v), inc. Sibille generaliter dicuntur omnes foeminae uates linguas graecas (sic), expl. filios aduersus matrem suam et omnes parentes separabit, qui sanguis (il testo corrisponde fino a fol. 67v con Isidoro, *Etym.* 8, 8, 1-7, ma il seguito si configura come un testo autonomo).

NOTE: nella prima parte del codice abbondante presenza di glosse esplicative al testo, rese possibili dall'ampio interlineo. Fol. 1r: «Liber beati Augustini Contra Patarenos o.p.»; fol. 57r: nota illeggibile.

BIBLIOGRAFIA: *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*. Pars III, codices graecos et latinos canonicianos complectens, cur. H. O. COXE, Oxford 1854, coll. 281-282; Hugh Eteriano, *Contra Patarenos*. Edited and translated by J. HAMILTON – S. HAMILTON – B. HAMILTON, «The Medieval Mediterranean. Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1500», 55, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2004, p. 104-107.

[riproduzione, febbraio 2016]

C Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 207

DATA: saec. XVI ante med.

DESCRIZIONE: cartaceo, foll. I + 1-364 + II, mm. 296 × 215; numerazione fogli manuale moderna nel mg. superiore destro di ogni foglio (non sempre visibile); testo su una sola colonna con numero di righe variabile

a seconda della sezione. Il manoscritto è vergato da varie mani: in base alle riproduzioni consultate, se ne possono distinguere almeno tre diverse (foll. 1r-47v; foll. 49r-196r; foll. 197r-364v). Il manoscritto è un dono di Richard Palmer, *fellow* nel 1616.

DECORAZIONE: bianchi i foll. 48r-48v; 196v; ii r-ii v. Spazio per iniziale decorata a 193r.

CONTIENE: **1.** Isidoro di Pelusio, 49 epistole secondo la traduzione del diacono Rustico, contenuta nel *Synodikon* del 564 (foll. 1r-12v). Le epistole sono contenute in *Concilium Universale Ephesenum* edidit Ed. Schwartz, vol. IV: Collectionis Casinensis sive Synodici a Rustico diacono compositi pars altera, fasciculus primus, De Gruyter, Berolini et Lipsiae 1922, p. 9-25; cf. inoltre *Quarante-neuf lettres de saint Isidore de Péluse* par R. Aigrain, Paris 1911. **2.** Documenti sui concilii di Efeso e di Calcedonia (foll. 12v-47v), contenuti nell'edizione Schwartz (vol. IV) citata *supra* e per la maggior parte in *Concilium Universale Ephesenum* edidit Eduardus Schwartz, vol. III: Collectionis Casinensis siue Synodici a Rustico diacono compositi pars prior, De Gruyter, Berolini et Lipsiae 1929. I documenti sono: **2.1** *Libellus datus Archiepiscopo Cirillo a Paulo episcopo Emenseno misso a Iohanne Antiocheno* (foll. 12v-14v), inc. Domino meo per omnia sanctissimo et beatissimo, expl. et omnium mihi peculiarissime frater (Schwartz, vol. III, nr. 71 p. 184-187); **2.2** *Epistola sancti Cyrilli episcopi ad Ioannem Antiochenum* (foll. 14v-17r), inc. Domino meo dilectissimo fratri et con sacerdote Ioanni, expl. nullum errorem habentibus tuae sanctitatis paria destinamus (Schwartz, vol. III, nr. 72 p. 187-191); **2.3** *Omelia Cyrilli episcopi dicta sanct(o?) Ioann(e?) Baptistae ecclesia Farmuttii XXVIII indictione prima* (foll. 17r-17v), inc. Eos qui cum pietate nutriti sunt, expl. quae uero et ego ad eum rescripserim Deo fauente audietis (Schwartz, vol. III, nr. 73 p. 191-192); **2.4** *Epistola Cyrilli episcopi ad Maximianum episcopum Constantinopoleos qui ordinatus est post Nestorium dir(ecta?) post pacem* (foll. 17v-18r), inc. Reuerentissimo et Deo amatissimo somministro Maximianus Cyrillus in Deo salutem, expl. in Spiritu et ueritate ad orationem et culturam exhibentem ei (Schwartz, vol. III, nr. 74 p. 192); **2.5** *Commonitorium Eulogio presbytero Alexandriae obseruanti Constantinopolim a sanctissimo Archiepiscopo Cyrillo* (foll. 18r-19v), inc. Reprehenduntur quidam expositionem quam fecerunt orientales, expl. ipsas enim quaesiuit a nobis (Schwartz, vol. III, nr. 75 p. 193-194); **2.6** *Epistola Cyrilli ad Acacium fratrem et comministrum* (foll. 19v-27r), inc. Domino meo dilectissimo fratri somministro Acatio Cyrillus in Domino salutem, expl. Saluta quae apud te est fraternitatem. Te quae nobiscum est in Domino salutat (Schwartz, vol. III, nr. 76 p. 194-203); **2.7** *Epistola sancti Ioannis Archiepiscopi Antiochiae ad orientales episcopos de facta pace cum uniuersali ecclesia et beato Cyrillo* (foll. 27r-29r), inc. Optinuit pietas et

omnis diaboli abscedat inuidia, expl. non ut ea quae uolente deo bene sunt placita peruertamus (Schwartz, vol. IV, nr. 77 p. 3-4); **2.8** *Epistola Nestorii scripta Cyrillo Archiepiscopi in qua continetur (continetur v c ante correctionem, confitetur c post correctionem) non esse dei genitricem sanctam uirginem mariam. Aduersatur et litteris sancti Archiepiscopi Cyrilli fatua male ei scripserit* (foll. 29r-32r), inc. Reuerentissimo et dei amatissimo comministro Cyrillo Nestorius in Domino salutem, expl. Incolumis orans pro nobis permanes domine honoratissime et Deo clementissime (clement- *etiam cod. v colent- c*). Explicit epistola vii. (Schwartz, vol. III, nr. 7 p. 23-26); **2.9** *Epistola viii scripta mense iunio indictione undecima* (undecima v tertia decima c) (foll. 32r-38v), inc. Reuerentissimo et Deo amatissimo comministro Nestorio Cyrillus in Domino salutem. Saluatore nostro dicente qui amat, expl. super haec scribit communicatores esse eos qui expulsi sunt a Nestorio residentes (resid- v resist- c) eius doctrina (Schwartz, vol. III, nr. 8 p. 26-35); **2.10** *Cyrilli Epistola ad Constantinopolitanos* (foll. 38v-39v), inc. Dilectissimis et desiderabilibus presbyteris et diaconis et populo Constantinopoleos, expl. beati estis quia uirtutes et Dei spiritus in uobis requiescit (Schwartz, vol. III, nr. 9 p. 35-37); **2.11** *Athanasii episcopi sanctissimi qui fuit episcopus Alexandriae de codice contra Arrianos* (foll. 39v-40r), inc. Multi igitur fuerunt et mundi ab omni peccato, expl. propter eum qui factus in nobis propter eos maledictio (Schwartz, vol. III, nr. 24, 80 *gesta* p. 68); **2.12** *Eiusdem Athanasii de epistola ad Epictetum* (40r-40v), inc. Quomodo autem et ambigere qui dicuntur Christiani, expl. qui dicunt alium esse filium et aliud Dei uerbum (Schwartz, vol. III, nr. 24, 81 *gesta* p. 69); **2.13** *Et iterum post alia* (fol. 40v), inc. Non uero per appositionem haec facta sunt, expl. secundum diuinas scripturas et uerum est saluatoris (Schwartz, vol. III, nr. 24, 82 *gesta* p. 69); **2.14** *Sanctissimi episcopi Romani de epistola ad Prosdochium* (foll. 40v-41r), inc. Praedicatur autem ad plenitudinem fidei et incarnatus, expl. sed unus unigenitus in caelo unigenitus in terra Deus (Schwartz, vol. III, nr. 24, 82 *gesta* p. 69); **2.15** *Felicis santissimi episcopi Romae et martiri ex epistola ad Maximum episcopum et clerum Alexandriae* (fol. 41r), inc. De incarnatione uerbi ac(?) et fide credimus, expl. et homo perfectus incarnatus de uirgine (Schwartz, vol. III, nr. 24, 83 *gesta* p. 69-70); **2.16** *Theophili santissimi episcopi Alexandriae de quinta paschale epistola* (foll. 41r-41v), inc. Sunt enim et nunc reliquiae tunc factorum mirabilium, expl. quia omnium creator et Dominus est agens opera Dei (Schwartz, vol. III, nr. 24, 84 *gesta* p. 70); **2.17** *Eiusdem de paschali epistola* (fol. 41v), inc. Qualiter enim artificum optimi non in pretiosi tantum, expl. et praeparans destinantem eos regem continere (Schwartz, vol. III, nr. 24, 85 *gesta* p. 70); **2.18** *Cipriani santissimi episcopi et martiris ex interpretatione de elemosyna* (foll. 41v-42r), inc. Multa et maxima existunt dilectissimi diuina beneficia (*uide apparatus Schwartzii ad locum*),

expl. mortem sustinuit ut immortalitatem mortalibus reddat (*uide apparatus Schwartzii ad locum*) (Schwartz, vol. III, nr. 24, 86 *gesta* p. 70-71); **2.19** *Ambrosii sanctissimi coepiscopi interpretatio* (fol. 42r), inc. Si mihi non credunt credant apostolo, expl. generatio autem illa celesti ante legem ista post legem (Schwartz, vol. III, nr. 24, 87 *gesta* p. 71); **2.20** *Item eiusdem* (foll. 42r-42v), inc. Sileant igitur inanes de sermonibus quaestiones, expl. sanctificationem non diuinitate eguisse, sed carne (Schwartz, vol. III, nr. 24, 88 *gesta* p. 71); **2.21** *Gregorii maioris sanctissimi episcopi Nazianzeni ex epistola ad dydemum(?)* (foll. 42v-43r), inc. Non decipiant nomine neque decipiantur sine mente suscipientes, expl. uel si propter eum quod paulatim fit argumentum ita dicatur (Schwartz, vol. III, nr. 24, 89 *gesta* p. 72-73); **2.22** *Basilii sanctissimi episcopi Cesareae Cappadociae* (foll. 43r-43v), inc. Non enim tantum caelum et terram, expl. sua passione impassibilitatem donaret (Schwartz, vol. III, nr. 24, 90 *gesta* p. 73); **2.23** *Attici episcopi Constantinopoleos* (fol. 43v), inc. Si quem dubitare facit unigeniti humanatio, expl. ut fieret conuersationis optimae princeps et legislator (Schwartz, vol. III, nr. 46, 26 *gesta* p. 127; cf. apparato in Schwartz 1929, p. 74); **2.24** *Expositio de incarnatione filii unigeniti Dei cum inscriptione eorum qui sunt decepti* (foll. 43v-44v), inc. Sanctissimae et Deo dilectae synodi universalis quae in Ephesiorum metropoli congregata est, expl. quae per uestram Sanctitatem Deus penitus destruat (Schwartz, vol. III, nr. 46, 28-31 *gesta* p. 128-129); **2.25** *Charisii presbiteri confessio fidei* (foll. 44v-45r), inc. Credimus unum deum patrem omnipotentem, expl. ego Charisius obtuli libellos et subscripsi manu mea (Schwartz, vol. III, nr. 46, 32 *gesta* p. 129-130); **2.26** Augustinus, *De haeresibus*, Appendix IIA. *De nestorianis* (fol. 45r), inc. Nestoriana haeresis nuncupatur a suo auctore Nestorio, expl. sed geminum quod recipi nephas est asserebat (ed. Vander Plaetse-Beukers 1969, *CCSL* 46, p. 350); **2.27** *Relatio sanctae synodi calchedonensis ad beatum papam Leonem generaliter de omnibus gestis* (foll. 45r-47v), inc. Sancta et magna et uniuersalis synodus quae per gratiam Dei et sanctionem piissimorum et amatorum Christi imperatorum nostrorum collecta est, expl. et ad eorum quae a nobis gesta sunt firmitatem et consonantiam. Scripsi pridie Kal. fer(ia) tertia indictio (*sic*) xiii (S. Leonis Magni ep. 98, *PL* 54, 951-960). **3.** Ugo, *De sancto et immortali Deo* (foll. 49r-196v). **4.** Manuele Caleca, *Contra Graecos de processione sancti spiritus*, transl. Ambrogio Traversari (foll. 197r-364v), inc. Domino sancto ac beatissimo Papae Martino, expl. et beatæ Trinitatis uniusque et uerae deitatis amen (ed. Petrus Stevartius, Ingolstadii, Ex Typographia Ederiana, 1608).

BIBLIOGRAFIA: W. STANLEY, *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca Collegii Corporis Christi in Cantabrigia: Quos Legauit Matthaeus Parkerus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis*, London, 1722; J. NASMITH, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum quos Collegio Corporis Christi et B. Mariae*

Virginis in Academia Cantabrigiensi legauit reuerendissimus Matthæus Parker, archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, Cambridge, 1777; *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College*, cur. M. R. JAMES, University Press, Cambridge, 1911-1912, voll. I, p. 408; B. DICKINS, «The Making of the Parker Library», *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 6 (1972), p. 19-34; M. BUDNY, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: an Illustrated Catalogue*, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1997, vol. I p. lviii.

Il manoscritto è in linea:

http://dms.stanford.edu/catalog/CCC207_keywords

https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/actions/page_turner.do?ms_no=207

[riproduzione, settembre 2015]

F Firenze, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 23 dex. 3

DATA: saec. XII ex.-XIII inc.

DESCRIZIONE: membranaceo, composito, foll. I + 162 + I', mm. 245 × 175. Per i foll. 1-114: specchio di scrittura mm. 175 × 110; una sola colonna di testo di 28 righe con rigatura a punta secca; titoli e iniziali rubricati; explicit a penna blu e verde; decorazioni delle capitali a penna blu. Per i foll. 116r-132v: specchio di scrittura di mm. 175 × 110; pergamena di colore più grigio, testo su una sola colonna di 37 righe regolari con rigatura a punta secca. Per i foll. 134r-135v: specchio di scrittura di mm. 175 × 130, scrittura su due colonne di 51-54 righe, nessuna rigatura visibile. Per i foll. 138r-161v specchio di scrittura di mm. 185 × 130, scrittura su due colonne di 49 righe con rigatura a punta secca. Dalla parola di richiamo in basso a destra al fol. 161v si evince che seguiva almeno un altro fascicolo ora perduto. Per il fol. 162r: 33 righe su una sola colonna di mm. 150 × 160, ma tagliata a seguito di rifilatura. Per il fol. 162v: 45 righe di scrittura fittissima su una sola colonna di mm. 205 × 155.

DECORAZIONE: titoli e iniziali rubricate. In corrispondenza di inizio libro decorazioni in rosso, blu e verde. Bianchi i foll. 115r-v; 133v; 136r-137v.

FASCICOLAZIONE: 1¹, 2-15⁸, 16², 17⁸, 18¹⁰, 19⁴, 20¹², 21¹²⁺¹.

CONTIENE: 1. *Epistola papae Lucii consolatoria de obitu magistri Hugonis ad fratrem eius* (fol. 1r); 2. Ugo Eteriano, *De sancto et immortalis Deo* (foll. 2r-112v); 3. Ugo Eteriano, Lettera a papa Alessandro III (foll. 112v-113r); 4. Alessandro III, Rescritto a Ugo Eteriano (foll. 113r-v); 5. Ugo Eteriano, Lettera ad Aimerico di Limoges (foll. 113v-114r); 6. Aimerico di Limoges, Rescritto ad Ugo Eteriano (foll. 114r-114v); 7. *Compendiosa expositio in libro de spiritu sancto magistri Hugonis* (foll. 116r-132v); 8. Cronotassi della nascita e passione di Cristo (foll. 132v-133r, BHG 779 aj), identificata da Rostagno (p. 157-158), inc. Ἀυγουστος Ὀκτάβιος ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη, expl.

ὥς ὁ θεῖος Λουκάς ὑπηγόρευσεν; **9.** *Commonitorium sancti Augustini episcopi ad Fortunatianum* (foll. 134r-135v), inc. Sicut praesens rogavi et nunc commoneo, expl. impetres et me rescriptis Domino adiuuvante laetifices (= Aug. Hipp. *Ep.* 148, *PL* 33, 628-630); **10.** Excerptum ex opusculis beati Gregorii (fol. 138r-161v, testo parafrastico non identificabile in maniera precisa), inc. Fili mi si te lactauerunt peccatores ne acquiescas eis, expl. mutilo: quia iam sentit quod de celesti gaudio diligit et ad hoc metuit; **11.** Annotazioni in latino (fol. 162r), inc. Seram esse factam illorum sapientiam istam, expl. custodiens intellectus materiam quam in uasis sacramentorum; **12.** nuove annotazioni latine di difficile decifrazione (fol. 162v), inc. illeggibile, expl. sed non placuit, immo supra falsum se fundauit dicoque esse duplicem seruitutem in confitente. La storia del manoscritto è ricostruibile grazie alle note di possesso: dopo essere appartenuto al patriarcato latino di Costantinopoli, sarebbe giunto a Santa Croce con fra' Philippus de Sancta Trinitate, attestato nel convento fiorentino a partire dal 08.02.1300 (Davies, p. 406); allo stesso frate sarebbero da ricondurre i codici Plut. 22 dext. 4 e Plut. 36 dext. 6 (Davies, p. 406-408). Dal convento francescano è poi passato in Laurenziana il 16.10.1766.

NOTE: nel retropiatto anteriore: «Bibliotheca Sanctae Crucis Petri Leopoldi Med. Iussu in Laurent. Translata die XVI octobris 1766». Al fol. Ir ritaglio di pergamena a forma di T incollato sulla carta di guardia pergameneacea moderna. Sulla pergamena antica: «Liber domini [“domini” poi depennato] patriarchae [poi corretto in: “patriarchatus”]». «Magistri Hugonis [soprascritto: “Etheriani”] de spiritus sancti», aggiunto dalla stessa mano posteriore di cui sopra. Alla riga inferiore: «Liber generationis ***** ****»», seguito sotto dal monogramma del patriarcato. Al fol. 1v altre due note di possesso, la prima parzialmente tagliata a seguito di una rifilatura: «liber patriarchatus Constantinopoleos»; «Iste liber est armarii Florentini fratrum minorum quem assignauit frater Phylippus de sancta Trinitate». Tracce di vecchie segnature: al fol. 1v: «No. 251»; al fol. 2r: «263». fol. 1v: «Liber Hugonis Etheriani De sancto et immortali Deo». «Vt sanctum esse nemo dubitet quem apostolice dignitatis apex iuste attollit. In decretis pontificum capitulo secundo libri terti. In eadem sinodo Eunodio episcopo dictante: “Beatus Petrus perhennem (*sic*) meritorum dotem cum hereditate innocentie misit ad posteros. Quod illi concessum est per actuum Luce ad illos pertinet quos paris (?) conuersacionis splendor illuminet. Quis enim sanctum esse dubitet quem apex tante dignitatis attollit? In quo si desint bona acquisita per meritum sufficiunt que a loci decessore prestantur. Aut enim claros ad hec fastigia erigit aut que eriguntur illustrat. Prenoscit enim quid ecclesiarum fundamento sit habile super quod (?) ipsa moles innititur»». «Liber hic maistri (*sic*) Hugonis de Spiritus Sancti processione contra Grecos editus est Constantinopoli Grece et

Latine, quorum alter datus est Grecis ad infirmationem sui dogmatis, alter uero datus est Latinis ad irrefragabilem sue orthodoxe fidei defensionem. Sed et uterque – Latinus uidelicet et Grecus – missus est Romam ad papam Alexandrum et uterque missus est Antiochiam ad patriarcham Aimericum sicut epistole in calce uoluminis huius ascripte ostendunt» (Bandini, *Catalogus*, vol. IV, col. 633; stessa nota anche in G, fol. 73vb e H, fol. 124v).

BIBLIOGRAFIA: A. M. BANDINI, *Catalogus codicum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, vol. IV, Firenze, 1777, coll. 631-633; E. ROSTAGNO, «Indicis codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Laurentianae supplementum», *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, 6 (1898), p. 129-166, specie p. 157-158; C. H. HASKINS, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, Frederick Ungar Publishing, New York, 1960², p. 214; C. T. DAVIES, «The Early Collection of Books of S. Croce in Florence», *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 107 (1963), p. 399-414, specie p. 407; F. HALKIN, «Les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Laurentienne à Florence: inventaire hagiographique», *Analecta Bollandiana*, 96 (1978), p. 5-50, specie p. 30; F. HALKIN, *Novum auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae*, «Subsidia Hagiographica» 65, Société des Bollandistes, Bruxelles, 1984, p. 281; C. T. DAVIS, *L'Italia di Dante*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 1988, p. 148-149; G. BRUNETTI – S. GENTILI, «Una biblioteca nella Firenze di Dante: i manoscritti di Santa Croce», in *Testimoni del vero: su alcuni libri in biblioteche d'autore*, cur. E. RUSSO, Università degli studi di Roma "La Sapienza", Roma, 2000, p. 21-55, specie p. 33-34; M. R. TESSERA, «Dalla liturgia del Santo Sepolcro alla Biblioteca di Sidone: note sulla produzione libraria di oltremare nel XII-XIII secolo», *Aevum*, 79 (2005), p. 407-415, specie p. 410; S. CHIODO, *Ad usum fratris... Miniature nei manoscritti laurenziani di Santa Croce (secoli XI-XIII)*, Mandragora, Firenze, 2016, p. 21.

Il manoscritto è in linea:

<http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0001434858&keywords=hugo#page/1/mode/1up>

[autopsia, 18.04.2014; 30.06.2014; riproduzione, marzo-maggio 2014]

G Vaticano, BAV Lat. 820

DATA: saec. XV (Manfredi 1994, p. 301).

DESCRIZIONE: membranaceo; provenienza Italia centrale, forse Firenze (Manfredi, p. 301); foll. II (cart.) + 78 + II' (cart.); mm. 290 × 210, scrittura su 2 colonne di mm. 190 × 60 e di 40 righe; spazio fra le due colonne di mm. 20; numerazione manuale moderna nel margine superiore destro.

DECORAZIONE: titoli rubricati; capitali in blu. Iniziali dei singoli libri decorate in rosso, blu e oro (fol. 1r-v; libro II fol. 18r; libro III fol. 44r; 45r). Bianchi i foll. 74r-78v. Segni di infestazione da parte di tarli.

FASCICOLAZIONE: 1-6¹⁰, 7¹²⁺², 8⁴. Parole di richiamo in orizzontale nel margine in basso a destra dell'ultimo foglio dei fascicoli (ma non sempre sono presenti); non sono visibili segni di numerazione fascicoli. Legatura in cuoio di colore rosso-bruno con impressioni in oro.

CONTIENE: **1.** Ugo Eteriano, *De sancto et immortalī Deo* (foll. 1ra-71vb), fol. 71v: (in rosso) *De sancto et immortalī Deo Ugonis Eteriani liber temporibus memorandarum uirtutum Alexandri papae tertii et magni imperatoris Manuel Latine atque Graece Constantinopoli editus explicit*; **2.** Ugo Eteriano, Lettera a papa Alessandro III (foll. 71vb-72rb); **3.** Alessandro III, Rescritto a Ugo Eteriano (foll. 72rb-72va); **4.** Ugo Eteriano, Lettera ad Aimerico di Limoges (foll. 72va-b); **5.** Aimerico di Limoges, Rescritto a Ugo Eteriano (foll. 72vb-73rb); **6.** papa Lucio III, Lettera consolatoria a Leone Toscano per la morte di Ugo (foll. 73rb-73vb).

NOTE: Manfredi, p. 301: «postille di Tommaso da Sarzana, che probabilmente commissionò il manoscritto durante il concilio per l'Unione».

BIBLIOGRAFIA: *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. II/1, codd. 679-1134, cur. A. PELZER, Città del Vaticano, 1931, p. 177; *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. II/2 (*appendix*), *Indices*, cur. A. PELZER, Città del Vaticano, 1933; A. MANFREDI, *I codici latini di Niccolò V. Edizione degli inventari e identificazione dei manoscritti*, «Studi e Testi» 359, Città del Vaticano, 1994, nr. 481 p. 301; *Librorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae Index a Nicolao de Maiorani compositus et Fausto Sabeo collatus anno MDXXXIII*, cur. A. DI SANTE – A. MANFREDI, «Studi e Testi» 457, Città del Vaticano, 2009, p. 332.

[autopsia, 23.06.2014]

H Vaticano, BAV Urb. Lat. 106

DATA: saec. XV (Stornajolo).

DESCRIZIONE: membranaceo, mm. 345 × 230, foll. I (membr) + 212 + I' (membr.); per errore della numerazione manuale moderna il fol. 122v è numerato come 123 e il fol. 124v è numerato come 125; salvo questi due casi si cita con il numero di foglio come presente sul codice. Specchio di scrittura di mm. 210 × 125; rigatura a inchiostro diluito e scrittura su una sola colonna di 34 righe regolari. Segni di infestazione da parte di tarli.

DECORAZIONE: titoli e iniziali rubricati; capitali in blu. Al fol. 1v i titoli contenuti nel tomo sono inseriti in un medaglione, e nella ricca decorazione di fol. 2r compaiono lo stemma e le iniziali di Federico da Montefeltro.

FASCICOLAZIONE: 1¹, 2-3¹⁰, 4⁸, 5-11¹⁰, 12⁸, 13¹⁰, 14⁸, 15-18¹⁰, 19⁸, 20-23¹⁰. Parole di richiamo in verticale nel margine inferiore destro a fine fascicolo (alcune assenti); non è visibile alcuna numerazione fascicoli. Legatura in cuoio chiaro con impressioni in oro, su cui Stornajolo riconosce le insegne di Alessandro VII.

CONTIENE: **1.** Ugo Eteriano, *De sancto et immortalī Deo* (foll. 2r-120v), fol. 120v: (in rosso) *De sancto et immortalī deo Hugonis Etheriani liber [sic] memorandarum uirtutum Alexandri papae tertii et magni imperatoris Manuel Latine atque Graece Constantinopoli editus explicit*; **2.** Ugo Eteriano, Lettera a papa Alessandro III (foll. 120v-121r); **3.** Alessandro III, Rescritto ad Ugo Eteriano (foll. 121r-121v); **4.** Ugo Eteriano, Lettera ad Aimerico di Limoges (foll. 121v-122r); **5.** Aimerico di Limoges, Rescritto ad Ugo Eteriano (foll. 122r-122v); **6.** papa Lucio III, Epistola consolatoria a Leone Toscano sulla morte di Ugo (foll. 124r-124v); **7.** Isidoro di Siviglia, *Praefatio in librum de summo bono* (= Lettera al vescovo Massone, fol. 126r-127r), inc. *Veniente ad nos famulo uestro uiro religioso Nicetio, expl. sententia cuius aut antiquior aut prior extat auctoritas* (PL 83, 899 a – 902 a); **8.** Isidoro di Siviglia, *Sententiae* 1-3 (foll. 127r-213r; con il titolo di *De summo bono*), inc. *Summum bonum Deus est quia incommutabilis, expl. quos miseros infernus ex hac uita recepit non quos celestis aula letificando includit* (PL 83, 537-738).

NOTA: fol. 124v: identica a quella di F, fol. 1v (Bandini, *Catalogus*, vol. IV, col. 633).

BIBLIOGRAFIA: C. STORNAJOLO, *Codices Urbinales Latini 1-500*, Romae, Typis Vaticanis, 1902, p. 128.

[autopsia, 23.06.2013]

M Colmar, Bibliothèque de la Ville, 58 (188), da Marbach

DATA: saec. XII ex. (*Catalogue général*, p. 29; Haring p. 15).

DESCRIZIONE: composito, foll. I (membr.) + 135 (membr.) + I' (membr.), mm. 225 × 160, scrittura su una sola colonna di mm. 160 × 110 e di 26-28 righe; la prima sezione (foll. 1-45) sembra eterogenea rispetto alla seconda, che sembra dovuta ad una seconda mano.

DECORAZIONE: titoli rubricati; capitali rubricate; talvolta capitali con motivi fitomorfi; talvolta le miniature iniziali non sono state eseguite (fol. 1v); bianchi i foll. 45r-v; 135v; segni di infestazione di tarli e abbondante presenza di buchi nella pergamena.

CONTIENE: **1.** Didimo il Cieco, *De Spiritu sancto* nella traduzione di Girolamo (fol. 1r-33r), inc. *Dum in Babilone uersarer et purpuratae meretricis, expl. et imperitiam mensuramque nostri non ignorare sermonis* (ed. L. Doutreleau, SC 386, Paris 1992); **2.** (in rosso) *Epistola Hugonis Honaugiensis scholastici missa Hugoni Etheriano Constantinopoli* (foll. 33v-34r); **3.** (in rosso) *Epistola Hugonis Honaugiensis scholastici missa Hugoni Etheriano Constantinopoli* (fol. 34v); **4.** (in rosso) *Epistola Petri scholastici Wiennensis missa de Austria Hugoni Etheriano Constantinopolim* (foll. 35r-35v); **5.** (in rosso) Hugonis Etheriani *De differentia naturae et personae* (foll. 36r-

44v): **6.** (in rosso) *Commentarium Boethii in Categorias Aristotelis* (foll. 46v-135r), inc. Expeditis his quae ad praedicamenta Aristotelis Porphyrii, expl. ad demonstrandum genus esse habendi praedicacionum quod sub se aliquas partes speciesque contineat (*PL* 64, 159 a – 294 c).

NOTE: fol. Iv: «Marbach. ms. 188»; fol. 1r: «Liber domus sancti Augustini in Marpach 168 (?)»; fol. 44v: «Liber domus sancti Augustini in Marpach Ordinis Canonicorum Regularium Basiliensis diocesis»; fol. 46r: «Liber domus sancti Augustini et omnium sanctorum in Marpach Ordinis Canonicorum Regularium Basiliensis diocesis». Presenza di abbondanti annotazioni in tutto il corpo del manoscritto.

BIBLIOGRAFIA: DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 124 n. 4; N. M. HARING, «The “Liber de differentia naturae et personae” by Hugh Etherian and the Letters Addressed to him by Peter of Vienna and Hugh of Honau», *Mediaeval Studies*, 24 (1962), p. 14-16; P. O. KRISTELLER, *Iter Italicum*, vol. III, London-Leiden, 1983, p. 210 a-b; *Catalogue général (Dép.)* LVI p. 29; V. HUTH, «Geheimes Wissen zwischen Dogmenstreit und Herrscherdienst. Neue Aspekte hochmittelalterlichen Geisteslebens am Oberrhein», *Alemannisches Jahrbuch*, (1999-2000), p. 153; Didyme L'Aveugle, *Traité du Saint-Esprit*, ed. L. DOUTRELEAU, SC 386, Paris 1992, p. 103; L. DOUTRELEAU, «Étude d'une tradition manuscrite: le De Spiritu sancto de Didyme», in *Kyriakon. Festschrift J. Quasten*, ed. P. GRANFIELD, J. A. JUNGSMANN, Aschendorff, Münster, 1970, p. 352-389.

Alcune foto del manoscritto sono in linea:

http://ccfr.bnf.fr/portailccfr/jsp/index_view_direct_anonymous.jsp?record=eadcgm:EADC:D52010609.

[riproduzione, febbraio 2016]

P Paris, BnF, Lat. 2948

DATA: saec. XII ex. per i foll. 1-104; saec. XIII inc. per i foll. 105-112 (*Catalogue Général*, p. 321); localizzazione orientale o anche di origine italiana secondo Tessler, p. 410, n. 17.

DESCRIZIONE: foll. II (membr.) + 136 (membr.; non numerato il foglio naturalmente presente fra fol. 10 e fol. 11 [= 10bis]; da 102 si passa erroneamente a 104) + II' (membr.); mm. 225 × 150. Rigatura a punta secca e numerazione fogli manuale moderna nel mg. superiore sinistro di ogni foglio. Si evidenzia la presenza all'interno del manoscritto di 3 sezioni; la seconda sezione (foll. 105-112) risulta opera di una mano differente; di ambiente grafico molto simile, se non dovute allo stesso scriba, la prima e la terza sezione, con l'eccezione del primo fascicolo, che, oltre al diverso specchio di scrittura e alla disposizione più ariosa del testo, vergato in modulo

maggiore, presenta peculiarità che fanno pensare ad una mano differente. Le sezioni terminano e iniziano sempre in corrispondenza del cambio di fascicolo e si identificano come segue: 1. foll. 1-104: testo su una sola colonna con specchio di scrittura variabile compreso fra mm. 180 × 105 (primo fascicolo) e 170 × 95 con colonne di 28 righe (primo fascicolo) o 32 righe (fascicoli successivi); 2. foll. 105-112: testo su due colonne con specchio di scrittura di mm. 205 × 130 con 7 mm. di spazio fra le due colonne; colonne con numero di righe variabile (47-57 righe); 3. foll. 113-136: scrittura su una sola colonna di mm. 170 × 90 oppure 170 × 95 con 32 righe regolari. Nella prima sezione si riscontrano delle note marginali (per lo più ad integrazione di lacuna testuale, talvolta rifilate), ma non da imputarsi ad una mano diversa da quelle che vergano il testo principale (tracce della mano del primo fascicolo sembrano riconoscersi nelle note a margine dei fascicoli successivi).

DECORAZIONE: «initiales d'or, peintes ou en couleur à filigranes et à antennes de style italien ou de l'Orient latin» (*Catalogue Général*, p. 321); fra i colori delle decorazioni delle capitali, oltre l'oro, il rosso, il turchino e in misura minore il verde; incipit ed explicit rubricati; decorazioni assenti sui foll. 105r-112r; buchi e strappi naturali nella pergamena; segni di umidità ai foll. 1-3; bianco il fol. 112v. Il taglio del manoscritto è colorato in oro.

FASCICOLAZIONE: 17⁸ (non numerato il fol. 10bis, ma saltato il nr. 103). Non sono visibili in alcuna delle parti segni di numerazione fascicoli né parole di richiamo. Margini rifilati. Rilegatura in pelle rossa con le armi di Filippo di Béthune.

CONTIENE: 1. Ugo Eteriano, *De sancto et immortalī Deo* (foll. 1r-101v); 2. Ugo Eteriano, Lettera a papa Alessandro III (foll. 101v-102r); 3. Alessandro III, Rescritto ad Ugo Eteriano (foll. 102r-102v); 4. Ugo Eteriano, Lettera ad Aimerico di Limoges (foll. 102v-104r); 5. Aimerico di Limoges, Rescritto ad Ugo Eteriano (foll. 104r-104v); 6. Sequenza in onore di Maria, inc. *Salutem iam de celis in ore Gabrielis*; expl. o tu felix Maria o tu regina pia sis nobis uite uia (fol. 104v); 7. foll. 105r-112r: la *Compendiosa expositio* con il prologo; 8. Rufino, Traduzione delle *Orazioni* di Gregorio Nazianzeno (prologo e *Or.* 1, 1-104, foll. 113r-136v), inc. *Proficiscenti mihi ex urbe magnopere iniungebas*, expl. *mutilo in tantis rebus tam difficilibus tamque arduis non fui ausus satis* (CSEL 46, 3-5 e 7-76).

NOTE: fol. 1r: «Liber de sancto et immortalī Vgonis Eteriani»; fol. 1r: «V 4417»; «2948»; fol. 104v: «Deus in adiutorium meum intende/ Domine ad adjuuandum me festina».

BIBLIOGRAFIA: Bibliothèque Nationale, *Catalogue Général des manuscrits latins*, vol. III (2693-3013), Paris, 1952, p. 320-321; P. O. KRISTELLER – F. E. CRANZ, *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries*, Annotated Lists

and Guides, Union Académique Internationale, The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, 1971, vol. II, p. 132a (A. C. Way); M. R. TESSERA, «Dalla liturgia del Santo Sepolcro alla Biblioteca di Sidone: note sulla produzione libraria di oltremare nel XII-XIII secolo», *Aevum*, 79 (2005), p. 407-415, specie p. 410.

[autopsia, 16.-17.03.2015]

Q Subiaco, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, cod. 265 (olim 260)

DATA: saec. XIII (Mazzatinti, p. 211).

DESCRIZIONE: membranaceo, foll. 140; mm. 220 × 150; numerazione fogli a matita sul mg. superiore destro (ma la numerazione non era stata apposta al momento in cui Mazzatinti catalogò il codice); specchio di scrittura di una sola colonna con 25 righe regolari.

DECORAZIONE: iniziali dei singoli libri decorate in rosso e blu (foll. 1r; 38r); titoli e capitali rubricati.

CONTIENE: **1.** Ugo Eteriano, *De sancto et immortalis Deo* (foll. 1r-139r), fol. 139r: (in rosso) *De sancto et immortalis Deo Vgonis Eteriani liber temporibus memorandarum uirtutum Alexandri papae tertii et magni imperatoris Manuel Latine atque Graece Constantinopoli editus explicit*; **2.** Ugo Eteriano, Lettera a papa Alessandro III (foll. 139r-139v); **3.** Alessandro III, Rescritto ad Ugo Eteriano (fol. 140r).

QUOD TEXTUM: una caduta di fogli fra l'attuale fol. 88v e 89r interrompe il testo fra la fine del secondo libro e l'inizio del terzo, da *causam esse spiritus sicut nec* (332 d) a *nec amplius laborare* (341 c). Si riscontrano nel corso del testo varianti a margine, opera di una mano differente, e derivate da collazione con altri testimoni.

NOTE: fol. 1r: «Est sacri monasterii Sublacensis SN 4016»; fol. 88v: «Hic desunt tres (?) folia»; fol. 140r: «Hic liber est conuentus (?) angelorum (?)»; fol. 1r: due note in caratteri ebraici di mano aschenazita (dunque Italia o Europa centrale) del XVI-XVII secolo la cui decifrazione mi è fornita per litteras (10.07.2014) dall'amico Saverio Campanini. Si tratterebbe abbastanza chiaramente di un riferimento preso in tutta fretta a un'opera cerimoniale Alfasi (cioè Isacco di Fez [יִסְחָק אֶלְפָּאסִי]): l'appunto sarebbe di un rabbino che si è segnato la colonna (se è bene interpretata la parola מִהֶעֱמֹד, ma non è sicuro) che sarebbe forse la n. 49.

BIBLIOGRAFIA: G. MAZZATINTI, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, vol. I, Forlì, 1890, p. 210-211.

[riproduzione, luglio-settembre 2014]

R Barcellona, Archivio della Corona, Ripoll 204

DATA: saec. XIII.

DESCRIZIONE: composito, membr. 195 ff., mm. 180 × 125; numerazione fogli manuale moderna nel mg. superiore destro di ogni foglio; testo su una sola colonna (foll. 1-12v; 104r-195r) o due colonne (foll. 13r-103v) con numero di righe variabile a seconda della sezione. Proveniente dal monastero di Santa Maria di Ripoll.

DECORAZIONE: iniziali e titoli rubricati; presenza di buchi naturali nella pergamena; mutili i foll. 100; 101; 195.

CONTIENE: **1.** Miscellanea giuridica (foll. 1r-3v), inc. illeggibile per deterioramento della pergamena, expl. Constantinopolitane ecclesie nonnisi per centum. Finito libro; **2.** Note giuridiche di mano diversa (foll. 3v-6v), inc. Scripture diuerse et secundum sibi inuicem derogantes, expl. ergo locetur et contra hoc si funditur; **3.** Riassunto della Vita di san Tommaso di Canterbury (foll. 7r-11v), inc. Nam multi sermonis prolixitatem et obscuritatem abhorret, expl. archipresule tuo quia caput eius in sinu filii mei requiescit (cf. A. SUÁREZ-GONZÁLEZ, «Un libellus sancti Thomae Cantuariensis archiepiscopi. Archivo de la catedral de Tuy, cod. 1, ff. XIXv-XXVIIr», *Hispania Sacra*, 61 [2009], p. 9-27); **4.** (in rosso) *Interpretatio constitutionis cellararii facta a uisitoribus* (foll. 12r-12v), inc. Reuerendo in Christo patri R. totique conuentui Riupullensi frater, expl. commiserit *** fidem nihilominus adhibere; **5.** (in rosso) *Quadripertita Alani edita contra hereticos Valdenses Iudeos paganos. Prologus ad principem Montispessulani* (foll. 13ra-52vb), inc. Reuerendissimo domino suo Willelmo, expl. unitatem ascendenti quod nobis prestare dignetur (PL 210, 305-430); **6.** (in rosso) *Incipit liberer [sic] magistri Alani qui corrector uocatur ac medicus, qui correptiones corporum et animarum medicinas pleniter continet et docet unumquemque sacerdotem uel simplicem uel qualiter unicuique succurrat* (foll. 53ra-103rb), inc. Henrico Dei gratia Bithuricensi patriarchae, expl. fieri possit expolite. Detur ergo uenia non operi sed opifici (ed. J. LONGÈRE, «Alain de Lille, Liber poenitentialis. Les traditions moyenne et courte», *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 32 [1965], p. 169-242); **7.** *Liber infernalis qui tractat de penis infernalibus quas sanctus angelus ostendit Paulo apostolo* (foll. 103rb-103va), inc. Fratres magna est dominica dies est ac timenda, expl. post hoc ut dicitur Paulus interrogauit angelum dicens (ed. A. OLIVAR, «Liber infernalis o Visio Pauli», *Sacris Erudiri*, 18 [1967-1968], p. 550-551); **8.** Frammento da Seneca, *Ep.* 110, 14-20 (foll. 103va-103vb), inc. Memini Athalum cum magna admiratione, expl. non ut uidearis et ut tibi uidearis, non aliis; **9.** Costituzioni del legato apostolico al concilio di Tarracona del 1239 (foll. 104r-104v), inc. Constitutiones uenerabilis patris I. episcopi Sabinensis episcopi bone memorie apostolice sedis, expl. propter enormitatem criminum in eorum presentia secesserit penitus a diuinis (cf. J. PONS GURI, «Constitutions Conciliars Tarraconenses (1229 a 1330)», *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, 47 [1974], p. 65-128, p. 65ss.);

10. (in rosso) Incipit liber magistri Vgonis de anima (foll. 105r-195r), incipit ed explicit regolari. **11.** Altre note lessicali in gran parte corrose insieme al supporto materiale (foll. 105r-105v).

BIBLIOGRAFIA: Z. GARCIA, «Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Hispaniensis, Barcelona. A. Archivo general de la Corona de Aragon. I. Ripoll», *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philos. Hist. Klasse, 169/2, Wien 1915, p. 90-91.

Il manoscritto è in linea:

http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas/servlets/ImageServlet?accion=41&txt_id_imagen=2&txt_rotar=0&txt_contraste=0&txt_zoom=10&appOrigen=&cabecera=N

[riproduzione, marzo 2015]

S Siviglia, Capitolo della Cattedrale, Biblioteca Colombina, cod. 5-1-24

DATA: saec. XIII (Sáez Guillén, p. 58).

DESCRIZIONE: foll. I (cart.) + 88 (membr.) + I' (cart.), mm. 234 × 172; scrittura su due colonne di 27 righe. Numerazione fogli manuale moderna a matita nel mg. superiore destro.

DECORAZIONE: titoli e iniziali rubricate; decorazioni a penna in corrispondenza delle capitali.

NOTE: fol. 88r: «Este libro costò 80 (?) dineros en Génova de mediado deziembre de 1530 el ducado de oro vale 864 dineros».

FASCICOLAZIONE: 1-2 perduti (a fol. 12v il numero di fascicolo è III); 3-7¹², 8¹⁰, 9¹², 10⁶. Numerazione fascicoli centrata in cifre arabe nel mg. inferiore dell'ultimo foglio di ogni fascicolo; ivi anche parola di richiamo in orizzontale nel mg. inferiore destro.

CONTIENE: **1.** Innocenzo III, *De mysteriis* (foll. 1ra-67rb), inc. mutilo: Et fastidium cum contradicit Deo in euangelio, expl. totum continue censui subscribendum (PL 217, 814 c 2-916 a 2); **2.** (in rosso) Hugo Eterianus *De abhominabili Patherenorum secta et omnifariam reprehensibili capitulum* (foll. 67rb-75vb), incipit et explicit regolari; **3.** (in rosso) *Ad uenerabilem card. Arduinum De haeresibus quas in Latinos Greci deuoluunt* Ugo Eterianus (i.e. Lettera di dedica al card. Arduino del *De haeresibus quas in Latinos Graeci deuoluunt* [fol. 76ra]); **4.** Ugo Eteriano, *De haeresibus quas in Latinos Greci deuoluunt* (titolo non presente [foll. 76ra-78rb]); **5.** (in rosso) *De haeresibus et praeuaricationibus Grecorum* Leo Tuscus imperialis epistolarum interpres (foll. 78rb-88rb), inc. Grecorum intolerabilis redargutio Vulcanum imitando, expl. et lucernam quam accenderant sciuerunt marcescere.

BIBLIOGRAFIA: D. F. WRIGHT, «I manoscritti del De missarum mysteriis di Innocenzo III», *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 29 (1975), p. 444-452 (per quanto il manoscritto non sia qui catalogato); J.-F. SÁEZ

GUILLÉN – P. JIMÉNEZ DE CISNEROS VENCELA, *Catálogo de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Colombina de Sevilla*, Sevilla, 2002, voll. I-II, vol. I, p. 58-59.

[riproduzione, marzo 2015]

T Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale 844 (Clairvaux H 75)

DATA: saec. XII (*Catalogue générale*, p. 349); localizzazione orientale secondo Tessler, p. 410 n. 17; DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 102.

DESCRIZIONE: membranaceo, foll. I + 113 + I', mm. 265 × 185, numerazione fogli, talvolta duplice, a penna nel margine superiore sinistro di ogni foglio. Scrittura su una sola colonna con 28 righe regolari. La rigatura lascia bianchi ampi margini evidentemente pensati per apporvi in forma di glosse la *Compendiosa expositio*, ma la trascrizione di questo testo cessa dopo il fol. 1r.

DECORAZIONE: capitali decorate, di modulo maggiore in corrispondenza dell'inizio di ciascun libro. Incipit e explicit rubricati.

FASCICOLAZIONE: 1-7⁸, 8¹⁰, 9-14⁸ (ultimo foglio apparentemente perduto). Non sono visibili parole di richiamo; numerazione fascicoli centrata nel margine inferiore dell'ultimo foglio di ciascun fascicolo (eccetto l'ultimo).

CONTIENE: **1.** Ugo Eteriano, *De sancto et immortalis Deo* (foll. 1-111r), fol. 111r: (in rosso) *De sancto et immortalis Deo Ugonis Eteriani liber temporibus memorandarum uirtutum Alexandri pape tertii et magni imperatoris Manuel Latine atque Graece Constantinopoli editus explicit*; **2.** Ugo Eteriano, Lettera a papa Alessandro III (foll. 111v-112r); **3.** Alessandro III, Rescritto ad Ugo Eteriano (fol. 112r); **4.** Ugo Eteriano, Lettera ad Aimerico di Limoges (fol. 112r-112v); **5.** Aimerico di Limoges, Rescritto ad Ugo Eteriano (foll. 113r-113v).

NOTE: fol. 113v: «Liber Hugonis Etheriani de sancto et immortalis Deo ~~domino~~. Liber sancte Marie Clareuallis».

BIBLIOGRAFIA: *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, t. II, Paris, 1855, p. 349-350; A. VERNET – J.-F. GENEST, *La bibliothèque de l'Abbaye de Clairvaux du XII^e au XVIII^e siècle*, Éditions du CNRS, Paris, 1979, vol. I, p. 157; 496; 657; M. R. TESSERA, «Dalla liturgia del Santo Sepolcro alla Biblioteca di Sidone: note sulla produzione libraria di oltremare nel XII-XIII secolo», *Aevum*, 79 (2005), p. 407-415, specie p. 410.

[riproduzione, marzo 2015]

U Tarracona, Biblioteca Pública Provincial, ms. 92

DATA: saec. XII ex. – XIII in.

DESCRIZIONE: membranaceo, foll. I + 198 + I'; scrittura su una sola colonna di 30-34 righe; doppia numerazione manuale moderna nel margine superiore destro, di cui la prima salta erroneamente da fol. 69 a fol. 80, la seconda comincia a fol. 70 e riporta la foliazione corretta. Rigatura a punta secca; in parte visibili i forellini-guida.

DECORAZIONE: titoli e capitali rubricati. Segni di infestazione da parte di tarli e buchi naturali nella pergamena; bianco il fol. 179v.

CONTIENE: **1.** Ugo da San Vittore, *Commento alla Gerarchia celeste* (acefalo, foll. 1r-99v), inc. Iudaei signa quaerunt et Graeci sapientiam; fuit enim quaedam sapientia, expl. diuinas illuminationes secundo loco purgatur et illuminatur et perficitur (ed. Poirel, *CCCM* 178, 2015, p. 399, 3-616, 244); **2.** *Coena Cypriani* (foll. 100r-102v), inc. Quidam rex Ioel faciebat in regione mentis nuptias, expl. bibitorium, Benjam coopertorium subsericum Iosep lanciam alienam uxorem errat Abimele (ed. E. Rosati – F. M. Casaretto, ed. Dell'Orso, Alessandria, 2002); **3.** *De apostolorum interpretationibus* (foll. 103r-104r), inc. Petro dedit Dominus Romam, Andreae Achaïam, Thomae Indiam, expl. ut significaretur precium redemptionis (testo non identificato); **4.** ps. Seneca, *De quattuor uirtutibus* (foll. 104r-106r), inc. Quattuor uirtutum species multorum sapientium sententiis diffinitae, expl. scrutator acerbus reprehensor, sed sine exprobratione (Reuera Martinus Bracarensis, *Formula uitae honestae* 1a-4, p. 237, 1-244, 48 ed. C. W. Barlow, London-Oxford, 1950); **5.** Pascasio Radberto, *De sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini* (foll. 106r-137r), inc. Dilectissimo filio et uice Christi praesidenti magistro monasticae disciplinae, expl. in praeparatione euangelii pacis pedibus ut ad illa resurrectionis gaudia quam totius uenire ualeamus. Amen (ed. B. Paulus, *CCCM* 16, 1969, p. 3, 1-130, 177); **6.** *Sermo de sancta Trinitate a beato Augustino episcopo editus* (foll. 137r-142v, i.e. Augustinus, *Sermo* 52), inc. Euangelica lectio proposuit nobis unde loquamur ad charitatem uestram, expl. diximus. Caetera quae addenda sunt ut perficiantur sensus uestri a Domino quaerite (edd. P. Verbraken et alii, *CCSL* 41 Aa, 2008, p. 58, 1-80, 481); **7.** Aimerico di Limoges, Lettera a Ugo Eteriano sul *De anima* (fol. 143r, inedita); **8.** Aimerico di Limoges, Lettera a Ugo Eteriano: conferma di ricezione del *De anima* (fol. 143r, inedita); **9.** Clero pisano, Lettera ad Ugo Eteriano (fol. 143v = *PL* 202, 167-168, ma versione differente da quella a stampa); **10.** Ugo Eteriano, *De regressu animarum ab inferis* (foll. 143v-175v); **11.** Ugo Eteriano, Rescritto al clero pisano (foll. 175v-176r = *PL* 202, 167, ma versione differente da quella a stampa); **12.** Guglielmo arciprete di Santa Maria a Pisa, Lettera ad Ugo Eteriano (fol. 176r, inedito); **13.** Ugo Eteriano, *De minoritate* (foll. 176r-188r, ed. Podolak-Zago); **14.** Ugo Eteriano, Lettera ad Alessio sud diacono romano (foll. 188r-190r, ed. Zago in Podolak-Zago); **15.** preghiera alla Vergine Aue mundi spes Maria (fol. 190r); **16.** Canoni del III Concilio

Lateranense, 1179 § 1-9 (foll. 191r-198v), inc. Licet deuitanda discordia in electione romani pontificis, expl. sed in proprietatibus suis.

BIBLIOGRAFIA: DONDAINE, «Hugues Ethérien et le concile» (n. 2), p. 473-483; D. POIREL, introduzione a *CCCM* 178, p. 75-76.

Il manoscritto è in linea:

http://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/resultados_busqueda_restringida.cmd?busq_siglosumario=13&idOrigen=2389&descrip_siglosumario=XIII

[riproduzione, luglio 2014]

V Vaticano, BAV Lat. 821

DATA: saec. XII ex. (Manfredi, p. 303); localizzazione orientale secondo DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 102.

DESCRIZIONE: origine italiana (Fohlen, p. 235), mm. 280 × 190; foll. I (cart) + I' (membr.) + 153 + I'' (cart). Numerazione a penna nel margine superiore destro di ogni foglio; sul margine estremo in alto a destra di ogni foglio delle cifre romane indicano al lettore la numerazione di libro. Scrittura su una sola colonna di mm. 205 × 110 con 27 righe regolari. La rigatura a punta secca lascia un ampio margine, rigato più fittamente, che serve ad accogliere il testo di commento (la *Compendiosa expositio* [?]).

DECORAZIONE: titoli e capitali rubricate; lettere capitali decorate in oro ai foll. 1r (*incipit* del prologo); fol. 89r (*incipit* del terzo libro), ma non a fol. 36r, *incipit* del secondo libro.

FASCICOLAZIONE: 1-18⁸, 19⁸⁺¹. Non sono visibili parole di richiamo né segni per la numerazione dei fascicoli. Rilegatura in cuoio di colore rosso-bruno con impressioni in oro.

CONTIENE: 1. fol. I'v: prologo della *Compendiosa expositio*: inc. Intentio huius prologi omnis hoc agit ut operis difficultatem ostendat; 2. Ugo Eteriano, *De sancto et immortalis Deo*, con la *Compendiosa expositio* nei margini del testo principale (fol. 1r-150v); fol. 150v: (in rosso) Hugonis Eteriani liber temporibus memorandarum uirtutum Alexandri papae tertii et magni imperatoris Manuel Latine atque Grece Constantinopoli editus explicat; 3. Ugo Eteriano, Lettera a papa Alessandro III (foll. 150v-151v); 4. Alessandro III, Rescritto ad Ugo Eteriano (foll. 151v-152r); 5. Ugo Eteriano, Lettera ad Aimerico di Limoges (foll. 152r-152v); 6. Aimerico di Limoges, Rescritto a Ugo Eteriano (foll. 153r-153v).

BIBLIOGRAFIA: *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. II/1, codd. 679-1134, cur. A. PELZER, Città del Vaticano, 1931, p. 177-178; *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. II/2 (*appendix*), *Indices*, cur. A. PELZER, Città del Vaticano, 1933; A. MANFREDI, *I codici latini di Niccolò V. Edizione degli inventari e identificazione dei manoscritti*, «Studi e Testi» 359, Città del Vaticano, 1994,

nr. 483, p. 303; M. R. TESSERA, «Dalla liturgia del Santo Sepolcro alla Biblioteca di Sidone: note sulla produzione libraria di oltremare nel XII-XIII secolo», *Aevum*, 79 (2005), p. 407-415, specie p. 410; J. FOHLEN, *La Bibliothèque du pape Eugène IV (1431-1447). Contributions à l'histoire du fonds Vatican latin*, «Studi e Testi» 452, Città del Vaticano, 2008, p. 235-236; *Librorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae Index a Nicolao de Maiorani compositus et Fausto Sabeo collatus anno MDXXXIII*, curr. A. DI SANTE – A. MANFREDI, «Studi e Testi» 457, Città del Vaticano, 2009, p. 20.

[autopsia, 23.06.2014]

W Vaticano, BAV Lat. 5045

DATA: saec. XII-XIII.

COMPOSIZIONE: membranaceo, foll. II + 48+ II'; mm. 240 × 165; numerazione fogli a penna sul mg. superiore destro; specchio di scrittura di una sola colonna di mm. 180 × 110, con 28 righe regolari. Rilegatura in cuoio di colore bruno.

DECORAZIONE: al fol. 1r iniziale decorata in rosso e blu; titoli rubricati; mutilo il fol. 10; bianco il fol. 48v.

FASCICOLAZIONE: 1-6⁸; nessuna parola di richiamo in corrispondenza del cambio fascicolo; fascicoli non numerati.

NOTE: fol. 1r: (in rosso) Liber iste in die commemorationis fidelium defunctorum ceteris omissis lectionibus legendus est; cf. fol. 35r: (in rosso) In aduentu populo conuenienter hec lectio legi potest (segue il cap. 23).

CONTIENE: **I.** (in rosso) Hugonis Eteriani De regressu animarum ab inferis ad sacrum urbis *** [rasura] clerum liber primus incipit, inc. Fortis est ut mors dilectio (fol. 1r), expl. gaudii atque uitae interminabilis consortes efficiamur (fol. 48r). (in rosso) Explicit liber Hugonis Eteriani petitione sacri cleri urbis *** [rasura] Constantinopoli editus.

QUOAD TEXTUM: oltre a varianti sostanziose rispetto al testo di *PL*, qui l'opera è divisa in due libri: cf. fol. 30r, dopo la fine del cap. 18 e prima dell'inizio del cap. 19: cornice e rubricata e (in rosso) Incipit liber secundus.

BIBLIOGRAFIA: P. O. KRISTELLER, *Iter Italicum*, vol. II, London-Leiden, 1977, p. 330 b.

[autopsia, 23.06.2014]

Y Venezia, Biblioteca dei pp. Redentoristi (Santa Maria della consolazione, detta "Della Fava"), cod. 22 (= 341 Berardelli)

DATA: saec. XIII (Quinto).

DESCRIZIONE: membranaceo, mm. 230 × 155, foll. I (cart.) + II' (membr.) + 73 (non 173 come sostiene Quinto) + I'' (cart.). Specchio di scrittura su una sola colonna di mm. 170 × 100 con 38-39 righe; rigatura a punta secca, spesso visibili i forellini di guida. Segni di deterioramento sul mg. superiore sinistro dei foll. 26-33; segni di tarli. Le mani che intervengono sui fogli sono legate dal medesimo ambiente scrittorio, ma riesco a distinguerne (pur con difficoltà) un numero elevato: A (foll. 1r-8v); B (foll. 9r-17v); C (foll. 18r-21r; foll. 26r-33v); D (foll. 21v-25v); E (foll. 34r-41v); F (foll. 42r-48v), G (foll. 48v-73v). Numerazione fogli manuale a penna sul mg. superiore destro. Il manoscritto proviene dalla più antica raccolta del convento domenicano dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo.

DECORAZIONE: capilettera, iniziali e titoli rubricati.

FASCICOLAZIONE: carte di guardia II' e III' in pergamena imbrunita; 1⁸, 2⁸⁺¹, 3-9⁸. Talvolta sono presenti le parole di richiamo in orizzontale sul mg. inferiore destro; legatura non originale con piatti in legno coperti in mezza pelle bruna all'esterno e carta giallo-bruno all'interno.

CONTIENE: 1. i titoli delle *Quaestiones* sul *De anima* di Radulphus Brito (foll. II'v), inc. *Iste questiones super librum de anima, expl. expliciunt tituli questionum in hoc libro contentarum* (cf. Fauser, p. 328-329). 2. *Sermones diuersi diuersorum* (foll. 1r-17r), per incipit ed explicit e talvolta identificazione dei testi cf. Quinto, p. 195-197. 3. Anonimo, Trattato allegorico acefalo sull'Esodo, non identificato (foll. 17v-21r), inc. *Licet diabolus afflictionem iustorum semper appetat, tamen si ab auctore nostro potestatem non acceperit, ad temptationis articulum nullatenus conualescit* (parafrasi da Greg. Magn, *Mor. Iob* 18, 27, CCSL 143 a, p. 887), expl. uel quia Christus Iudaeis edus erat dicentibus: "Hic homo peccator est", nobis uero agnus sine macula uel quia in similitudine carnis peccati apparuit et pro peccato mortuus est cum peccatum non haberet (parafrasi da Wal. Strab. *Glossa ord in Ex. PL* 113, 218 a-b). 4. Ugo Eteriano, *De abhominabili paterinorum secta et omnifariam reprehensibili* (foll. 21v-25v), inc. *Postulauerunt a me dudum memorandi quidam uiri et spectabiles, expl. nostrae menti permultum porrigant. audi ergo quod negare nequaquam potes quare fidelium deuotio ymagines colat et a somno exurgens* (p. 170, 18 ed. Hamilton). 5. Anonimo, Frammento acefalo da un trattato sull'arca dell'alleanza (foll. 26r-33v), inc. mutilo ***] *que septenario figuratur semper eam uenturam ostendat. Sed quoniam eandem requiem iam pridem in spe habet nondum in re consequitur idcirco ebdomada ieiunia celebrat ut per afflictionem corporalem et bonam operationem quod desiderat assequatur, expl. mutilo: unde in euangelio Dominus ait: "Sint lumbi uestri precincti", quod autem precingitur balteo precingitur; balteus autem castitas est, balteo igitur precingitur qui castitatis cingulo carnem ac mentem stringit ne luxuriando**** (non identificabile). 6. Sermoni (foll. 34r-71r), per gli incipit e gli explicit

e talvolta per la loro identificazione cf. Quinto, p. 197-203. 7. Anonimo, *Quapropter et a quibus Ierusalem subuersa est et que signa illius destructionis precesserint* (foll. 71r-73v), inc. Sic narrat Iosephus illustris Iudeorum historiographus: Dominus noster Iesus Christus non solum ciuitatem Ierusalem per se dignatus est uisitare sed etiam post ascensionem suam per xl duos annos uaria signa et prodigia uoluit ei ostendere, expl. cum Iudeis sabatizare populum Dei non otium gerentem a conuersatione communi sed otium gerentem ab operatione peccati, cum hec omnia uides dicito quia Moises famulus Dei defunctus est et Iesus filius Dei optinet principatum (non identificabile).

BIBLIOGRAFIA: D. M. BERARDELLI, «Codicum omnium latinorum et italicorum qui manuscripti in Bibliotheca SS. Johannis et Pauli Venetiarum apud PP. Praedicatores asseruantur», *Nuova raccolta d'opuscoli scientifici e filologici*, 35 (1780), nr. CCCXLI; W. FAUSER, *Der Kommentar des Radulphus Brito zu Buch III De Anima*, Aschendorff, «Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und der Theologie des Mittelalters, Neue Folge» 12, Münster, 1974; R. QUINTO, *Manoscritti Medievali della Biblioteca dei Redentoristi a Venezia*, pref. L.-J. BATAILLON, Padova, 2006, nr. 22 p. 92-93.

[autopsia, 20.01.2015]

Z Zwettl, Abbazia, ms. 237

DATA: saec. XII (*Xenia Bernardina*, p. 381).

DESCRIZIONE: membranaceo, foll. 237; scrittura su una sola colonna di 28 righe.

DECORAZIONE: titoli e iniziali rubricati. Presenza di buchi naturali nella pergamena.

CONTIENE: 1. Paolino di Aquileia, *Liber exhortationis beati Augustini ad quendam comitem carissimum sibi* (foll. 1r-28r), inc. O mi frater si cupias scire quamuis ego nesciam, expl. una deitas gloria uirtus imperium et potestas in saecula saeculorum (*PL* 40, 1047-1078; *PL* 99, 197-282; pubblicato anche da A. De Nicola, Trieste, 2005 [AAAd, Monografie, 2]); 2. Incmaro di Reims, *Epistola ad Karolum imperatorem* (foll. 28r-86v), inc. Domino Karolo glorioso Hincmarus nomine non merito Remorum episcopus, expl. infundat cordibus uestris. Qui cum coeterno patre in unitate spiritus sancti uiuit et regnat (*PL* 125, 857-930); inserito in questo testo anche 2.b. Gregorius [scil. I] *Regaredo regi Wisigothorum* (foll. 32v-34v l. 6), inc. Explere uerbis excellentissime fili non ualeo, expl. post multa annorum curricula gaudia aeterna concedat (*MGH Epistolae* 2, 221-224, l. 35); 3. Clero pisano, Lettera ad Ugo Eteriano (fol. 87r, *PL* 202, 167-168, ma versione differente da quella a stampa); 4. Ugo Eteriano, Rescritto al clero pisano

(fol. 87r-v, PL 202, 167-168, ma versione differente da quella a stampa); 5. Ugo Eteriano, *De regressu animarum ab inferis*, foll. 87v-130v.

BIBLIOGRAFIA: Aa. Vv., *Xenia Bernardina*, IIa, 1: *Die Handschriften Verzeichnisse der Cistercienser-Stifte*, Wien, 1891, p. 381.

[riproduzione, maggio 2015]

APPENDICE

MANOSCRITTI FALSAMENTE CATALOGATI COME TESTIMONI DI UGO ETERIANO

Versailles, Bibliothèque Municipale, Collection Lebaudy 97 (olim 8° 52)

DATA: 1471 (cf. fol. 216v).

DESCRIZIONE: composito, foll. I (membr.) + IX' (membr.) + 122 (membr.) + 123-146 (fascicoli cartacei il foglio esterno è in pergamena) + 147-156 (membr.) + 157-359 (fascicoli cartacei il cui foglio esterno è in pergamena) + 360-389 (cart.) + I'' (membr.), mm. 125 × 90; specchio di scrittura mm. 80 × 55 (mm. 100 × 70 ai foll. 360-382). Rigatura a inchiostro diluito e numerazione fogli manuale moderna nel mg. superiore destro di ogni foglio. Vergato per intero dalla stessa mano.

DECORAZIONE: titoli e iniziali rubricati.

FASCICOLAZIONE: 1⁴⁺¹, 2-4¹⁰, 5¹², 6-13¹⁰, 14-15⁶, 16¹⁰, 17-27¹², 28¹⁰, 29-33¹², 34-36¹⁰. Parole di richiamo in orizzontale nel mg. inferiore di ogni ultimo foglio del fascicolo. Rilegatura originale in cuoio scuro su assi di legno.

CONTIENE: impossibile un esame sistematico del contenuto del manoscritto, studiato in dettaglio anche da R. Pernoud. Come indicato anche nel *Catalogue général*, il contenuto di questo manualetto per il pellegrino in terra santa è strutturato in cinque grandi parti: 1. (foll. 1r-112v): parte storica; 2. (foll. 113r-180v): guida geografica; 3. (foll. 181r-259v): guida dottrinale ai popoli del Medio Oriente; 4. (foll. 260r-353v): parte agiografica e liturgica; 5. (foll. 354r-381v): note liturgiche e di prosopografia cristiana. Per logiche esigenze di brevità ci concentriamo sulla sezione dottrinale del codice (foll. 181r-259v). Essa contiene: 1. foll. 181r-186r: *De punitione Iudeorum propter homicidium Christi et infidelitatem ipsorum* (mano posteriore), inc. Refert Iosephus quod propter peccatum mortis Iacobi, expl. reparata et reedificata fuit ut superius declaratum fuit (trattato anonimo del XIII secolo, attestato anche in BAV Pal.Lat. 619, fol. 21). 2. foll. 186r-186v: (in rosso) *De forma et qualitate Domini Iesu Christi*, inc. Temporibus Octauiani imperatoris cum ex uniuersis mundi partibus, expl. speciosus super omnes filios hominis per infinita secula seculorum amen (è una versione con varianti dell'apocrifa lettera di Lentulo, cf. G. GUNDERMANN, «Der Brief des P. Lentulus über Jesum», *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 29 [1886], p. 241). 3. foll. 186v-213v: (in rosso)

Infrascripti sunt errores Grecorum et omnium aliorum qui eorum ritum tenent, inc. Primus error est quod ore polluto asserere nituntur contra fidem catholicam tertiam personam in Trinitate id est Spiritum Sanctum, expl. quod ego Pantaleon cum in Constantinopoli essem ubi hoc actum est rem ueraciter cognoscens hunc libellum exemplari feci (= *PG* 140, 487 b 4-574 a 13, ma con importanti varianti rispetto al testo stampato da Migne). 4. foll. 213v-216r: in appendice al testo di cui sopra un gustoso aneddoto su due monaci cisterciensi e uno scriba greco ritenuto un falsario: inc. Contigit quodam die non longe ab his temporibus hoc est mclij duos monachos de ordine cisterciensis ire ad Nebagim [*sic*] tunc imperatorem Grecorum pro negociis domus sue in ciuitate Nichea, expl. scribunt et renouant libros inserendo de processione Spiritus Sancti quod nullus unquam sanctus dixit ut uideantur antiqui simul et auctentici; et quadam arte et ingenio faciunt apparere uetustiores (testo pubblicato sulla base del Vat. Lat. 4066 foll. 45v-46v da V. LAURENT, «Le Symbole “Quicumque” et l’Église byzantine. Notes et documents», *Échos d’Orient*, 35 [1936], p. 385-404, p. 403-404). 5. foll. 216r-216v: (in rosso) *Tenor X capitulorum siue articulorum quos debent profiteri Greci qui ad fidem Romane ecclesie ueniunt* (come appendice ulteriore), inc. Primum quod exedant et profiteantur quod Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio procedat, expl. quod matrimonii sine nuptiarum soluto coniugio possunt homines adire secundas nuptias et tertias si impedimentum canonicum non obsistat. Explicit libellus ualde utilis de heresibus et mendaciis Grecorum anno Domini mcccclxvi 20^a aprilis scriptus, a me uero transcriptus in monte Sion 1471, 24 Januarij. 6. foll. 217r-220v: (in rosso) *Diuisiones Grecorum a sancta Romana ecclesia* (euanidum, paene legi nequit), inc. Sciendum quod ecclesie orientales diuiserunt se xij uicibus ab ecclesia Romana, expl. ipse autem post multas exortationes comminatus est eis quod post xl^{ta} dies Niniues id est Constantinopolis subuertetur nisi penitueritis (trattato sulla separazione dei greci dalla Chiesa romana, posteriore al 1439 ma che risente del *De processione Spiritus Sancti* di Filippo di Pera: cf. C. DELACROIX-BERNIER, *Les Dominicains et la chrétienté grecque aux XIV^e et XV^e siècle*, Rome, 1997, p. 218, incipit e stralci pubblicati da BNCF C.7.419; cf. anche la voce dedicata a W. HUNT in Th. TANNER – D. WILKINS, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hiberica sive de scriptoribus qui in Anglia Scotia et Hibernia floruerunt*, London, 1748, p. 422-423). 7. foll. 221r-259v: (in rosso) *Incipit libellus fratris Ricoldi de Florentia ordinis predicatorum contra legem Sarracenorum et diuiditur in XVIII capitulis*, inc. Primum capitulum continet illius legis errores, expl. in unum exercitum conuenisse contra populum christianum (ed. J. M. MÉRIGOUX, «L’ouvrage d’un frère prêcheur florentin en Orient à la fin du XIII^e siècle. Le “Contra legem Saracenorum” de Riccoldo da Monte Croce», *Memorie domenicane*, 17 [1986], p. 1-144).

La presenza del nome di Ugo nel *Catalogue général* è in realtà eredità di un errore di R. Pernoud (p. 8-9), che attribuiva all'Eteriano parti di testo che lo scribe del codice riporta in appendice all'anonimo *Contra Grecos* del 1252. Il nome del teologo pisano non compare in effetti nel testo del manoscritto né esso contiene, per quello che ho potuto verificare, sezioni del *De sancto et immortalis Deo*.

NOTE: sul taglio inferiore, a inchiostro nero: «Historia Ierosolimi»; fol. I: «prof. G. B. Venturi» (timbro); sul retro del piatto anteriore: «Collection Jean et Henriette Lebaudy».

BIBLIOGRAFIA: R. PERNOUD, *Un guide du pèlerin de Terre Sainte au XV^e siècle*, «Cahiers d'Histoire et de Bibliographie», Mantes, 1940; *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements. – Tome LXIV. Versailles. Deuxième supplément 1188-1762*, Panthéon versaillais, Collection Lebaudy L.1-L306.

[autopsia, 18.-20.03.2015]

APPENDICE (A. BUCOSSÌ)

I CODICI CHE CONSERVANO I FRAMMENTI GRECI

N Vaticano, BAV Barb. gr. 291⁴⁶

DATA: saec. XIV post med.

DESCRIZIONE: Manoscritto di piccole dimensioni mm. 135 × 105 = f. 85, foll. III + 296. Carta italiana filigranata. Gli ultimi folia sono danneggiati dall'umidità nel margine inferiore destro a partire dal fol. 270, gli ultimi quattro folia sono gravemente danneggiati da parassiti della carta. Rilegato in assi di legno ricoperte da cuoio rosso, la legatura è originale decorata con palmette geometriche, cornice rettangolare e decorazione a diamante impressa a secco; si notano fori per ferri e borchie (6 nel piatto posteriore). Cuffia a protezione dei capitelli e capitelli in fili gialli e rossi. Tracce della presenza di fermagli (fori e trecce di cuoio). I tagli sono decorati con disegni a inchiostro⁴⁷.

⁴⁶ Il manoscritto non è catalogato. A queste brevi note descrittive seguirà una pubblicazione dedicata all'intero codice curata da Antonio Rigo e Alessandra Bucossi. La riproduzione digitale è disponibile in linea http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.gr.291.

⁴⁷ Volume sottoposto a restauro nell'Istituto Centrale per il Restauro e la Conservazione del Patrimonio Archivistico e Librario, si veda online

http://www.icpal.beniculturali.it/en/scheda_oggetto.html?id_oggetto = 9019095A-E101-460D-9E28-D6CBCCBC545A, e P. CANART, «Les reliures au monogramme des Paléologues. État de la question», in *La reliure médiévale. Pour une description normalisée. Actes du colloque international (Paris, 22-24 mai 2003) organisé par l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (CNRS)*, ed. G. LANOË, Turnhout, 2008, p. 155-181, 158; R. STEFEC, «Zur

DECORAZIONE: Il margine superiore dei folia è decorato da una piccola croce. Quando si trovano cornicette decorative sono molto semplici, disegnate con inchiostro rosso o nero (e.g. fol. 6r, 90v, etc.). Inchiostro marrone/ grigio, titoli in rosso pallido.

FASCICOLAZIONE: Il codice è composto da 35 quaternioni e un senione (foll. 285-296). La segnatura, posta nel margine inferiore destro del verso dell'ultimo foglio, è continua da α', f. 4v, a κς', f. 212v; segue una segnatura irregolare fino a λζ' fol. 285r angolo inferiore esterno, probabilmente di mano posteriore.

NOTE: Alle carte I-II si legge l'indice dei contenuti: «Racconto delle opere che sono in questo libro», la carta III non è numerata ed è lasciata in bianco. I folia da 2 a 4 sono restaurati, la prima segnatura, α, è al fol. 4v. Al fol. 2r, una nota informa il lettore che «manca la prima carta», di cui rimane un brandello prima del fol. 2 con il resto della parola κυριλλ; prima del fol. 3 è stato inserito da Giovanni Mercati l'ex fol. 269⁴⁸.

POSSESSORI: Giovanni Mercati ipotizzò che uno dei proprietari del codice sia stato il senese Lattanzio Tolomei (XVI secolo) sulla base delle iniziali leggibili al fol. 296r «L.Pt.»⁴⁹. Il codice in seguito fece parte della biblioteca del cardinale Francesco Barberini (1597-1679), fino all'acquisizione dell'intera collezione da parte della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana durante il papato di Leone XIII (1878-1903).

CONTENUTI NOTEVOLI: I contenuti del manoscritto possono essere suddivisi in due *corpora* polemici: il primo (foll. 1-151v) è dedicato principalmente alla polemica contro la chiesa latina, e in particolare alle discussioni con gli inviati latini durante il patriarcato di Germano II (1223-1240), il secondo (foll. 213r-296) contiene testi relativi alla controversia palamitica. I due *corpora* sono separati da una serie di scolii agli Atti e alle Lettere degli Apostoli (foll. 152r-212v). Il testo più importante del primo *corpus* è la redazione inedita della Ἀπάντησις (risposta) del patriarca Germano II e del sinodo. Il testo contenuto nel codice Barberini sembra ragionevolmente essere la versione originale da cui fu ricavato l'adattamento abbreviato pubblicato da F. K. Alter, *Χρονικὸν Γεωργίου Φλαυτζή*, Wien, 1796, p. 140-149⁵⁰. Lo scritto occupa i foll. 6v-74r, tit. Ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι

Schnittdekoration Kretischer Handschriften», *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*. XIX, «Studi e Testi» 474, Città del Vaticano, 2012, p. 501-533, 521.

⁴⁸ G. MERCATI, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Melitenota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV*, «Studi e Testi» 56, Città del Vaticano, 1931, p. 192-197, p. 197.

⁴⁹ G. MERCATI, *Scritti d'Isidoro il Cardinale ruteno e codici a lui appartenuti che si conservano nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, «Studi e Testi» 46, Città del Vaticano, 1926, Appendice VII, p. 138-150.

⁵⁰ Si veda a proposito V. LAURENT, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, Paris, 1971, nr. 1275 del 6 maggio 1234.

μαθητῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ· οὔτε πρόβατον αὐτοῦ· οὔτε ἀγαπᾷ αὐτόν· καὶ ὅτι ὡς κατακεκριμένος καὶ ἀπειθής, οὐκ ὀψεται τὴν ζωήν, ὁ μὴ ἐμμένων τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταύτην παντελῶς φυλάττων ἀπαραιοίητον, inc. Ἐὰν ὑμεῖς μείνητε ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐμῷ, expl. ἀναλεσθέντος ἐκείνου καταπεφοίτηκεν. L'opera di Germano è seguita ai foll. 74v-91v da Nicola di Metone, Κεφαλαιώδεις ἑλεγχοί (*Adversus Latinos de Spiritu sancto*), tit. Νικολάου ἐπισκόπου Μεθώνης, συλλογισμοὶ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, inc. Ὡμολόγηται, ὅτι καὶ ἡ ὅλη Θεότης μονάς, expl. τὴν καινοτομίαν στηρίζοντες (A. K. DEMETRAKOPOULOS, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, Leipzig, 1866; rist. Hildesheim, 1965, vol. I, p. 359-380). Seguono tre sillogismi, non numerati, introdotti da: Καὶ ἄλλως δ' ἂν ἐξελεγχθεῖη τὸ ἄλογον τῆς σφῶν ὑποθέσεως, inc. Εἰ γὰρ τὸ Πνεῦμα οὗ ἂν λέγοιτο, expl. διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης κατατομῆς καὶ συμφύρσεως⁵¹. I frammenti del *De sancto et immortali Deo* di Ugo Eteriano si trovano ai foll. 90v-91v, tit. Οὕγωνος ἀντιρρητικά, inc. Ἔοικε μὲν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος μηδαμῶς προσεσχηκέναι, expl. οὔτε ὁ Υἱός, οὔτε τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· ἀλλ' εἷς· εἷς· εἷς· οὐ τρία. Nel margine destro del fol. 91v una nota della mano che ha composto l'indice delle opere contenute nel volume alla carta I attribuisce il testo, così come fa l'indice, a Ugo Benzi⁵². Il testo greco corrisponde al cap. 5 della versione latina in *PL* 202, coll. 239 c – 240 a, fino alla linea 10. I margini laterale sinistro e inferiore riportano una breve nota di risposta a Ugo Eteriano: Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ὃ Οὕγων οὐ πεισθείημέν σοι καὶ οὐ μόνον σοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ εὐαγγελίζεται ἡμῖν οὐρανόθεν ἕτερός τις ἄγγελος παρό, εὐαγγελίσθημεν, οὐχ ὑποίσομεν ὅλως τὰς ἀκοάς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἱεροῖς Εὐαγγελίοις, καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθηταῖς ἔτι γε μὴν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἱεροῖς πατράσι καὶ θεοφόροις, τοῖς μεγίστοις τὲ φωστῆρσι, τοῖς δίκην ἡλίου λαμπροτάτου περιαιγάσασι τὴν ὑφήλιον ἅπασαν. L'ultima carta del quaternione (fol. 92r-v) è stata vergata da altra mano e contiene quattro brevi estratti dalla traduzione di Massimo Planude del *De Trinitate* di Agostino, tit. Τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ θεολογικωτάτου Αὐγουστίνου, inc. Τίς ἂν τολμήσειε λέγειν μὴ διὰ τύπων ὁμοίων, expl. δηλῶσαι τὸν ἄορατον Θεόν (M. PAPATHOMOPOULOS – G. RIGOTTI – I. TSAVARE, *Αὐγουστίνου. Περὶ Τριάδος βιβλία πεντεκαίδεκα ἅπερ ἐκ τῆς λατίνων διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μετήνεγκε Μάξιμος ὁ Πλανούδης*, Athena, 1995, 2, 16, 27, ll. 31-33 e ll. 10-12; 2, 17, 32, ll. 151-154; 2, 15, 25, ll. 35-38). Tra il fol. 93r e il fol. 152r, oltre a brani più o meno estesi di vari epistolari, tra i quali si

⁵¹ È possibile ipotizzare che questa versione dei sillogismi di Nicola di Metone sia opera di Nicola-Nettario di Casole, ma per stabilire la paternità del testo è necessario uno studio approfondito della tradizione manoscritta delle opere di Nicola di Metone. Si veda la seguente descrizione del manoscritto O.

⁵² Per Ugo Benzi si veda D. P. LOCKWOOD, *Ugo Benzi. Medieval philosopher and physician (1376-1439)*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1951.

leggono estratti di lettere di Teodoro Studita, Basilio di Cesarea, Fozio, il codice è ancora testimone di scritti relativi al patriarcato di Germano II. Dal fol. 127r al fol. 131r è possibile leggere la lettera al patriarca latino (forse Nicolò di Castro, 1234-1251), tit. Τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κϋρ Γερμανοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατριάρχην τῶν εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν λατίνων ἐπιστολὴ κρατήσαντα τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῶν γραικῶν καὶ ἀναγκάζοντα τούτους μνημονεύειν τοῦ Πάπα καὶ αὐτοῦ, inc. Δέσποτα πατριάρχα τῶν ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει πάντων λατίνων, expl. μετὰ πάντων τῶν τὴν ὀρθοδοξίαν ἀπαζομένων (F. USPENSKIJ, *Obrazovanie vtorogo bolgarskogo Sarstva*, Odessa, 1879)⁵³ e ai foll. 131v-135v la *Definitio Fratrum Minorum*, tit. Ὅρος λατινικὸς τῶν Φρεμενουρίων, inc. Ὁ Πατὴρ ἐστὶ πλήρης Θεὸς ἐν αὐτῷ, expl. ἐδόθη δὲ ἐν Λατεράναις πέντε καὶ δέκα τῶν καλανδῶν τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου, ἐβδόμη ἔτη τῆς Γρηγορίου ἀρχιερωσύνης (L. WADDING, *Annales Minorum*, II, Romae 1732, p. 330, 332, 334). Nel seguito del manoscritto, tra i testi più significativi per la controversia tra chiesa latina e chiesa greca troviamo ai foll. 140r-151r, il famoso dialogo tramandato sotto i nomi di Michele Anchialo e dell'imperatore Manuele Comneno, *Dialogus de unione Latinorum et Graecorum*⁵⁴. Seguono dal 152r al fol. 212v Atti degli Apostoli e Lettere con commentari. I contenuti del secondo corpus di scritti relativi alla controversia palamitica (foll. 213-296r) furono sommariamente descritti da Giovanni Mercati (G. MERCATI, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV*, «Studi e Testi» 56, Città del Vaticano, 1931, p. 192-197).

[autopsia e riproduzione, febbraio 2017]

O Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, A.IV.3⁵⁵

DATA: 1448/9 o 1446/7, datazione certa per il booklet B (coevi booklet A, bifoglio 149-150 e il binione 151-154)⁵⁶.

⁵³ Si veda V. LAURENT, *Les Regestes*, op. cit., nr. 1277, p. 83-85.

⁵⁴ In J. DARROUZÈS – V. LAURENT, *Dossier grec de l'Union de Lyon (1273-1277)*, «Archives de l'Orient Chrétien» 16, Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, Paris, 1976, introduzione alle p. 45-59, testo alle p. 346-375; K. DYOBUNIOTES, «Διάλογος τοῦ Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Μιχαὴλ Γ' τοῦ Ἀγχιάλου πρὸς τὸν Αυτοκράτορα τοῦ Βυζαντίου Μανουὴλ Α' Κομνηνόν», *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 15 (1939), p. 38-51; V. LOPAREV, «On the unionism of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus», *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, 14 (1907), p. 344-357.

⁵⁵ Il codice è descritto sommariamente in E. MARTINI, *Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane*, Hoepli, Milano, 1896, Vol. I, parte II, p. 244-254 e in dettaglio in D. ARNESANO, «Giorgio Laurezio, copista ed intellettuale del secolo XV», in *Circolazione di testi e scambi culturali in Terra d'Otranto tra Tardoantico e Medioevo*, «Studi e Testi» 489, Città del Vaticano, 2015, p. 59-93.

⁵⁶ ARNESANO, «Giorgio Laurezio», art. cit., n. 55, p. 61.

DESCRIZIONE: mm. 290 × 214, carta filigranata, 242 *folia*. Sottoscritto al fol. 148v dal copista Giorgio Laurezio⁵⁷.

FASCICOLAZIONE: La ricostruzione codicologica proposta da Daniele Arnesano identifica quattro booklets (A-D)⁵⁸ separabili in quattro unità codicologiche grazie alle diverse numerazioni apposte dal copista: A) composto da 9 fascicoli, B) composto da 5 fascicoli + 2 fogli isolati, C) composto da 4 fascicoli, D) composto da 3 fascicoli⁵⁹.

CONTENUTI NOTEVOLI: I booklets da A a C contengono opere teologiche e filosofiche tra le quali il *Corpus Dionysiacum* con il commento di Massimo il Confessore, le *Categorie* di Aristotele con il commento di Ammonio, il *Contra Eunomium* di Gregorio di Nissa, per una descrizione più dettagliata dei contenuti si rimanda alla pubblicazione di Daniele Arnesano in nota. Il booklet D contiene un interessante dossier antilatino del quale si ritiene necessario offrire al lettore una descrizione più dettagliata, specialmente per la parte che interessa questa pubblicazione e cioè i frammenti greci di Ugo Eteriano. Il testo del booklet D è disposto su due colonne, che indicheremo con “a” e “b” nelle parti relative ai testi di maggiore interesse per questo studio che seguono. Dal fol. 204r al fol. 222r il codice contiene alcuni tra i più famosi testi contro i latini, fra gli altri: Teofilatto di Bulgaria, *Adversus latinos*, Pietro Crisolano (o Grossolano), *De Spiritu sancto*, Giovanni Phurnes, *Disputatio cum Petro Grossolano*⁶⁰. Dal fol. 222ra al 231rb Laurezio copia un lungo testo contro i latini che è possibile identificare con la parte inedita del cosiddetto primo *Σύνταγμα* di Nicola-Nettario di Casole (1155/60-1235)⁶¹. La struttura del testo, già studiata da Johannes Hoeck e Raimund Loenertz, è complessa, di seguito si farà riferimento ai fogli dei due manoscritti autografi esistenti il Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 1232 e il Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. gr. 232. Il codice non preserva la parte del *Σύνταγμα* edita da Arsenij⁶², ma dal fol. 222ra al fol. 225ra è

⁵⁷ ARNESANO, «Giorgio Laurezio», *art. cit.*, n. 55, p. 60.

⁵⁸ ARNESANO, «Giorgio Laurezio», *art. cit.*, n. 55, p. 61.

⁵⁹ ARNESANO, «Giorgio Laurezio», *art. cit.*, n. 55, p. 63.

⁶⁰ Per una descrizione più esaustiva dei contenuti si veda ARNESANO, «Giorgio Laurezio», *art. cit.*, n. 55, p. 63-64.

⁶¹ Su Nicola-Nettario e la sua opera si veda J. M. HOECK – R. J. LOENERTZ, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto Abt von Casole. Beiträge zur Geschichte der ost-westlichen Beziehungen unter Innozenz III. und Friedrich II*, Ettal, 1965. L'identificazione del testo di Nicola-Nettario di Casole nel manoscritto Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, A.IV.3 è dell'autrice di queste note. Una collazione a campione dimostra che i passi di Ugo Eteriano non erano inseriti nella versione originale del trattato di Nicola-Nettario. I manoscritti collazionati sono: Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 1232; Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. gr. 232; Firenze, BML, Plut. 5.36, Plut. 87.21, Plut. 9.12.

⁶² ARSENIJ, *Nikolaja Gidruntskago (Otrantskago) igumena grečeskago monastyrja v Kazulach tri zapisi o soběšdovanijach Grekov s Latinjanami po povodu raznostej v věřě i obyčajach cerkovnyh*, Novgorod, 1896, p. 7-23.

possibile leggere Nicola di Metone, *Κεφαλαιώδεις ἔλεγχοι* (*Adversus Latinos de Spiritu sancto*), tit. Κεφαλαιώδεις ἔλεγχοι τοῦ παρὰ λατίνοις καινοφανοῦς δόγματος, τοῦ ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεται. Συνοψισθέντες παρὰ Νικολᾶω ἐπισκόπῳ Μεθώνης, ἐκ τῶν διὰ πλάτους ἐν διαφόροις λόγοις γεγραμμένων. Ἀρχὴ τῶν συλλογισμῶν, inc. Ὁμολόγηται ὅτι καὶ ἡ ὅλη Θεότης μονάς, expl. τὴν καινοτομίαν στηρίζοντες (A. DEMETRAKOPOULOS, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 1, Leipzig, 1866 (repr. 1965), p. 359-380). Il testo pubblicato è seguito al fol. 225ra da tre sillogismi introdotti dalle parole: Καὶ ἄλλως δ' ἂν ἐξελεγχθείη τὸ ἄλογον τῆς σφῶν ὑποθέσεως, inc. Εἰ γὰρ τὸ Πνεῦμα οὐκ ἂν λέγοιτο, expl. διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης κατατομῆς καὶ συμφύσεως, numerati νθ', ξ', ξα'⁶³. La fine del trattato del vescovo di Metone è chiaramente indicata dalla parola τέλος. Il testo corrisponde a Paris. suppl. gr. 1232, foll. 39r-64r e Pal. gr. 232, foll. 18v-46v. Lo scritto di Nicola di Metone che, negli autografi di Nicola-Nettario è subito seguito dai sillogismi attribuiti a Fozio, nel manoscritto di Brescia è seguito al fol. 225ra da un frammento di Ugo Eteriano (di cui una versione di qualche riga più breve è conservata dal sopracitato codice Barb. gr. 291), tit. Ἀποκρισις πρὸς ταῦτα Οὐγῶν ὁ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Πάπα ἀποκρισιάριος (in mg. Οὐγῶνος τὸ ποίημα), inc. Ἔοικε μὲν οὖν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος μηδαμῶς προσεσχηκέναι, expl. πρὸς τὴν φύσιν ὡς εἴρηται πρότερον. Il testo greco corrisponde all'intero capitolo 5 del primo libro della versione latina del *De sancto et immortali Deo*, PL 202, 239 d – 240 a-b. Segue un brano, non identificato, attribuito ancora a Nicola di Metone, tit. Καὶ πάλιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ Μεθώνης συλλογισμῶν κατὰ λατίνων, inc. Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὖθις λέγομεν ὅτι σου ὁ παραλογισμὸς οὗτος, expl. ὡς καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἀμβρόσιος ἐν τῇ ἐρμηνείᾳ τῆς περικοπῆς σαφεστάτης δείκνυσι γραικοῖς συγκροτῶν. Anche il testo successivo, foll. 225va-225vb, secondo le frasi introduttive, è contro Ugo Eteriano: Κατὰ Οὐγῶνος καὶ ἄλλων λατίνων τῶν τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Πάπα ἀποκρισαρίων, pur essendo chiaramente attribuito a Fozio. Il lungo estratto è, infatti, la prima parte della cosiddetta *Contra ueteris Romae asseclas*, attribuita al famoso Patriarca⁶⁴, tit. Περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν Φωτίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, inc. Εἰ ἀπλοῦν μὲν τὸ Πνεῦμα, expl. ἐχρήσατό ποτε κατὰ τοῦ Μεδιολάνων ἐπισκόπου διαλεγόμενος (PG 102, 392-400, nn. 1-8; 9a-11a). Anche il secondo frammento di Ugo Eteriano inserito nel manoscritto bresciano non è presente nelle copie autografe di Nicola-Nettario, si tratta di un passo del *De sancto et immortali Deo* che è possibile leggere ai foll. 225vb-226ra. Il testo greco corrisponde al cap. 15 del libro secondo (PL

⁶³ Si veda la precedente descrizione del ms. N.

⁶⁴ Per la discussione della paternità dell'opera si rimanda a J. DARROUZÈS, «Le mémoire de Constantin Stilbès contre les Latins», *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 21 (1963), p. 50-100.

202, 318bc, ll. 24-35), tit. Ἀπόκρισις Οὐγωνος πρὸς ταῦτα, inc. Ὁ φιλοψευδὴς πατριάρχης οὐκ αἰσχύνεται expl. τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐπιπνοίᾳ κατεψηφίσατο. Il breve testo di Ugo è seguito a partire dal fol. 226ra fino al fol. 226rb ancora dallo Pseudo-Fozio, *Contra ueteris Romae asseclas*, inc. Προφασίζονται δὲ ὅτι Ἀμβρόσιος οὕτως εἶρηκεν ἐν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγοις, ἔτι δ' Αὐγουστῖνος καὶ Ἱερώνυμος, expl. καὶ τίς ἐπιζητεῖ διδάσκαλον ἄλλον, εἰ μὴ προφανῶς μέμνη (PG 102, 392-400, nn. 9-13). Per quanto riguarda la corrispondenza degli estratti dello Pseudo-Fozio con l'autografo di Nicola-Nettario, il testo del manoscritto bresciano corrisponde al Paris. suppl. gr. 1232, foll. 64r-67v; 67v-69v e Pal. gr. 232, foll. 47r-50r; 50v-52v. Seguono alcuni passi inediti attribuiti a Niceta Byzantios⁶⁵ solamente dal manoscritto copiato da Laurezio, mentre gli autografi di Nicola-Nettario non riportano l'attribuzione. Ai foll. 226rb-226va, tit. Καὶ πάλιν περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν Νικήτα τοῦ Βυζαντίου (sic): ἀντιρρητικὴ ζήτησις, inc. Ἐὰν γὰρ τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος λεγόμενον ἡ κοινὸν ἐστὶ, expl. ἡμᾶς ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ αἰδὶος λόγος, corrispondenti a Paris. suppl. gr. 1232, foll. 70v-72r e Pal. gr. 232, foll. 53r-54v. Il testo prosegue con una frase di collegamento: Ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοῦτο τοῦ εὐφρεστάτου συλλογισμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐτέρων Νικήτα Βυζαντίου φιλοσόφου Οὐγὼν ὁ Ἑταιριανός (sic), πολλὰ παραλογιζόμενος, καὶ μαθὼν ἀπεκεφαλίσθη πανισχύρων, εἰς παραδείγματα τοῦ συλλογισμοῦ ἀτοπίας γέμοντας μετηγάγετο· ἔτι δ' αὐθὶς φασὶ οἱ τούτου ὁμόφρονες, accompagnata a lato dalla nota: Ὅρος λατίνων; segue un lunghissimo estratto, foll. 226va-228rb, corrispondente a Niceta Stetato, *Contra Latinos et de processione Spiritus sancti*, inc. Ἀλλ'οὐ δύο Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱός, ἀλλ'ἓν, expl. ἀλλ'ἰδιότροπος ἑκάτερου ἡ πρόοδος καὶ μονότροπος. (A. MICHEL, *Humbert und Kerullarios: Quellen und Studien zum Schisma des XI Jahrhunderts*, Paderborn, 1930, p. 379-409 = Nicola di Metone, Ἀπομνημονεύματα). Il testo autografo di Nicola-Nettario non riporta l'inciso in cui sono citati Ugo e Niceta Byzantios, ma a lato dell'inizio del testo di Stetato è possibile leggere ἀντίθεσις nel Paris. suppl. gr. 1232, fol. 72r e Ὁυγωνος Ἑταιρι(ανο)ῦ ἐρώ(τησις) nel Pal. gr. 232, fol. 54v. La corrispondenza per il testo di Stetato è Paris. suppl. gr. 1232, fol. 72v-90v e Pal. gr. 232, foll. 54v-71v. Ai foll. 228rb-229vb il testo prosegue con numerosi *excerpta*, identificati da glosse marginali; i testi citati seguono la tradizionale scelta di testi contro i latini, tra i padri citati: Dionigi Areopagita, Gregorio di Nazianzo, Basilio, Gregorio Taumaturgo, Atanasio, Gregorio di Nissa, Epifanio, Cirillo, Sofro-

⁶⁵ Si veda A. RIGO, «Niceta Byzantios, la sua opera e il monaco Evodio», in *In partibus Clus. Scritti in onore di Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli*, ed. G. FIACCADORI, Napoli, 2006, p. 147-187, in particolare p. 153-156; A. RIGO, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 99/ 2, 2006, p. 662-668.

nio di Gerusalemme, etc.⁶⁶ La corrispondenza è Paris. suppl. gr. 1232, fol. 90v-106r e Pal. gr. 232, foll. 71v-85r. Il fol. 229vb preserva altri due passi dal *De sancto et immortalī Deo* di Ugo Eteriano il primo corrispondente a 3, 21 (PL 202, 394 c, ll. 27-32; 37-42), introdotto dalle parole Καὶ ὁ Οὕγων φησί, inc. Ἀλλ' αὖθις Οὕγων, μόνος φησὶ ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς Ἰωάννης, expl. μᾶλλον ἐστὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ ἥττον τοῦ ἐτέρου, il secondo corrispondente a 3, 21 (PL 202, 395 d, ll. 45-53), introdotto dalle parole Καὶ πάλιν ἔτι φησὶ (in mg. Οὕγων), inc. Τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ὑπάρχει ὅπερ ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ ὅπερ ὁ Υἱός, expl. ἡ ἀνομοιότης μεταξὺ τούτων γίνεται φανερώς. Dal fol. 229vb il testo è ancora costruito su una serie di citazioni dai padri greci (e.g. Basilio, Cirillo, Atanasio), ma contiene anche una scelta di padri latini come Gerolamo, Agostino, Leone papa e Gregorio Magno, al fol. 230rb si trova anche una citazione, non identificata, di un latino di nome Ἰακώβος, tit. Συλλογισμοὶ τινος λατίνου Ἰακώβου περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος κατὰ γραικῶν φησι, inc. Ὅτε εἴ τι αἰωνίως λέγεται εἶναί τινος, expl. ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεται. La corrispondenza con il testo di Nicola-Nettario riprende dal fol. 230va (Paris. suppl. gr. 1232, fol. 106r e Pal. gr. 232, fol. 85r) con una citazione da Teodoro Studita, *Canon in requiem monachi*, tit. Τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στουδίου, inc. Ὑἱὸν ἐκ Πατρὸς καὶ Πνεῦμα δοξάζω, ὡς ἐξ ἡλίου φῶς καὶ ἀκτῖνα, expl. ὑπὸ πάσης κτίσεως (M. ARCO MAGRÌ, «Il canone in requiem monachi di Teodoro Studita», *Helikon* 18/ 19 (1978/ 1979), p. 280-292, ll. 128-133). La corrispondenza con il testo prosegue fino alla fine dell'opera al fol. 231rb (Paris. suppl. gr. 1232, fol. 114r e Pal. gr. 232, fol. 91r), expl. αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία ἅμα τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ συναιδίῳ καὶ ὁμοουσίου Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. Più chiaramente è indicata la suddivisione dei testi che seguono. Dal fol. 231rb al 235r Laurezio copia Nicola di Metone, *Ad magnum domesticum*; Basilio di Ocrida, *Disputatio cum Anselmo Hauelbergensi* e la corrispondenza tra papa Adriano IV e l'arcivescovo Basilio di Ocrida, *Epistola ad Basilium Achridenum* e *Responsio ad Hadrianum IV papam*. Segue il dossier relativo agli scambi tra papato e chiesa greca durante il patriarcato di Germano II (1223-1240) dal fol. 235r al fol. 242r, Germano II, *Epistola ad Gregorium IX papam*, Gregorio IX, *Epistola ad Germanum II*; *Definitio* (ῥοος) *Fratrum Minorum*; Germano II, *Responsio* (Ἀπάντησις) *ad Gregorium IX papam*⁶⁷.

[autopsia e riproduzione, ottobre 2015]

⁶⁶ Si veda HOECK – LOENERTZ, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto* (n. 61), p. 91-93.

⁶⁷ Per motivi di brevità si rimanda ancora ad ARNESANO, «Giorgio Laurezio», *art. cit.*, n. 55, p. 66.

2. Editiones

Colonia 1540 Diui Hugonis Eteriani scriptoris ex media antiquitate illa non aspernandi de anima corpore iam exuta liber ad clerum pisanum nunc primum in lucem editus, Coloniae excudebat Iohannes Gymnicus MDXL.

Wittemberg 1540 Ein Christliche und gründliche unterricht von Wideraufferstehung der Todten Hugons Eterians, welcher gelebt hat und geschrieben im Jar. MCLX, verdeudscht zu Wittemberg im Jar MDXL, colophon: «Gedrückt zu Wittemberg durch Georgen Eham. MDXL».

Basilea 1543 Hugonis Eteriani Thusci *De Spiritus sancti processione* autoris peruetusti libros tres maxima totius orientalis Ecclesiae iactura hactenus non euulgatos nunc tandem diligenti cura Ioannis Herold Acropolitae e tenebris erutos et editos cum indice duplici utrique locupletissimo, Basileae anno 1543. Colophon alla p. 403 (non numerata): «In inclita Rauracorum Basilea apud Robertum VVinter Mense Martio anno a nato Christo MDXLIII».

Parigi 1589 Sacrae bibliothecae sanctorum Patrum seu scriptorum ecclesiasticorum tomus nonus, qui conscriptus ab illis uarios de rebus diuinis tractatus complectitur, per Margarinum de La Bigne, Parisiis 1589². [esemplare utilizzato: Venezia, San Francesco della Vigna – autopsia, 06.08.2015]

Parigi 1609 Bibliothecae Veterum Patrum et auctorum ecclesiasticorum tomi octo numeris et modis omnibus locupletati et castigati per Margarinum De La Bigne, vol. VIII, Parisiis 1609. [esemplare utilizzato: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek: online all'indirizzo <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/97-theol-2f/start.htm>]

Colonia 1618 Magna Bibliotheca ueterum patrum et antiquorum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum primo quidem a Margarino de la Bigne Sorbonico in Academia Parisiensi theologo collecta et tertio in lucem edita. Nunc uero plus quam centum authoribus et opusculis plurimis locupletata, historica methodo per singula saecula, quibus scriptores quique uixerunt, disposita, et in XIV tomos distributa opera et studio doctissimorum in Alma Vniuersitate Coloniae Agrippinae theologorum ac profess. vol. XII, pars secunda, Coloniae Agrippinae sumptibus Antonii Hierati, sub signo Gryphi, anno MDCXVIII [esemplare utilizzato: Livorno, Biblioteca della Santissima Trinità (Cappuccini), UM 1 E 2324].

Parigi 1624 Bibliothecae patrum et ueterum auctorum ecclesiasticorum tomus nonus. Qui conscriptos ab illis, uarios de rebus diuinis tractatus complectitur, per Margarinum de La Bigne ex alma Sorbonae Schola Theologum Doctorem Parisiensem, Parisiis 1624⁴ cum priuilegio regis [**Österreichische Nationalbibliothek**, disponibile online al link http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ180686904]

Parigi 1644 Magna bibliotheca ueterum patrum et antiquorum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum. Primo quidem a Margarino de La Bigne ex alma Sorbonae schola celeberrimo theologo Doctore Parisiensi composita, postea studio doctissimorum Coloniensium Theologorum ac Professorum aucta: nunc uero additione ducentorum circiter authorum, tam Graecorum qui in editione Coloniensi, quam Latinorum qui in Parisiensibus desiderabantur, locupletata, Accuratissime emendata, & in XVII Tomos distributa: Nec non perfectiori ordine disposita, materiarum enim, de quibus scripserunt authores, seriem complectitur, & Historicam methodum per singula saecula quibus uixerunt, in indice Chronologico copiosissimo continet. Tomus Nonus, Parisiis, sumptibus Aegidij Morelli Architypographi Regij, 1644. [esemplare utilizzato: Venezia, Biblioteca San Francesco della Vigna – autopsia, 06.08.2015]

Parigi 1654 Magna bibliotheca ueterum patrum et antiquorum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum primo quidem a Margarino de La Bigne... composita, postea studio doctissimorum Coloniensium theologorum ac professorum aucta, nunc uero additione ducentorum circiter authorum locupletata, accuratissime emendata et in XVII tomos distributa, apud Ioannem Billaine, Simeonem Piget, Frederic Leonard, via Iacobea 1654, Parisiis 1654, vol. IX. [esemplare utilizzato: Gubbio, Sperelliana, I.14.F, olim II.X.E.9 autopsia 14.09.2016]

Lione 1677 Bibliotheca Patrum et antiquorum scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum primo quidem a Margarino De La Bigne in Academia Parisiensi doctore sorbonico in lucem edita... tomus uigesimus secundus continens scriptores ab ann. Christi 1140 ad ann. 1150, Lugduni, apud Anissonios MDCLXXVII. [Madrid, Universidad Complutense, online all'indirizzo <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009316430>]

Parigi 1717 Thesaurus nouus anecdotorum. Tomus primus, complectens regum ac principum aliorumque uirorum illustrium epistolas et diplomata bene multa. Prodit nunc primum studio et opera domni Edmundi Martene et domni Vrsini Durand, presbyterorum et monachorum e congregatione sancti Mauri, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1717.

PL Patrologiae Latinae cursus completus, accurante J. P. Migne, vol. 202, Parisiis 1855.

4. Il Nachleben di Ugo Eteriano fra Oriente e Occidente

Ripercorrendo le fasi della ricezione delle opere di Ugo nel corso dei secoli ci si trova di fronte alla stessa desultorietà delle informazioni che si è osservata a proposito del suo profilo biografico⁶⁸. Un primo importante nucleo di notizie è quello che proviene dagli anni immediatamente successivi alla pubblicazione del *De sancto*. Indubbiamente, la diffusione dell'opera valse all'autore delle inimicizie anche nei confronti dei funzionari dell'amministrazione imperiale (T 1), e non si può escludere che alcune difficoltà inerenti il lascito di Signoretto fossero anche legate ad antipatie dovute alla sua posizione dogmatica filolatina.

Nella stessa direzione ci guidano le affermazioni che Ugo inserisce nelle lettere di dedica dell'opera: l'irritazione dei Greci per la diffusione del trattato è descritta con l'eloquente verbo *frendent* (T 2), mentre, forse nell'ambiente degli alti dignitari di corte, si tentò la strada della condanna ufficiale e della distruzione dell'opera *publicis decretis* (T 2), destinandone il supporto materiale a imballaggio ittico (T 3), laddove solo l'intervento di Manuele avrebbe posto fine a questo tentativo di messa all'indice in stile costantinopolitano (T 3).

Non differisce sensibilmente il quadro fornito da Leone, che ci indica il disappunto da parte ortodossa per la diffusione del *De sancto* (T 4: *tota Graecia miratur et expauescit*) e la stima da parte di Manuele (*ibid.*: *augustalis sapientia extulit immensis laudibus*). L'irritazione suscitata nei Greci dall'opera sulla processione dello Spirito, come è anche perfettamente intuibile, è il motivo per cui il testo greco del *De sancto* scomparve rapidamente, verisimilmente già poco dopo la morte di Manuele nel 1180 e coi rigurgiti antilatini del 1182, conservandosi solo in florilegi bizantini di natura dogmatica. Migliore sarebbe stata la ricezione in Occidente, testimoniata anche da Ugo di Honau (T 5). Una ulteriore preziosa testimonianza per la ricezione del testo di Ugo sullo scorcio del XII secolo è costituita da un testo di grande interesse rimasto purtroppo ancora inedito, ovvero il *Liber de uera philosophia* scoperto da P. Fournier nel manoscritto Grenoble, Bibl. Mun. 290 (olim 1085), ff. 3r-110r (proveniente dalla Grande Chartreuse)⁶⁹. L'opera, composta da un alto prelato in ambiente monastico fra 1180 e 1190, polemizza contro Guglielmo di Conches, Pietro Abelardo,

⁶⁸ Per comodità i testi citati (T) non sono riportati a piè di pagina ma in appendice.

⁶⁹ Per la bibliografia sull'argomento cf. P. FOURNIER, *Études sur Joachim de Flore et ses doctrines*, Paris, 1909, Minerva GmbH, Frankfurt am Main, 1963², che attribuiva il testo a

Bernardo di Clairvaux e un po' tutti i «teologi moderni» ad eccezione di Gilberto di Poitiers (peraltro mai nominato espressamente), di cui evidentemente l'autore deve essere stato sostenitore. Come già notato dalla consueta perizia storica di A. Dondaine⁷⁰, i margini del manoscritto sono ingombri di note e citazioni aggiunte da un mano antica il cui intento è quello di integrare l'opera originale. Molte di queste note sono tratte dal *De sancto et immortalis Deo* di Ugo a poca distanza dalla sua composizione, poiché il glossatore aggiunge in quasi tutti i casi la specifica della dignità cardinalizia di Ugo, come a conferire maggiore autorità al testo che stava citando. La prelatura di Ugo, come noto, ebbe breve durata e fu ben presto dimenticata: bisogna pensare che le note del manoscritto di Grenoble, uno dei pochi testi a farvi riferimento, siano coevi o di poco posteriori alla carica ricoperta dall'Eteriano, e provengano verisimilmente da una persona molto vicina al cardinale di Sant'Angelo, a testimonianza della stima da lui goduta in prossimità della fine del secolo.

Bisogna però immaginare che, nei rapidi cambiamenti della temperie culturale del mondo latino dopo la fine del XII secolo, l'opera dovè presto risultare fuori moda. La diffusione della cultura universitaria, della teologia scolastica basata sulla *quaestio*, degli ordini mendicanti (domenicani in particolare) e poi il rinnovato contatto fra Oriente e Occidente a seguito della quarta crociata mutarono radicalmente i gusti e la prassi teologica, e la figura di Ugo, tutto sommato «umanistica» e legata ai modelli del XII secolo, risultò ben presto superata: ce lo testimonia il fatto che, ad eccezione dei *descripti* (C, G e H), tutti i codici che conservano le sue opere furono vergati in un lasso di tempo compreso fra XII e XIII secolo.

Proprio nella mutata temperie segnata dalle conseguenze della quarta crociata e della teologia degli ordini mendicanti si dovrà ricordare l'utilizzo, pur a livello di repertorio di informazioni, del *De haer.* da parte dell'anonimo domenicano del 1252. Relativamente a questo punto ci muoviamo su un terreno estremamente malfermo: la traduzione di Ugo è inedita, il testo dell'anonimo domenicano è malamente pubblicato⁷¹; in una tale situazione non pare possibile aggiungere molto alle osservazioni già svolte da Dondaine, e ci limitiamo a rinviare ai suoi contributi⁷².

Gioacchino da Fiore, e da ultimo L. CATALANI, *I Porretani. Una scuola di pensiero tra alto e basso Medioevo*, «Nutrix» 2, Brepols, Turnhout, 2008.

⁷⁰ DONDAINE, *Écrits de la «petite école»*, *op. cit.*, n. 14, p. 61-62.

⁷¹ PG 140, 487-574.

⁷² Cf. A. DONDAINE, «Contra Graecos». Premiers écrits polémiques des dominicains en Orient», *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum*, 21 (1951), p. 320-445 p. 362-364; DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan», *art. cit.*, n. 2, p. 114-116. Il testo di Ugo è utilizzato dall'anonimo per l'estensione 541 b – 544 a, con la lista degli errori liturgici e dottrinali che

Se dopo la metà del XIII secolo si perde ogni traccia della sua sopravvivenza negli autori successivi, un vero revival delle opere del nostro teologo, facilitato dall'invenzione della stampa e stimolato dalle dispute che si inquadrano nei primi anni di diffusione della Riforma, è da constatare intorno alla metà del XVI secolo. L'ambiente privilegiato di questa riscoperta è l'Europa di lingua germanica, specie nel milieu di Lutero e di Erasmo.

La prima attestazione in questo senso è l'edizione del *De anima* curata da Johannes Alexander Brassicanus e stampata a Colonia nel 1540 per i tipi di Johannes Gymnicus. Il Brassicanus (Köl o Köll non latinizzato, Cannstatt 1500) fu attivo nell'area austriaca e della Germania meridionale⁷³: laureato a Ingolstadt nel 1521 per poi succedere nella medesima sede a Reuchlin sulla cattedra di filologia, l'umanista tedesco si spostò a Vienna nel 1524; il 1529, anno del temibile assedio dei Turchi, lo vide profugo in direzione della città natale, da cui fece ritorno a Vienna in data imprecisata e dove morì nel 1539. I suoi rapporti con Erasmo dovettero essere molto cordiali negli anni 1520-1530, tanto che l'umanista di Rotterdam lo inserì come interlocutore nel dialogo *Apotheosis Capnionis* del 1522; ma i rapporti si raffreddarono verso la fine degli anni '20, quando il Brassicanus inviò ad Erasmo i *Prouerbiorum Symmicta*, che lasciarono nel destinatario l'impressione di un plagio rispetto agli *Adagia*. L'edizione del Brassicanus è dedicata al vescovo di Seckau Georg Tessinger⁷⁴ (probabilmente un vecchio compagno di studi ad Ingolstadt), cui è diretta anche la lettera che apre l'edizione. La missiva è datata Vienna 1539, ma fa riferimento ad eventi precedenti: nel corpo del testo infatti si riferisce di un incontro fra l'autore ed Erasmo da Rotterdam avvenuto a Friburgo: la data in cui è più agevole collocare l'avvenimento è quella del 1529, anno in cui Erasmo lasciò Basilea per Friburgo per ragioni dogmatiche e al tempo stesso il Brassicanus abbandonò Vienna nella morsa dell'esercito di Solimano il Magnifico. In occasione del loro incontro il Brassicanus avrà presentato al grande umanista una versione ancora manoscritta del testo, che lo lasciò molto positivamente impressionato (qui sotto T 9, p. 5). Il lavoro di ecdotica applicato

i latini compiono secondo i greci; subito di seguito è usato il *De haeresibus et praeuaticationibus Graecorum* di Leone Toscano.

⁷³ Per Johannes Alexander Brassicanus (versione latinizzata per Köl o Köll) cf. la bibliografia: *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, voll. I-III, edd. P. G. BIETENHOLZ – T. D. DEUTSCHEN, University of Toronto Press, Toronto-Buffalo-London 1985; D. BALDI, «La Bibliotheca Corviniana di Buda e la praefatio ad Salvianum (ovvero l'epistola de bibliothecis) di Johannes Alexander Brassicanus», *Il bibliotecario. Rivista di Studi Bibliografici* 1/ 2, gennaio-agosto 2011, p. 125-194, p. 137-138.

⁷⁴ Georg Tessing o Georg von Tessinger, originario di Lauingen an der Donau, studiò ad Ingolstadt proprio fra 1522 e 1526; dal 1531 al 1536 fu cancelliere a Strasburgo, finché l'arcivescovo locale lo nominò vescovo di Seckau (sedit 1536-1541).

a testi dottrinali cristiani non è cosa peregrina in un umanista e letterato come Brassicanus: testimoniano un interesse molto simile le edizioni di Gennadio, di Eucherio e Salviano, che si basano su manoscritti austriaci o comunque di area danubiana. L'editore non fornisce alcuna indicazione sul codice utilizzato per l'edizione, ma la frequentazione da parte del Brassicanus di fondi manoscritti di area austriaca lascia immaginare (anche se si tratta di uno spunto che necessita ulteriore verifica) che alla base dell'edizione stia il manoscritto ora perduto che si trovava ad Heiligenkreuz. Dopo la lettera di dedica del Köl si legge nell'edizione di Basilea anche una missiva dello stampatore, Johannes Gymnicus, al vescovo ausiliare di Vienna e futuro vescovo titolare, Friedrich Grau, su cui però al momento non vale la pena di soffermarsi ulteriormente.

Ulteriore documento che attesta l'interesse per Ugo nell'ambiente umanistico e nei circoli prossimi alla Riforma è la lettera di Beato Renano a Johannes Hoffmeister (T 8), che testimonia la presenza a Colmar di un manoscritto ora perduto; importanti sono anche le espressioni di stima che il Renano spende per il nostro teologo. Anche su questo punto, in presenza di una letteratura che sembra aver esaurito l'argomento, preferisco non ripetere quanto già noto.

Passaggio importante per la ricezione dell'Eteriano nella cultura europea è invece l'edizione a stampa in traduzione tedesca del medesimo *De anima* (Wittemberg 1540⁷⁵, dunque a brevissima distanza di tempo rispetto all'edizione del testo latino), accompagnata da una prefazione in tedesco e da altri testi di corredo (T 10 qui sotto). La traduzione, come affermato chiaramente nella prefazione, è condotta sulla base della stampa del 1540, e perciò non sarà di alcun aiuto ai fini della costituzione del testo; d'altro canto essa non è neppure completa, poiché è tradotto solo il cap. 26 (219 b – 224 c); alla traduzione di Ugo fanno seguito altri brevi *excerpta* da Giovanni Crisostomo, Lattanzio e Prospero di Aquitania. Il motivo di interesse dell'edizione sta nel fatto che il testo fu impresso coi tipi di Georg Rhau, musicista e tipografo che prestò grande supporto a Lutero, contribuendo alla diffusione dei suoi scritti⁷⁶. Di qui, per quanto a mia conoscenza l'attribuzione non sia suffragata dalla letteratura a stampa, l'indicazione di alcune banche dati online su cui sono disponibili le riproduzioni della stampa, secondo cui il traduttore e prefatore del testo sarebbe Lutero⁷⁷. La mia

⁷⁵ Wittemberg 1543, cf. il colophon: «Gedrückt zu Wittembeg durch Georgen Rhaw MDXL».

⁷⁶ Per Georg Rhau (1488-1548) cf. «Georg Rhau» (s.v.), *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 28 (1889), 372-374; J. JOACHIM, *Die Drucker Johannes Grunenberg und Georg Rhau*, in «Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen», 21/10 (1904), p. 433-439.

⁷⁷ Cf. ad esempio il sito della BSB di Monaco:
(aten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0002/bsb00025166/images/index.html?seite=00001&language=de).

scarsa preparazione al riguardo non mi permette di avventurarmi in una pericolosa attribuzione: mi limito a fornire di seguito una trascrizione del testo in cui solo la punteggiatura è stata anche se in parte adeguata a criteri moderni (T 10) e a sollevare il problema della paternità del testo (Lutero o una persona a lui vicina?) presso gli specialisti del grande riformatore.

Giungiamo adesso a quella che probabilmente costituisce, nell'ambito dei testi di Ugo, la più importante testimonianza di ecdotica cinquecentesca, ovvero alla *editio princeps* del *De sancto*, stampata a Basilea nel 1543. Curatore dell'edizione fu Johannes Herold Acropolita (1514-1567)⁷⁸, umanista che, dopo un lungo viaggio in Italia e vani tentativi di ottenere l'incarico di pastore, si stabilì a Basilea nel 1539 lavorando come editore di testi antichi o come operatore nelle tipografie locali. L'edizione, se non erro, vuole presentarsi come filologicamente moderna, in linea coi criteri dell'editoria scientifica del XVI secolo. Il testo di Ugo è accompagnato da un indice delle cose notevoli (p. 19-64) e da un indice scritturistico (p. 67-76), entrambi molto ricchi e simili nella struttura ad un indice analitico in senso moderno. Il testo e gli strumenti di consultazione sono preceduti da un'ampia *epistola nuncupatoria*, nella quale l'autore si dimostra bene informato sullo stato dell'arte bibliografico relativo al nostro autore; nonostante lo stile ampolloso e la forma non sempre corretta della stampa, la lettera ci offre uno squarcio sul modo di ricezione del *De sancto* nell'Europa, già scossa dai dissidi dottrinali, di metà secolo XVI. Anche in questo caso l'edizione e la lettera sono presentate ad un personaggio dell'entourage di Erasmo, in questo caso uno dei suoi più stretti collaboratori, Gilbert Cousin⁷⁹. Per l'interesse di questa lettera di dedica ne forniamo qui sotto una trascrizione parziale (T 11). A metà fra ammiccamento personale e citazione bibliografica, richiamando la lettera prefatoria di Brassicano, l'Acropolita ricorda l'apprezzamento di Erasmo per Ugo; probabilmente ancora da fonte pubblicata giunge la menzione di un altro amico di Erasmo, Johannes Hoffmeister (T 11, p. 5). Indubbiamente l'Acropolita, ancora alla ricerca di una sistemazione professionale soddisfacente a Basilea, con la pubblicazione

⁷⁸ Varianti del nome: Johannes Basilius (dal nome della città)/ Basilius Johannes; cf. A. BURCKHARDT in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 8 (1969), p. 678; W. THEODOR ELWERT s.v. «Herold Johannes» in *Enciclopedia Dantesca* 10 (2005), p. 81.

⁷⁹ Cf. *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, op. cit., n. 73, vol. 1, p. 350-352; L. FÈVRE, «Un secrétaire d'Erasme: Gilbert Cousin et la réforme en Franche Comté», *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*, 56 (1907), p. 97-158, p. 97-158; P.-A. PIDOUX, *Un humaniste comtois, Gilbert Cousin*, Lons-le-Saunier, 1910. Per questa dedica a Gilbert Cousin cf. anche A. BURCKHARDT, *Johannes Basilius Herold. Kaiser und Reich im protestantischen Schrifttum des Basler Buchdrucks um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, «Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft» 10, Verlag von Hebing & Lichtenhahn, Basel und Stuttgart, 1697, p. 131; 229-231.

dell'Eteriano e con tutti i riferimenti alla cerchia di Erasmo mostrati nella lettera, tenta di procacciarsi del prestigio sottolineando la propria continuità con la cerchia del grande umanista. Al di là di questa manovra probabilmente finalizzata all'autopromozione, la nuncupatoria ci lascia capire che l'editore percepì il testo del *De sancto* come profondamente attuale ancora ai propri tempi, leggendolo alla luce della propria costante preoccupazione antiturca, che avrebbe dovuto di lì a poco trovare espressione in un'opera dal titolo apertamente pangermanista, *Arminius*⁸⁰. In particolare risulta evidente agli occhi di Herold l'analogia fra la fine dell'impero bizantino e la pressione ottomana in Europa centrale, culminata con l'assedio di Vienna del 1529. Agli occhi dell'editore tedesco, il carattere conciliativo dell'opera di Ugo prevale sullo scopo polemico: se i Greci, ormai schiavi dei Turchi, non avessero ripudiato il libello non si troverebbero adesso nel profondo disastro che già grava anche sull'area danubiana (T 11, p. 8); poco dopo la controversia sullo Spirito Santo, coi suoi strascichi di accanite discordie e violenze, è indicata come la causa che ha consegnato l'Oriente ai Turchi (T 11, p. 9). Subito di seguito, l'arroccamento dei disputanti sul Filioque sulle formule «per» ed «ex» è posto in analogia con la sclerotizzazione dottrinale sulle formule relative alla dottrina della giustificazione, e lascia stagliarsi all'orizzonte uno scenario inquietante per l'Occidente cristiano: *pulsat iam fores arcis christianae... infringit potius portas hostis crudelissimus... uereor... ne duo ista uerba «Redde», «remitte» occidentem tandem pessudent* (T 11, p. 11). In tale analogo e inquietante contesto di discordia interna al cristianesimo di cui approfitta un nemico non cristiano, Johannes Herold esalta la figura di Cousin come l'unico in grado di riportare la concordia in Alsazia. La stampa di Basilea non si presenta quindi come mera impresa filologica e il suo autore non si prefigge solo uno scopo di autopromozione, ma esprime le proprie opinioni profonde e le proprie preoccupazioni politiche e religiose: come sarebbe stato capace di ricomporre le dispute sul Filioque, così il (supposto) carattere irenico del trattato dell'Eteriano sarebbe in grado di sedare le controversie interne al cristianesimo occidentale organizzando un fronte comune contro la minaccia turca.

Nonostante l'ambizione a realizzare un'edizione filologicamente moderna, l'Acropolita non ci informa della fonte documentaria che avrebbe utilizzato come base per la pubblicazione del proprio testo. In tale situazione, in attesa di una collazione che possa inquadrare la *princeps* in uno dei rami in

⁸⁰ L'*Arminius* è detto come di prossima pubblicazione in T 11, p. 10; dell'opera tuttavia non trovo nessuna menzione né nelle voci biografiche (in particolare la sempre bene informata *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 8 [1969], p. 678) né nei cataloghi di biblioteche: si dovrà pensare che non fu stampata ed è andata perduta? Per quest'opera cf. BURCKHARDT, *Johannes Basilius Herold*, op. cit., n. 79, p. 158 e n. 34.

cui è possibile suddividere la tradizione manoscritta, si può solo procedere per congettura e ipotizzare, per ragioni geografiche, che l'editore cinquecentesco si sia servito di un manoscritto presente in zona, con il che si giungerebbe al codice testimonianta da Beato Renano (T 8) come presente nella biblioteca del convento agostiniano (OSA) di Colmar. Ma questa, in attesa di ulteriori verifiche, è destinata a restare una supposizione.

Dopo il 1543 il testo di Ugo subisce numerose ristampe⁸¹, che però, spesso dipendenti l'una dall'altra, sortiscono il solo risultato di peggiorare il testo, tanto che esso, all'altezza dell'ultima ristampa, quella di Migne, risulta pressoché incomprensibile. Gli studi del XIX secolo, per quanto pionieristici e di altissima qualità rispetto al punto di partenza e alla base documentaria da cui partivano (si pensi a Lechat; Dondaine; D'Onofrio), devono ancora misurarsi con un testo inaffidabile, e non possono perciò che condurre ricostruzioni storiche o studiare aspetti circoscritti come le fonti filosofiche.

L'edizione critica del *De sancto*, mi auguro – se non presumo troppo – renderà possibile a tutti gli altri studiosi l'accesso a questo difficile testo rimasto per troppo tempo dimenticato.

Appendice: Testimonia

1 – Ugo, Lettera ai consoli di Pisa (1176): l'esattore Astaforte sollecita il logoteta imperiale, già mal disposto nei confronti di Ugo per ragioni dogmatiche: si starà probabilmente riferendo al *De sancto* già pubblicato o in corso di pubblicazione.

Müller, p. 13: set enim omne otium corpori tollens se laboribus exposuit, et dogmatis quidem causa, sicut Graecia pleraque, qui permultum infensus mihi est, logothetam circumuenit precibus.

2 – Hugo, *Ep. Alex.* (1177): i greci tentano di distruggere l'opera di Ugo *publicis decretis et elaboratis orationibus*.

PL 202, 227: exactum a me opus de immortalis Deo Graeciae iudicium delaturae in ipsum crimina peregrinamque inhumanitatem ut semel timore liberetur fugitat, cumque iam latere nolit pugnatorum extimescens mucronibus sauciari euolat ad eminentissimam approbatissimamque auctoritatem Romani culminis summi tui pontificatus clementiam precaturum ut in lege atque iure ab aduersariis se custodiat: frendent sane uehementer offensi et, tropaeis inuidendo nostris, tropaeorum nostrorum simulacra nequaquam excolunt. Sed ea certe publicis decretis et elaboratis orationibus delere satagunt atque omni conatu decertant ut modicis mundi utantur finibus.

⁸¹ Cf. la parte di questo testo sulle edizioni a stampa, pp. 57-59.

3 – Hugo, *Ep. Aimer.*: (1176-1777): i greci hanno tentato di distruggere le copie del *De sancto*, ma Manuele si è opposto, garantendo la sopravvivenza dell'opera.

PL 202, 203 a: collegi Cecropium thymum et galactidem calculum ubera nutrientium fecundantem quibus callida interpretatio loquacis Graeciae chalbaneum odorem intermiscere cupiens silentibus et aquosis piscibus ea destinare uoluit. Sed imperatoria uox scientissimi et intelligentissimi auctoratoris Manuel uenenatum consilium toxicumque liuoris dissipauit palam asserendo uitam qua nihil melius partui meo, nequaquam posse adimi.

4 – Leone Toscano, *De haeresibus* (post 1177):

S, fol. 87rb-87va in DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 126-127: ad hoc autem magnus imperator Manuel ingenii negotio finem optatum perquirere uisus⁸² est cum, boni uoti cupidus, Romanae iura ecclesiae ab integro reddere temporibus meis promiserit. Cui quidem⁸³ nomen Vgo, agnomine⁸⁴ uero Eterianus, Latinis Grecisque doctus litteris, pelasgorum incendiorum aspera uestigia – instantia disputationis et editione libri *De immortali Deo*, quem tota Graecia miratur et expauescit, et ipsa quoque augustalis sapientia extulit immensis laudibus – implanauerat et multociens, tum de liberalibus artibus, tum de fidei articulis imperatoria coram magestate contulerat cumque ipso moderatore cumque Graecorum sermonem faciens in phylosophia excellentissimis.

5 – Hugo di Honau, *De diuersitate naturae et personae* (1179-1180, ed. HARING, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 29 (1962), p. 103-216): praeterea librum *De immortali Deo* addidit quem contra modernorum Graecorum opinionem de Spiritus Sancti processione de Patre et Filio compositum et antiquorum Graeciae doctorum scriptis communitum Alexandro papae transmisit, in quo personalium proprietatum et personarum essentiaeque diuersitatem apertissimis beatorum episcoporum olim in Graecia theologizantium documentis declarauit.

6 – Anonimo domenicano del 1252: utilizzo della traduzione di Ugo del *Contra Francos* (= *De haeresibus quas in Latinos Graeci deuoluunt*). Cf DONDAINE, «Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan» (*art. cit.*, n. 2), p. 114-116.

7 – Anonimo, *Tre dissertazioni di un anonimo greco*, editi dall'archimandrita Arsenio, Mosca 1892. La data della prima e a nostra conoscenza

⁸² Visus] nisis Dondaine.

⁸³ quidem] quidam Dondaine.

⁸⁴ agnomine Dondaine] ac nomine S.

unica edizione (1891), il fatto che il testo sia conservato in un manoscritto moscovita e l'introduzione in lingua russa sono tutti elementi che scoraggiano lo studioso dall'approccio a questi testi. Ci concentriamo nelle righe che seguono sul primo dei trattati. Il codice che conserva il testo, se ben interpreto l'introduzione, risale al XIV secolo; il Sin. Gr. 1117 (foll. 220r-221r), che sembra conservare *excerpta* dal medesimo scritto, risale anch'esso al XIV secolo; come *terminus ante quem* per la stesura del trattato immaginiamo la fine del XIII secolo, ma si brancola letteralmente nel buio, in assegni di qualsiasi contributo moderno e in lingua accessibile.

Il testo confuta a più riprese il *De sancto* di Ugo, ma citandolo in maniera approssimativa, sì che il confronto con il greco non è di aiuto ai fini della costituzione del testo latino. Il nome di Ugo compare diverse volte, spesso associato ad apprezzamenti in termini negativi (p. 13; 31; p. 32, ove, se ben interpreto, il Nostro è addirittura qualificato come υἱὸς τοῦ διαβόλου; p. 33; p. 38: ἔγωγε δὲ τὸν Οὐγωνα εἶδον ἄνδρα μήτε θεὸν αἰδούμενον μήτ' ἀνθρώπου).

Il testo procede in modo simile ad una *quaestio* in uso nella filosofia medievale latina, con l'esposizione della tesi latina e la sua confutazione (si tratta di un influsso tomista in ambito greco?). Talvolta la ἀντίθεσις proviene, anche se parafrasata, dal testo di Ugo.

In particolare i passi citati e utilizzati sono:

De sancto 1, 2, 236 d ~ p. 2

De sancto 1, 4, 239 a ~ p. 25-26

De sancto 1, 6, 242 bss.; 3, 19, 389 c ~ p. 29

De sancto 2, 294 d ~ p. 32

De sancto 3, 7, 292 b – 292 c (o si tratta di un fraintendimento di 3, 12, 364 a?) ~ p. 33

De sancto 3, 12, 364 d – 365 a ~ p. 11 (con annessa citazione di *Ad Ablabium* di Gregorio Nisseno)

8 – Beato Renano, Lettera a Giovanni Hoffmeister (1540): cf. P. FRAENKEL, *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 48 (1986), p. 394: Beatus Rhenanus uenerando patri Iohanni Hoffmeister, priori Augustinensium apud Colombariam, theologo insigni, salutem dicit.

Cum nuper bibliothecam coenobii tui publicam aggressus esses componere, diu neglectum uolumen incidit in manus tuas: Hugonis Eteriani disputationes illas argutissimas ac Missam Iohannis Chrysostomi Leone Tusco interprete continens, quorum uterque Constantinopoli uixit, Emanuele Iohannis fratre imperante.

9 – Johannes Alexander Brassicanus, Lettera a Georg Tessinger, vescovo di Seckau (Vienna, 06.02.1539, Colonia 1540, p. 4):

Reuerendissimo ac eidem amplissimo domino D. Georgio episcopo Secouiensi optime merito et studiosorum omnium patrono unico Ioannes Alexander Brassicanus S.D.

Titus Pomponius Atticus nobilem illam bibliothecam suam ἀμαλθεῖον appellabat ab amplissima scilicet omnium bonorum scriptorum copia. Id quod et Cicero, qui plena manu hoc thesauro tum utebatur, non semel humanissime praedicat⁸⁵. Ego uero cum sciam tuam celsitudinem pro summa uirtute ac eruditione suam bibliothecam (quam rectius iam ἱερεῖον dixeris) omnium bonorum uoluminum genere adornare, uolui et ipse nuntiatio mihi tam insigni nouo opere pro summis illis tuae celsitudinis in me beneficiis aliquid afferre de nostris arculis, quod tuae celsitudini simul et magno ornamento et praecipuo usui esse possit. Nihil autem nouum apporto, ut hac aetate nouos ubique libros aspicias sed, quod ille dicit, ut nummos nouos. [p. 5] Mitto in praesentiarum scriptorem bene ueterem, rarum et eruditum, D. Hugonem Eterianum *De anima*, de quo plane nihil magnum hic uolo dicere; certe nemini non amanti uerae pietatis ac eruditionis ipse scriptor sese prolixè commendabit; malos nihil moror et qui cum pietate summam impudentiam coniunxerunt. D. Erasmus Roterodamus noster (cui nunc omnes boni leuem terram praecantur) dum etiamnum Friburgi uiueret et scriptum hoc ad se mea cura missum accurate perlegeret, omnibus modis probabat et inaestimandis laudibus uehebat adiiciens omnibus tandem saeculis extitisse suos quosdam peculiari beneficio uiros eruditos sed patronos cessatores non semper paria fecisse cum selectioribus illis ingeniis; hoc illius ut uocant αὐτογράφον ad me planissime commostrabit. Nunc, episcoporum huius aetatis ornatissime ac obseruandissime, munus hoc nouam ac optimam bibliothecam instruenti non contemnendum libenter accipe. Dabimus breui plura nec minus erudita nec aliud quicquam a tua celsitudine uicissim exigimus quam [p. 6] ut Brassicano sit amplissimus dominus Secouiensis id quod Hugoni nostro fuit aliquando Michael imperator Constantinopolitanus cui praeclaris naturae bonis tua celsitudo tanto propior est quanto me plane nullum multis stadiis ab Hugone uiro tam eccellente submotum esse libenter agnosco et multo magis ingenue fateor. Opto reuerendam tuam celsitudinem semper bene ualere et studiosis omnibus esse diu superstitem. Sic, nisi fallar, licebit tandem Herculi uxorem Heben coniungere, hoc est – ut Heraclitus admonuit – egregiae uirtuti numquam intermorituram excelsi nominis et gloriae commemorationem adiicere. Cursim Viennae Austriae Anno MDXXXIX mensis Februarii die sexta.

⁸⁵ Cf. Cic. *Ad Att.* 1, 16, 18.

10 – Anonimo, prefazione alla traduzione tedesca Wittemberg 1543

[p. 3] Der Verdeutscher zum Leser.

Es ist diese Franckforter Messe ein Latinisch Büchlin durch den druck ausgangen und vor langen zeiten geschrieben von einem seer gelerten Mahlen zur selben Zeit, Hugo Eterianus genant, inn welchem sonderlich die zwey stücke gehandelt werden: das eine von der unsterblichkeit der Seelen, das ander von wideraufferstehung der todten und wiewol von dem ersten auch viel guts dings gesaget wird sonderlich im anfang, so ist doch das ander verstendiger und deutlicher gemacht und dem gemeinen Man nützlicher zu lesen. Derhalben ich ein Tag oder zween do ich müssig war und vorhin das gantze büchle durchlesen hett genomen hab und diesen teil von der wideraufferstehung der Todten inns deudsch gebracht nicht allein andern damit zu dienen sondern auch mich zu stercken wider die gemeine anfechtung aller welt sonderlich der hochverstendigen und gelerten und in mich zu bilden die sprüch die dieser Man aus beiden Testamenten den ausbund zusammen gezogen hat und recht sein ausgeleget durch andere schrifft und sunst auch durch etzliche beweisung die aus der vernunfft herfliessen wiewol gar wenig jedoch nicht wenig zu der [p. 4] sache dienstlich. War ist es. Man findet inn der Natur und vernunfft seine bilder und gedancken von der wideraufferstehung wie auch von der Seelen unsterblichkeit und noch meer aber ist mit beiden endlichen inn beiden stücken wo es zum treffen gehet verlorn und an nichts bestehen; denn was aus der heiligen schrifft durch den glauben ergrieffen gefasset und behalten wird wie auch gemeinlich alte und neue Lerer inn diesem und andern Artickeln des glaubens bekennen und ist damit gnugsam angezeigt in allen Christlichen Kirchen oder versamlungen das man die so in Christo entschlaffen sein (wie S. Paulus gar lieblich darvon redet und wolt uns gern süs und gelinde machen das von der natur her und der sunden willen seer sauer und bitter ist) züchtig und eerlich mit klingen und singen begrebet odder schlaffen leget on das man durch böse gewonheit an viel orten nur lateinisch singet welchs der gemeine Man nicht verstehet und also die mit zum Begrebnis gehn von der Widderaufferstehung nichts geleret oder erinnert werden wie denn Dionysius unter andern viel schöner Christlichen Ceremonien die auch welche die furnemiste ist erzelet das man bey dem grabe zu seiner zeit vor ehe man die Leich inn die erden gesetzt hab feine tröstliche sprüch aus der heiligen schrifft hab erzelet von unser wideraufferstehung welchs fast wie ein predigt ist gewesen von der wideraufferestehung der todten. Lasse mir sagen es sey noch der brauch an viel örtern bey den Deutschen nicht seer [p. 5] weit von uns das nein gegen mitternacht und auch in Denemarck das man bey dem Begrebnis das volck davon unterrichte und vermane die ihm tieff einzubilden und veste zu gleuben. Wollte Gott es were der brauch uberal und würde nur mit allem vleis behalten und getrieben.

Denn es ist nicht allein seer nützlich sondern auch schier nötig sonderlich dieweil man selten besondere predig thut von der Widerauferstehung der todten und doch soviel an dem artikel gelegen und er so schwer zu gleuben ist zu solcher zeit und eben an dem rechtem ort kürzlich etwas gutes und trefftigs darvon zusagen. Darumb sollen wir auch uns alle diese und der gleichen schrifftten seer lieb und werd lassen sein darinne wir also vleissig und ordentlich von der Widerauferstehung der todten das ist von eim ding das der vernunft von ir selbst zugleuben sonderlich unmöglich ist geleret werden und den grund zu vorn vhesteleger das Gott nicht liegen oder triegen künde sondern warhafftig trew gewis und bestendig sey und aus dieses befehl die Bücher der heiligen schrifft gemacht und bisher wider alle Teuffel und Secten blieben und bestanden sein. Darzu helffe und erhalte uns darbey der allmechtige Vater, durch Jhesum Christ unsern Herrn. Amen.

11 – Lettera di Iohannes Herold Acropolita a Gilbert Cousin (Basilea, 01.03.1543, in Basilea 1543, p. 3-18).

Gilberto Cognato D. Erasmi Roterodami discipulo dignissimo, uiro et pietate et litteris clarissimo, Nozerethi Decano obseruandissimo Iohannes Herold Acropolita bene agere.

Hugonem Eterianum hunc nostrum contra Graecos tam diserte disputantem, Gilberte doctissime, ut tuo nomini inscriberem cum amor ille tuus eximius quo erga sacras litteras adficeris atque flagras nec non humanitas adiuncta liberalitate insigni etiam erga **[p. 4]** parum cognitos, tum aliae causae permultae quas nunc temporis nec opus recensere neque si uelim hoc in opere possem, effecerunt. Dabitur occasio, idque breui celebrandi nominis tui oportuna. Verum enimvero quum hunc autorem parenti ac patrono tuo, immo totius rei publicae litterariae ac Germaniae decori D. Erasmo Roterodamo tam probatum sciam, ut uirum illum fuisse (beneficio diuini numinis) saeculi sui eruditum Iohanni Brassicano homini docto testatus sit *αὐτογράφου* proprio, praeceptoris tui testimonium unicum folium Sybillae tibi futurum nemo negabit, uel mediocriter obseruantiae **[p. 5]** ac gratitudinis tuae erga institutorem gnarus. Est deinde, ni fallor, hic quoque amico non uulgari qui sese ut hoc thesauro Ecclesiam catholicam uariis opinionibus inundantem ditaret eodem sese priuari maluit obsequundum; nempe Iohanni Hofmeystero olim Friburgi, nunc Colmariae ecclesiae hinc tibi noto quod tum in familiaritatem (diuinam o Dij) Erasmi tua industria adscitus sit. Vir cui ob ingenii acumen aliquid deferas oportet ac piorum albo non omnino expungendus. Hic, inquam, si alteri quam tibi theologo et litteratorum patrono dedicaretur Hugo noster, operam suam **[p. 6]** male locasse aperte praedicabat. Parum igitur gratum me exhiberem si amico non gratificarer ea quidem in re quam ipse iamdudum

animo conceperam peragendam. Praeterea, cum uideam corpusculum illud tuum uiros hoc aeuo doctissimos quam plurimos admiratione afficere summa, ita, ni discipulum te scirent tanti uiri, ut extra humanum aliquid homini tuo tribuerent, animum in eo bonarum litterarum tam auidum insatiabilemque spectantes, is esse nolui qui ambitiosus haberi recuset, bonorum ac doctorum uirorum aucupando amicitias. Demum haud me latet quid sit amici [p. 7] thesaurum (cum amicorum debeant esse communia omnia) uel besse tantum augere. Tuas diuitias tam in diuinis litteris quam prophanis praedicant omnes, omnes celebrant adeo ut ne Itali quidem (ut sint litterarum bonarum auidissimi et Italorum ferme nobilissimi, quod fr. Maria Cibo satis docet) non dico aureos illos montes sed Bibliothecam omnigenis litterarum bonarum monumentis refertissimam (quam parem quidem aetas nostra non haberet, nisi illustrissimus princeps ac patronus noster liberalissimus Ioannes Rudolphus abbas Murbacensis Ptolomeum illum φιλαδέλφια [p. 8] iam superasset⁸⁶) excutiendam inquirendamque aueant. Hanc igitur ne ἀσύμβολον ego tantum eam inuiserem hoc opusculo locupletari uolui: quo si serua nunc et misera Graecia quorundam peruicacitate olim defraudata non fuisset, proculdubio Nilus ipse malorum quibus aemulus suus Ister iam obruitur, ignarus esset. Sed domino sit laus, qui Brassicano talem mentem dedit ut Budanae bibliothecae (quae bonorum auctorum copiae cornu erat) ante Turcicam irruptionem libros selectiores ruinae eriperet autoresque Viennam Austriae secum deferret, alias multis bonis libris iam destituti essemus... [p. 9] Orientalem illam Ecclesiam haec una de Spiritu Sancto controuersia [p. 10] Occidentali diuisit, at diuisio illa quantum sanguinis insumpsit, quos tumultus excitauit, qua discordia ima, medioxima atque infima commiscuit, quod denique iugum orbi imposuit? Quod quibus modis excutiendum dum Petrarcha, Philelphus, Pius, Campanus, Callimachus, Mantuanus, Cuspinianus, Huttenus, Eras. Roter. V.C. Ritius, Vives, Camerarius, Bibliander alii quoque permulti ac doctissimi uiri docent nos quoque Arminio in nostro (quem breui in lucem dabimus) demonstrare conamur: uideo et operam et oleum maiorem partem perdere tum admonendo tum scribendo et consultando [p. 11], quae ob discordiarum turbines omnium animos praeterfluunt in uanum, amantur enim rixae, fraternus tantum sapit sanguis. Pulsat iam fores arcis Christianae orbis, Germaniae scilicet, infringit potius portas hostis crudelissimus. Instrue exercitus, munitionibus firma urbes, <...>⁸⁷ fabulae: quid enim agas capite a membris dissentiente, membris capiti obstrepentibus? Perdidit, eheu, orientem PER et EX utraque praepositio. Vereor (Deus optimus maximus omen auertat) ne duo ista uerba REDDE,

⁸⁶ superasset *correxī*] superesset b

⁸⁷ *lacunam statui*.

REMITTE Occidentem tandem pessudent. Sed quid iuuat conqueri, iis in rebus, in quibus ingenia [p. 12] omnium consummantur friuole? Video, uideo fatum; uideo summi Dei summam iram. Tu, mi Gilberte doctissime, quotiens hunc libellum inspexeris uigiliis ad Rempublicam reconciliandam alacrius insiste. Tu enim quod Sadoletus Italis, quod Caluinus Gallis, quod doctissimus quiuus aut Hispaniae aut Britanniae aut Germaniae quod denique ubiuus gentium bonus uir patriae praestare potest, Burgundis tuis es. Diuersa quidem causa Graecis olim ac Latinis erat, sed cum nobis eadem pernicies induant igitur opto docti omnes Hugonis huius nostri animum in placandis Ecclesiarum discordiis [p. 13] breui quod Occidenti imminet, oriens sustinebit onus. Sed de his satis. De nostro iam Autore, cuius uita descripta diligenter apud Trithemium reperitur, dicendum. LEO TVSCVS honestissimam huius facit mentionem RAYMVNDO de MONTE CATANO scribens. Inquit enim: «Et quidem prae omnibus frater et praeceptor meus HVGO ETERIANVS sua grauitate grauior. Nam is Graecorum loquelae perplexa internodia, olorum euincentia melos, uerborumque murmura quae pene Maronis pectus fatigarent ac Ciceronis, intrepida excursione inspectis narrationum radicibus [p. 14] mirifice discriminat»⁸⁸. Haec ille. Tuo uero iudicio (cui non minus defero quam Oporinus noster, qui uti scis homo tui obseruantissimus ac inter paucos ob litterarum praestantiam recensendus qui tibi uel Zenonis iudicium tribuit nec non Gastrij theologi synceri calculo, qui ob dulcem memoriam Erasmi te uere diligit cuius labores in orationem dominicam ex patribus catholicis collectos sub prelo nostro habemus) facile uincam hunc autorem inter dialecticos argutissimum fuisse, ac suo aeuo proculdubio disertissimum; quod autem maximum habendum non sophistarum in morem textit [p. 15] elenchos, non crocodilitis agit, non scirpis, non paralogismis. Primo enim libro recitatis aduersariorum opinionibus atque impugnatis per omnes cathedras discurret non sophistico more sed lenitate et dulcedine uerborum utens, nihil admiscens quod huc non conueniat; secundo, tertio atque postremo libro, ut in prioribus duobus frequenter facit, sacrosanctae Scripturae testimonia adducit atque catholicorum patrum auctoritates nec non Synodorum uniuersalium decreta, approbationes atque statuta miro quodam ordine uehementia maturissima opponit. Haec quidem omnia [p. 16] quamquam pro dirimendis Ecclesiarum controuersiis iisque in concordiam reducendis pro impugnandis Graecorum nugis, pro sanctissimae Trinitatis approbatione sint ualidissima; tamen scio haud defuturos quibus omni in loco omnino non satisfaciet hic noster; nam quis umquam omnibus probatus? Criticos autem hos admonitos uelim mentem humanam nonnunquam dormire ipsam,

⁸⁸ Leone Toscano, prefazione a Ramon de Moncada alla traduzione della messa di san Giovanni Crisostomo, cf. HASKINS, *Studies in the History*, op. cit., n. 7, p. 215.

etiam in re seria, propria denique, nec ingenium usquam tam prauum extare quod meliora esse quandoque non pariat. Tu igitur mi Gilberte cum bonis, ut soles, autores bonos amice complectere, complexos [p. 17] discute diligenter, discussis pro meritis faue si hoc munusculum nostrum scio grato suscipies animo animum autem nostrum tui obseruantissimum proculdubio inter eos collocabis, qui ingratitude uitio immanissimo haud laborant; gnarus quidem sum quantum humanitati tuae debeam; quis enim ipsissimam Erasmi imaginem, Phydiae opus, qua me donasti cum Cresi thesauris permutaret? Quod donum utique tantum fiducia, ne dicam audacia dedit, ut te promptissimi animi mei erga reuerendissimum ac illustrem principem d. Petrum Palmae cardinalem nec non consultissimum ac splendidissimum [p. 18] Henricum illum Colineum qui Caesari a consiliis est ac obseruandum nostrum D. Stephanum Tornovv, patronum constituere audeam. Scio enim quam sis omnibus primatibus, quibuscum uiuis ob miram ingenii suauitatem et excellentiam charus, qua denique apud omnes Burgundiae proceres gratia et auctoritate emineas, nec me clam est. Christus Iesus te bonis ac bonis litteris diu superstitem incolumemque seruet. Ex inclyta Rauracorum Basilea, Calendii Martii anno a nato Christo MDXLIII.

Summary

Nonostante la sua importanza dal punto di vista storico e dogmatico, la personalità di Ugo Eteriano da Pisa resta per molti aspetti poco conosciuta, e, grave carenza dal punto di vista editoriale, le sue opere non sono ancora leggibili in edizione critica. Dopo gli articoli di A. Dondaine, l'unità di latino medievale del progetto FIR «I secoli XI e XII prodromi dell'Europa unita e divisa: confronti e scontri tra l'Oriente bizantino e l'Occidente latino» ha intrapreso un lavoro sistematico di indagine della tradizione manoscritta dell'autore in vista della pubblicazione della prima edizione critica del *De sancto et immortalī Deo*. Il contributo qui presente si propone come studio complessivo della figura e delle opere del teologo latino. La struttura del testo si suddivide in quattro parti. Nella prima si prendono in esame le problematiche relative all'onomastica di Ugo Eteriano (Hugo Eterianus) e alla biografia dell'autore. La seconda parte costituisce un catalogo ragionato che passa in rassegna ciascuna opera individuandone i testimoni manoscritti e a stampa (anche perduta), la cronologia e recensendone la bibliografia. La terza parte dell'articolo contiene un catalogo aggiornato e allo stato attuale delle conoscenze completo dei codici e delle stampe del testo. Dei primi si fornisce una descrizione sistematica sulla base di autopsia o di riproduzione fotografica. La quarta sezione dell'articolo fornisce al lettore una rassegna sistematica su Ugo Eteriano e il suo *Nachleben*.

Despite his importance from both historical and dogmatic perspectives, the personality of Hugh Eterianus has remained almost unknown and his works have not been properly edited. For the first time after Dondaine's innovative articles, the research team of the FutureInResearch Project "I secoli XI e XII prodromi dell'Europa unita e divisa: confronti e scontri tra l'Oriente bizantino e l'Occidente latino", financed by the Italian Ministry of University and Research, has worked systematically on Hugh's manuscript tradition in order to produce the first critical edition of Hugh's work *De sancto et immortalī Deo*. This paper presents Eterianus' personality and writings. The article is divided into four parts. In the first section the different versions of Hugh's name (Hugo Eterianus) and his biography are discussed. The second part presents manuscript and printed traditions (even the lost codices), chronology and bibliography of every single work by Hugh. In its third part, the article offers an updated and (as far we can see) complete catalogue of the codices and printed editions of the *De sancto et immortalī Deo*. The manuscripts are systematically described on the basis of an autoptic study or of an analysis of photographic reproductions. The fourth and last section offers a systematic overview on Eterianus and his *Nachleben*.

Pietro PODOLAK

Dipartimento di Filologia, Letteratura e Linguistica, Università di Pisa
<pietropodolak@gmail.com>

Alessandra BUCOSSÌ

Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici, Università Ca' Foscari, Venezia
<alessandra.bucossi@unive.it>

“Notez bien, bonnes pucelles”: A Complete Transcription of the French and Continental Latin Annotations of *The Mirror of Simple Souls**

Pablo ACOSTA-GARCÍA

(Barcelona)

1. Introduction: The Rediscovery of the *Mirror*, its Editions and the Unedited Marginalia

Despite various bans, burnings, and the execution of its author – Marguerite *dicta* Porete, a beguine from Hainaut – *The Mirror of Simple Souls* had a wide circulation in Europe from the fourteenth century onwards.¹ As we know, her book allegorically describes a soul’s experiences in her progress and final fusion with God and, at the same time, teaches the audience how to achieve this goal: the complete divinization of the human being.² The treatise’s success is attested not only by the strong opposition it encountered from the hierarchical church, but also by the number and variety of its extant manuscripts. The main objective of this transcription is to provide students of the *Mirror* (and, more generally, scholars working on late medieval heresy) with a deeper framework dealing with the materiality of some of those surviving versions. More specifically, I present here a cross-referenced edition of the totality of the notes, signs and diagrams located in the margins of the French and Latin traditions of Porete’s book.³

* I want to thank Victoria Cirlot, Blanca Garí, Elizabeth Brown, Justine Trombley, Pedro Rueda and Carme Muntaner for their priceless help in enhancing the quality of this article with their comments, materials and notes. Especially, I must thank Zan Kocher for his never-ending energy and inspiration. This research received financial support from the “Departamento de Economía y Conocimiento de la Generalitat de Catalunya” (Grupo de Investigación de la Bibliotheca Mystica et Philosophica Alois M. Haas, 2009SGR1551).

¹ The best discussion of Marguerite Porete’s life and trial which covers all the previous bibliography, is Sean L. FIELD, *The Beguine, the Angel and the Inquisitor: The Trials of Marguerite Porete and Guiard of Cressonessart*, Indiana, 2012.

² For an excellent analysis of the *Mirror* from a literary point of view, see Suzanne A. KOCHER, *Allegories of Love in Marguerite Porete’s Mirror of Simple Souls*, Turnhout, 2008.

³ This transcription is a logical step forward from two previously theoretical articles, where I claimed the absolute necessity of situating the *Mirror* within a series of coordinates

As I will show, the material aspects of the manuscripts and the marginalia are essential sources of information for both the reception and the hermeneutics of the *Mirror*. The French and Continental Latin manuscripts of Porete's treatise are defined by (very) diverse physical features, and they do not only contain textual variants, but pages surrounded by marks, marginal signs, and hints which help us to read each version of the *Mirror* in various ways (and, of course, to understand how the treatise was historically read).⁴ Before we delve into the transcription, it will be worthwhile to summarize the *Mirror*'s manuscript tradition, the scholarship related to it, and to describe the codices from a material standpoint. First, I will introduce the codices of the French and Continental Latin traditions and their modern editions; specifically, I will discuss Romana Guarnieri and Paul Verdeyen's 1986 essential volume in the context of the materiality of the texts.⁵ Second, I will present the codicological information of these codices and describe them afresh, trying to underline characteristics which help us to understand their reception. At the same time, I will develop a theoretical framework to explain these specific marginalia as a phenomenon not only related to the use, circulation and reception of the books, but also to their production. I shall begin by introducing the manuscripts of the French and Latin traditions which I will analyze in this study.

One late (c. 1450-1539) but complete translation from the original Picard, *Le Mirouer des simples ames*, survives in the codex known as "the Chantilly manuscript" (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS F xiv 26, catalogue #157, formerly #986; referred hereafter as CH). Besides the two-chapter extract in Old French discovered in the Public Library of Valenciennes at the turning of the twentieth century by Genèvieve Hasenohr, CH is the only surviving complete French version of the *Mirror*.⁶ Although the texts

relating to its manuscript culture before any attempt of interpreting Porete's book historically can be made. See Pablo GARCÍA-ACOSTA, "Los marginalia de *Le Mirouer des simples ames* de Marguerite Porete: hacia una historia de la lectura del manuscrito de Chantilly", *Critica del testo*, XV/1, 2012, 245-270 and "Forgotten Marginalia and the French and Latin Manuscript Tradition of *Le Mirouer des simples ames* by Marguerite Porete", *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 44/1, 2014, 413-431.

⁴ This work takes a great part of its inspiration from Bernard CERQUIGLINI, *Eloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philologie*, Paris, 1989; Stephen NICHOLS, "Philology in a Manuscript Culture", *Speculum*, 65/1, 1990, 1-10 and Siegfried WENZEL, "Reflections on (New) Philology", *Speculum*, 65/1, 1990, 11-18.

⁵ Marguerite PORETE, *Le Mirouer des simples âmes / Margaretae Porete Speculum simplicium animarum*, ed. by Romana GUARNIERI and Paul VERDEYEN, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medieualis 69, Turnhout, 1986. From hereafter, I will refer to Guarnieri's French text of this edition as *Mirouer* and to Verdeyen's Latin one as *Speculum*.

⁶ The text of the *Mirror* is in Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 239 (formerly 230), folio 69, which contains a collection of fifteenth-century translations of different spir-

contained in these codices are linguistically closer to the lost original, the earliest versions conserved are the Latin translations made in Italy from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries.⁷ These Latin texts are contained in the following manuscripts:⁸

- a. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. Latin 4355 (hereafter A)
- b. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Rossianus 4 (hereafter B)
- c. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigianus B IV 41 (hereafter C)
- d. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Chigianus C IV 85 (hereafter D)
- e. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Latin 4953 (hereafter F)

To this list should be added a codex kept in England, a mutilated manuscript from which just the first page and a fragment from the *Mirror* remains:⁹

itual authors (Bernard of Clairvaux and Heinrich Seuse, among others). For a description of both the codex and the discovered fragments, see Geneviève HASENOHR, "La Tradition du *Miroir des simples âmes* au XV^e siècle: de Marguerite Porète († 1310) à Marguerite de Navarre", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, 4, 1999, 1347-1366. She has published the Poretean fragments as an appendix in "La Tradition", p. 1361-1363. Since the manuscript does not possess marginalia, I do not include it in this study.

⁷ As Michael Sargent asserts, "[i]t is impossible to say when this translation was undertaken": for a complete discussion, see Michael G. SARGENT, "Medieval and Modern Readership of Marguerite Porete's *Mirouer des simples âmes anienties*': the Manuscripts of the Continental Latin and Italian Tradition", in *The Medieval Translator. In principio fuit interpres*, ed. by Alessandra PETRINA, Turnhout, 2013, 85-96 (p. 86-87).

⁸ For purposes of clarity, I follow the labels established in the codicological information by Verdeyen in *Speculum*, p. viii-xii. I will provide individual descriptions of these manuscripts in this article. The most complete work on the origin, filiation and significance of the Continental Latin tradition is Justine TROMBLEY, "The Latin Manuscripts of *The Mirror of Simple Souls*", in *A Companion to Marguerite Porete and The Mirror of Simple Souls*, ed. by Robert STAUFFER and Wendy TERRY, Leiden, 2017, p. 186-217. I thank the author for access to a prepublication version of this chapter. For a description of the manuscripts see also Sargent, "The Continental Latin", p. 86-89.

⁹ Since Verdeyen lists it between the Latin manuscripts in his edition (in *Speculum*, p. xi-xii) and we can notice the presence of unfortunately undecipherable annotation in the fragmentary margins remaining, this manuscript is significant for this study. Originally, it had 105 folios made of a combination of heavy paper and rough parchment, and measured 295 × 210 mm. (cf. TROMBLEY, "The Latin Manuscripts"). It was "written by a non-humanist hand of the 15th century" (SARGENT, "The Continental Latin", p. 87). Traditionally, scholars have accepted that this manuscript has a German provenance, repeating a catalogue descrip-

f. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Latin 46 (hereafter E)

Three of these manuscripts (A, B and C) date from the fourteenth century; two from the fifteenth (F and E) and another from the sixteenth century (D). Besides CH, which was very probably manufactured in the region of Orléans (France), the origin of most of these manuscripts (A, B, C, D, F and, perhaps, E) is Italian and their translation depends on the lost Old French version.¹⁰ Moreover, textual analysis shows that CH and the Latin codices share their origin with a lost French prototype.¹¹ Furthermore, other translations were made into different European languages: two different Italian “recensions” kept in two manuscripts each; one Middle English

tion of the Bodleian Library from the XIX century, which is still official (<http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/medieval/laud/laudlat.html>). This information was summarized by Verdeyen in his edition (*Speculum*, p. xii). After direct examination, Sargent asserts that the provenance of the codex is Italian: see his “The Continental Latin”, p. 87-88, n. 8. On the other hand, after analyzing the watermarks and the writing, Trombley (“The Latin Manuscripts”, p. 187, n. 3) concludes that we still need further codicological analysis to mark the origin of E: tentatively, she refers to this manuscript as “Northern European”. The codex currently contains a work of Ramon Llull, *Quaestiones super sententias* (folios 1r-70r); the beginning of the *Libellus de vita, doctrina et revelatione* of the Franciscan mystic Angela da Foligno (that is to say, her *Memoriale*, folios 72r-73r); a fragment from *Epistola ad Leontinum* by Bernard of Clairvaux (folio 75r) and *Contra Jovinianum* by Jerome (folios 80v-87v). It used to contain a complete copy of the *Mirror* (between the folios currently numbered 70v-72r). The title of Porete’s treatise (*Incipit liber qui appellatur speculum animarum simplicium. Alias vocatur Margarita*) and its last paragraph have been preserved. See TROMBLEY, p. 198-200. “The Latin Manuscripts”. A legible photograph of the surviving incipit (folios 70v and 72r) has been published by Kathryn KERBY-FULTON, in *Books Under Suspicion: Censorship and Tolerance of Revelatory Writing in Late Medieval England*, Notre Dame, 2006, p. 277.

¹⁰ Cf. SARGENT, “The Continental Latin”, p. 86. For a description and comparison between the textual variations of the Continental Latin tradition, see TROMBLEY, “The Latin Manuscripts”, p. 190-193. For the origin of CH in the region of Orléans, see below, p. 359. For the origin of E in discussion, see our n. 9.

¹¹ As Trombley, “The Latin Manuscripts”, p. 190 asserts: “The Latin is closely related to the French of the Chantilly manuscript and the Italian translations, as the Latin was probably made from an ancestor of the former, and the latter were originally made from the Latin”. Additionally, in the different Latin texts, there are “many words [...] which seem to be French borrowings, and not Latin words of French origin”, which points to a non-French origin for the translator and reinforces the Italian origin of the Latin or, perhaps, to a French translator unfamiliar with Marguerite’s particular dialect (I thank Justine Trombley for pointing out this second possibility). On the possible Southern French origins of the Latin, see Sylvain PIRON, “Marguerite, entre les béguines et les maîtres”, in *Marguerite Porete et le “Miroir des simples âmes”: Perspectives historiques, philosophiques et littéraires*, ed. by Sean L. FIELD, Robert E. LERNER and Sylvain PIRON, Paris, 2014, 69-101 (p. 85). On the shared origin of CH and the Latin manuscripts in a lost Old French prototype, see TROMBLEY, “The Latin Manuscripts”, p. 190. See also, Hasenohr, “La tradition du *Miroir*”, p. 1385 and Robert E. LERNER, “New Light on *The Mirror of Simple Souls*”, *Speculum*, 83, 2010, 91-116 (p. 114-115).

translation in three manuscripts; and one retranslation from the Middle English into Latin by the Carthusian Richard Methley (1450/1-1527/8).¹²

As we know, the link between the beguine of Hainaut and her book was lost for a long time and Romana Guarnieri played a crucial role in restoring knowledge of the its authorship in the twentieth century. In *L'Osservatore Romano* in June of 1946, she announced the results of her investigations.¹³ From then on, the heretic burned at the stake in the *Place de Grève* would be known as the author of the *Mirror*. The figure of Guarnieri was important not only for this essential discovery, but also for the first steps she took in contextualizing the book in its socio-theological coordinates and, especially, for the three different editions of the French text which she published during her career.¹⁴ Without any doubt, the last of these was a milestone in Marguerite Porete studies. The "Chantilly manuscript" plus five of the six Latin codices were the basis for the important page-facing edition by Romana Guarnieri and Paul Verdeyen, *Mirouer des simples ames / Speculum simplicium animarum* published in the Brepols' series *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* (volume LXIX) in 1986.¹⁵

This book was published at the beginning of the boom of studies in medieval religious women, which É. Zum Brunn and G. Épiney-Burgard called the "silent tradition", and aroused wide interest in the beguine of

¹² On the Italian versions, see Sargent, "The Continental Latin", p. 88-91. For an edition of the Italian text, see "*Lo Specchio dell'anime semplici le quali stanno in volontà e desiderio: Edizione della versione trecentesca in volgare italiano* (ms Riccardiano 1468)", ed. by Romana GUARNIERI, in *Lo Specchio delle anime semplici: prima versione italiana commentata con testo mediofrancese a fronte*, trans. by Giovanna FOZZER, with a historical preface by Romana GUARNIERI and commentary by Marco VANNINI, Torino: Edizioni San Paolo, 1994, reissued 1999, p. 503-624. For an edition of the Middle English translation, see Marilyn DOIRON, "*The Mirror of Simple Souls: A Middle English Translation*", *Archivio italiano per la Storia della pietà*, 5, 1967, p. 243-355. For an examination on the marginalia of the English tradition in the form of explanatory glosses of the text, see KERBY-FULTON, p. 272-296.

¹³ "*Lo Specchio delle anime semplici e Margherita Porete*", *L'Osservatore Romano*, 16 June, 1946, 3.

¹⁴ Especially important was the collection of chronologically ordered documents related to the "Heresy of the Free Spirit" that she published in "Il Movimento del libero spirito, testi e documenti", *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà*, 4, 1965, 351-708, although her methodology is criticized by SARGENT, "The Continental Latin", p. 93-94 and in "Medieval and Modern Readership". The three editions are: 100 copies of a first one, *Le Mirouer des simples ames anienties et qui seulement demourent en vouloir at desir d'amour*, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Rome, 1961. A second edition was published in "Il Movimento del libero spirito", p. 501-635, that she reprinted in the current standard text from 1986, *Mirouer / Speculum*.

¹⁵ For a complete revision of the discoveries of the Italian researcher and the history of the *Mirror*, see Michael G. SARGENT, "Medieval and Modern Readership of Marguerite Porete's *Mirouer des simples âmes*: The Old French and English Traditions", in *Middle English Religious Writing in Practice: Texts, Readers, and Transformations*, ed. by Nicole RICE, Turnhout, 2013, p. 47-90.

Valenciennes among scholars of different fields.¹⁶ The reason for this success lies not only in the drama of Marguerite's personal history, but also in the book's significance for European religious history in the fourteenth century. As we know, the *Mirror* is an essential piece for understanding the "movement of the Free Spirit", as it is directly related with the condemnation of the beguines and beguards by the Council of Vienne and, very probably, influenced important theologians such as Meister Eckhart and, directly or indirectly, some of his disciples.¹⁷ The amount of scholarship that the *Mirror* has generated at the end of the last century and in the beginning of the new one is impressive, but Marguerite remains a mysterious historical figure, who lives only in the documents of her trial and in the folios of her book.

Currently, we are seeing a revitalization of the studies dedicated to the material avatars of the *Mirror*.¹⁸ This new wave of analysis of the codices started with the discovery of the fragment of the Old French version by Geneviève Hasenohr, mentioned above.¹⁹ The discussion and popularization of this piece of research in an article by Robert Lerner in 2010, along with a symposium in Paris which brought together a great number of international experts on the *Mirror*, have redirected a large part of scholarly discussion towards topics such as the transmission of the manuscripts, the reevaluation of its different versions, the original language of the book and its historical reception, among others.²⁰ Although many scholars are choosing to focus on manuscript studies in recent years, there are still essential gaps in our knowledge. One of the most urgent needs is to review the codices in their context of production, circulation and reading, that is to say, to

¹⁶ Émilie ZUM BRUNN and Georgette EPINEY-BURGARD, *Femmes troubadours de Dieu*, Turnhout, 1988.

¹⁷ For the documents of the Council of Vienne, see Emil FRIEDBERG (ed.) *Corus iuris canonici*, vol. 2, Leipzig, 1879-1881, col. 1183-1184. On the relationship between Marguerite Porete, the Council of Vienne and the condemnation of the Free Spirits, see Robert LERNER, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages*, Berkeley, 1972, and FIELD. About Meister Eckhart and Marguerite: "It has never quite been proven that Eckhart read the *Mirror* directly, but certainly his teachings were related to Marguerite's" (FIELD, p. 202). See also Justine TROMBLEY, "The Master and the Mirror: The Influence of Marguerite Porete on Meister Eckhart", in *Magistra* 16, 2010, p. 60-102.

¹⁸ I have talked about this "codicological turn" in *Mirror* studies in García-Acosta, "Forgotten marginalia", p. 414-415.

¹⁹ See p. 348, n. 6.

²⁰ Lerner, "New Light", p. 91-116. The conference was entitled "Marguerite Porete, 1310-2010: International Perspectives" and was held in June 2010 in the École des hautes études en sciences sociales (Paris). Some of the papers with additional material are published in Sean L. FIELD, Robert E. LERNER and Sylvain PIRON (eds), *Marguerite Porete et le "Miroir des simples âmes": Perspectives historiques, philosophiques et littéraires*, Paris, 2014.

analyze the text of the *Mirror* reinserted in its manuscript culture.²¹ In this sense, the reintegration of the unedited marginalia of the French and Latin tradition with Porete's text, in order to recreate the original framework in which the codices were produced, read and annotated, is fundamental.²² As recent research is showing, the writings and marks found within the margins of the different Continental versions of the *Mirror* are essential not only to shedding new light on the dates, conditions of production, or filiation of the codices, but also to enriching the almost as-yet-unstudied field of the direct reception of the manuscripts.²³

2. The Annotation and the Codices. Description, Function and Significance

Without any doubt, the main objective by Guarnieri and Verdeyen in the critical edition quoted above was to provide the scholarly community with a reliable philological tool to work with the main corpus of the treatise, that is to say from "The Prologue" until chapter 140, including the *Approbatio* as a coda. Despite some secondary imperfections, they accomplished their aim: their work in the transcription of both versions and the presentation of the variants of the Latin tradition is a remarkable one.²⁴ However, from the point of view of manuscript culture and the information that it can provide us with, they avoided almost all the contents present in the form of marginalia which did not help them in filling *lacunae*, addenda, or any other correction by the copyists.

In the introduction to the 1986 volume, they inform the reader about the existence of marginal material which they did not transcribe.²⁵ For

²¹ Cf. the theoretical frameworks presented in n. 4.

²² For instance, the presence of unpublished marginalia and the need for a new description of the manuscripts has been noted by Lerner, "New Light", p. 115, n. 102.

²³ The reception of the extant codices of the *Mirror* has been studied by Trombley in her doctoral thesis, "The Mirror Broken Anew: The Manuscript Evidence for Opposition to Marguerite Porete's Latin *Mirror of Simple Souls* in the Later Middle Ages" (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of St Andrews, 2014) and in "The Latin Manuscripts", p. 194-217; KERBY-FULTON and ZAN KOCHER, "The Apothecary's' *Mirror of Simple Souls*: Circulation and Reception of Marguerite Porete's Book in Fifteenth-Century France", *Modern Philology* 111/1, 2013, 23-47. On the more abstract field of the circulation of the *Mirror* as a literary work, see Blanca GARÍ, "Mirarse en el espejo: Historia de la recepción de un texto", *DUODA*, 9, 1995, 99-120. See also KOCHER, *Allegories of Love*, p. 49-56.

²⁴ These imperfections have been indicated and corrected by Geneviève HASENOHR, "Retour sur les caractères linguistiques du manuscrit de Chantilly et de ses ancêtres", in Sean L. FIELD, Robert E. LERNER and Sylvain PIRON (eds), *Marguerite Porete et le "Miroir des simples âmes": Perspectives historiques, philosophiques et littéraires*, Paris, 2014, 94-101.

²⁵ For the description of the notes by Guarnieri and Verdeyen, cf. GARCÍA-ACOSTA, "Forgotten Marginalia", p. 416.

instance, Guarnieri wrote in her description of CH: “La marge contient nombre d’apostilles ajoutées par différentes mains” [The margin contains numerous marginal notes added by different hands].²⁶ On his side, one page later, Verdeyen writes about A, the main Latin manuscript in his edition: “Du début à la fin l’on trouve des notes marginales qui résument l’idée ou mettent en valeur une expression particulière. Notre édition ne mentionne pas ces notes de lecteur” [From the beginning to the end, we find marginal notes which summarize the content or highlight a particular phrase of the text. Our edition has not taken into account those reader notes].²⁷ From my perspective, both quotes involve several problems. The first and perhaps the most important one is that since they only indicate some manuscripts as annotated, they imply that the other codices are not. This is simply not true: every single manuscript of the Continental tradition possesses marginalia, but having different functions and in very different degrees: CH possess 254 items, counting notes (both in French and Latin), *maniculae* and iconography; A, 188 annotations in Latin; B, 21 crosses in the margins; C, 2 tiny *maniculae*; D, 120 notes in Latin and E, the labels of a list of thirty errors extracted from the book. Even in E, the mutilated manuscript in which just the very end of the *Mirror* and little strips of cut parchment remain, the presence of illegible notes in the margins can be noticed.²⁸ The second one, with the consideration of the marginalia as mere “reader notes” (“notes de lecteur”), Verdeyen homogenizes what in fact is a variety of signs, that he lumped together under one assumption that turns out to be false, namely that readers always wrote the marginal notes after the main text had already been copied. Instead, we discover that the multiple marginalia in the *Mirror*’s French and Latin tradition have different functions and can be decoded following a variety of hermeneutical avenues.

In an earlier publication, where Guarnieri described CH in her 1965 edition’s preface, she was more cautious, since she acknowledged that:²⁹

Il testo è stato collazionato e corretto da più mani e di varia natura sono le numerose postille marginali: correzioni e integrazioni di lacune, rinvii ad altri passi, commenti spesso esclamativi o, più di rado, esplicativi, segnalazione di passi particolarmente significativi a mezzo di manine guantate dalle lunghe dita o di Nota bene, pochi rinvii a passi scritturali, oltre a qualche frase di più difficile intelligenza, che abbiamo riportato in nota ai rispettivi passi.

²⁶ *Mirouer*, p. viii.

²⁷ *Speculum*, p. IX. In a few rare cases, deviating from this assertion, Verdeyen uses and transcribes some of that material. See, for instance, below, p. 366.

²⁸ We thank Justine Trombley for the images and information about E.

²⁹ GUARNIERI, “Il movimento”, p. 503.

[The text has been collated and corrected by different hands and the multiple marginal notes are of different kinds: corrections and filling in of gaps, cross-references, often exclamatory comments or, more rarely, explanatory ones; indication of especially significant passages with little long-fingered hands wearing gloves or with *Nota bene*; few references to the Scriptures and some other references to certain hard-to-understand sentences, which we have included in the footnotes.]

Indeed, Guarnieri's observations were true: annotation in CH include not just "notes du lecteur" ["reader notes"], but notes "di varia natura" ["of different kinds"]. In fact, it is not only CH which contains numerous annotations that have multiple functions; the other manuscripts do as well. As I have shown in a recent publication about the function of the *marginalia* of the Latin and French tradition of the *Mirror*, these signs in the margins have a wide range of possible functions, primarily related to the context of production and reception of each one of the codices.³⁰

For instance, as studied by Justine Trombley, F was clearly created to be used as an official document during the Council of Florence (1438-1439).³¹ The difference between F and the rest of the manuscripts is obvious at first sight: physically it is a bigger book than the others (353 × 260 mm.; 66 folios made of good-quality parchment from after 1437), the quality of the materials used in its production is higher and the contents are delicately copied in one hand in a handwriting described by Verdeyen as "très nette".³² Although it coincides with the other Latin codices in its Italian origin, this copy was clearly shaped using tools which facilitated a comfortable, individual reading: the fragments of the *Mirror* are written in one hand in large margins, there are separations between paragraphs and most of them are provided with monochrome initials. From my perspective, these differences in the visual resources implemented in the document combined with the use of this codex in a council (whose "persecutory context" determines a very specific understanding of the text) explains the low number of marginalia which it possesses.³³ The only ones that we can find are the words "error" plus a number (error 1, error 2...), which serves to locate the thirty extracts in the discussion.

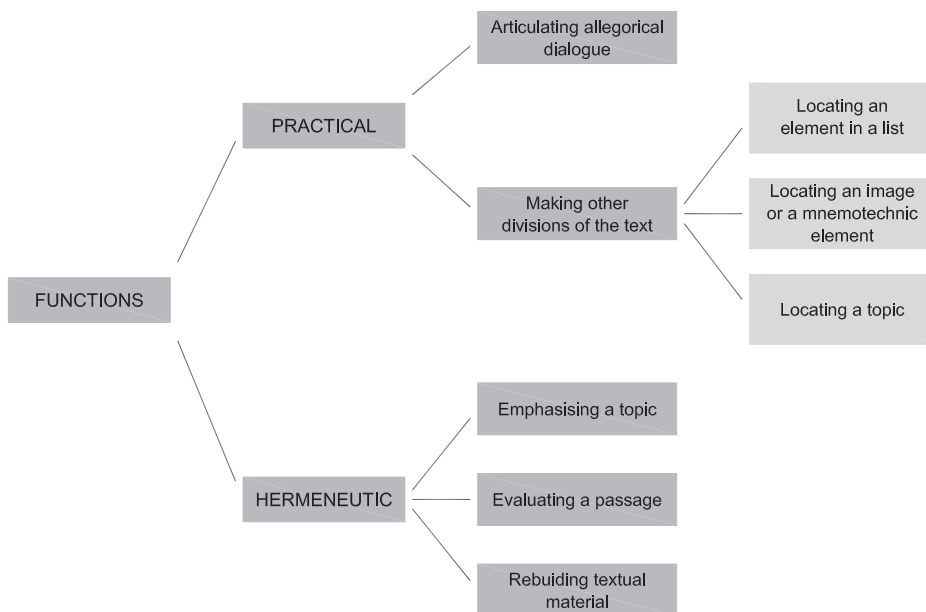
³⁰ GARCÍA-ACOSTA, "Forgotten Marginalia".

³¹ This codex lists and extracts thirty "errors" of Porete's book and adds a refutation for each one. As studied by Trombley it contains other documents discussed in the "Council of Florence" (folios 2r-23v: the anonymous *Contra Graecos de processione Spiritus Sancti et de oboedientia ecclesia Romanae* and a collection of letters and decrees on folios 24r-28v) and the *Mirror* on folios 29r-32v. The thirty passages are edited in GUARNIERI, "Il movimento", p. 650-660. Verdeyen (*Speculum*, p. xii-xiii) says wrongly that its provenance is in the "Council of Ferrara" (1438) and does not take it into account for his edition. Descriptions of the codex: GUARNIERI, "Il movimento", p. 506 and TROMBLEY, "The Latin Manuscripts", p. 195-197.

³² *Speculum*, p. xii.

³³ The expression "persecutory context" is from TROMBLEY, "The Latin Manuscripts", p. 205.

As related in previously published research, it is possible to individuate two main groups of functions of the marginalia in the French and Latin *Mirror* tradition: the practical (or functional) and the hermeneutic notes (see figure 1). The practical notes serve a pragmatic function, that is they are concerned with directing the reader and clarifying the structure of the text. The hermeneutic notes are interpretive, concerned with illuminating the meaning of the text or evaluating a specific passage or idea:³⁴



Since F is an expensive, clearly readable document its users (or copyists) did not need to insert practical notes, that is to say, marks that would help the reader to distinguish among different elements (for example, the different voices in the allegorical dialogue) or locate what is lost in the middle of a text poorly prepared for silent reading. Despite this, and due to the conciliar context that produced F, doctrinal errors are labeled in the margin, allowing the reader to have quick access to the corpus and clearly establishing its heretical character.

Another document which shares some traits with F and which seems related not only to the general condemnatory context of the *Mirror*, but also directly linked with the thirty quotes which F labels as errors, is

³⁴ Cf. GARCÍA-ACOSTA, “Forgotten Marginalia”, p. 421 and p. 421-426 for examples of each one of the subcategories in codex A.

manuscript B.³⁵ Certainly, this volume is cheaper than F: it is a portable book (166 × 128 mm.) with 161 folios made of a very rough parchment of the fourteenth century.³⁶ It contains a complete version of the *Mirror* (folios 1r-158r), plus a short Italian commentary on Pseudo-Dionisius the Aeropagite, entitled: “Queste sono parole di Sancto Dionisio” (folios 158v-160v).³⁷ Despite the humble materials with which it was manufactured, the copy is very legible and the reading resources present in the text are numerous and varied. It is written by one Italian hand in a well-defined, carefully written gothic letter with few abbreviations. The beginning of the sentences are clearly marked by capitals colored with yellow; the blue and red initials are used to start subsections of the text; red and blue pilcrow signs indicate important passages, and rubrics mark the voice of the allegorical characters.³⁸ In short, as happened with F, this particular document does not need any supplementary practical notes to be read: neither the scribe, nor a later recipient added signs, words, nor sentences to facilitate the access to the text. However, this codex is still significantly marked. As Trombley states:³⁹

Possibly related to Vat. lat. 4953 [F] are certain marginal marks found in the fourteenth-century codex Rossianus 4 [B]. There are nineteen passages within this codex’s *Mirror* copy that are each marked with a single cross drawn in the margin. Normally this would not indicate anything suspicious, since crosses were frequently used in the margins of manuscripts to highlight certain passages or to indicate insertions into the text, but in the case of Rossianus 4, fifteen out of the nineteen marked passages are cited as errors in Vat. lat. 4953.

In other words, most of the passages *extracted and reported as errors* in F, are *indicated as errors* in a complete copy of the *Mirror* (B) using margins and signs. In this sense, I distinguish a second category of marginalia under the label of hermeneutic notes (see Figure 1). These are not annotations which help to improve the legibility of a specific volume, but comments, signs or interfaces which were intended to influence later readers’ interpretation of the main text. For instance, the notes of F should not be considered just practical notes (very possibly, someone wrote the labels consisting of “error-plus-a-number” in order to give readers quicker access to the contents in an conciliar working environment), but they must be understood as shaping the text, in the sense that it is impossible to read to

³⁵ Codex descriptions: GUARNIERI, “Il movimento”, p. 505 and *Speculum*, p. ix-x.

³⁶ I thank Elizabeth Brown for this information.

³⁷ *Speculum*, p. ix. These folios are edited by GUARNIERI, “Il movimento”, p. 643-644.

³⁸ *Speculum*, p. x.

³⁹ TROMBLEY, “The Latin Manuscripts”, p. 197.

this manuscript, both for the original user(s) and a later reader(s), free of these negative connotations. The crosses in B are, perhaps, in a more specific context of personal annotation: except for its original creator they are (and, in fact, they have been) very difficult to decode.

Therefore, a temporary formula to understand the marginalia of the *Mirror* is: the clearer the resources are for a silent reading, the lesser the need for an additional practical annotation.⁴⁰ Consequently, if there are marginalia in easy-to-read codices, they tend to be “hermeneutical”, and they can provide us with information about the reading processes involved, the reader(s) and their response to the *Mirror*. For instance, in the case of C, a little Italian codex (213 × 144 mm, of 103 folios made of thick paper with no watermark, c. 1398) the reading resources are well-defined.⁴¹ The folios are written using a clear Italian gothic letter by one hand in brown ink, which contrast through the whole manuscript with red ink: Red capital letters mark both the start of the chapter (which, additionally, are rubricated) and the first letter of the single sentences and pilcrow signs marking divisions and lists in the text (for example, each one of the seven degrees of Love in the famous chapter 118).⁴² Moreover, the words are heavily abbreviated. For a user capable of reading the *Mirror* in these conditions, there is no need for additional practical annotations and, in fact, the extant ones – just two manicules – are hermeneutical.

Of course, these marks could have been created by a user in a private reading process (and in this sense, they must be identified with Verdeyen’s “lecteurs”), but there is a wider range of possibilities to explain the existence of these notes. For instance, they could have been part of a previous codex and could have been copied along with the rest of the manuscript in a copyist’s workshop. This is what W. Schipper calls “a copy-invasive process”, always attributing an original set of notes to the existence of a pre-

⁴⁰ On silent reading and resources in the pages of the manuscripts, see Malcom B. PARKES, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West*, Berkeley, 1993. See also Paul SAENGER, “Manières de lire médiévales”, in *Histoire de l’édition française. Vol. I*, ed. by Henry JEAN MARTIN, Jean-Pierre VIVET and Roger CHARTIER, Paris, 1982, 137-150.

⁴¹ This miscellany contains the *Beniamin Minor* by Richard of Saint-Victor (folios 1r-48v); the *Mirror*, titled *Incipit liber speculatissimus nuncupatus speculum simplicium animarum* (folios 49r-111r) and a final paschal table from 1398 to 1500 (folios 111v-112r). Verdeyen, in *Speculum*, p. x, counts 112 folios but, as Elizabeth Brown has kindly shared with me, the pagination in the bottom margin is defective, because it skips from 29 to 40 and, additionally, the numeration of folio 71 is repeated. Descriptions of the codex: Verdeyen, “La première tradition latine du *Miroir* de Marguerite Porete”, 388-389 and *Speculum*, p. ix-x. About the word *speculatissimus* and its implications, see KERBY-FULTON, p. 276.

⁴² Besides CH, this is the only manuscript of the Continental tradition which is provided with chapter titles.

vious user.⁴³ As I have indicated in my first study on the marginalia of the French tradition of the *Mirror*, this process is the most coherent solution to the problem of the numerous and homogeneous *Nota bene*, manicules and other annotations which populate CH.⁴⁴ In fact, this is the point of view adopted by G. Hasenohr in a recent publication:⁴⁵

[L]'annotation marginale [of CH] (à la différence, sans doute, de certaines manchettes) n'est pas une création original du copiste mais la reproduction d'une annotation préexistante considérée comme partie intégrante de l'écrit à transmettre: le copiste reproduit à l'identique la page qu'il a sous les yeux, texte et apparat marginal conjoints, traitée comme un ensemble homogène et non hiérarchisé.

[The marginal notes [of CH] (except, doubtless, certain *maniculae*) are not an original creation of the copyist, but the reproduction of preexistent marginalia treated as an integral part of the work to transmit. The copyist has identically reproduced the page which he was looking at, text and marginal apparatus together, as a homogeneous, non-hierarchic system]

All the three functions which I attribute to the “hermeneutic annotations” (“emphasizing a passage”, “evaluating a topic” and “rebuilding textual material”) are present in CH.⁴⁶ As underlined in other publications, the French codex can be described as a pocket book (205 × 147 mm; 119 folios made of paper) which just contains a complete version of the *Mirror*.⁴⁷ The main corpus of text it is written by a single hand which gives a very homogeneous look to the copy.⁴⁸ Thanks to the watermarks of the paper, we can locate its circulation in a very concrete landscape: the region of Orléans in the middle of the fifteenth century.⁴⁹ Additionally,

⁴³ William SCHIPPER, “Textual Varieties in Manuscript Margins”, in *Signs on the Edge. Space, Text and Margin in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Sarah LARRATT KEEFER and Rolf H. BREMER JR., Paris-Leuven-Dudley, 2007, 25-56 (p. 27).

⁴⁴ Pablo GARCÍA-ACOSTA, “Los marginalia”.

⁴⁵ Geneviève HASENOHR, “La seconde vie du *Miroir des simples âmes* en France: *Le livre de la discipline d'Amour divine* (XV^e-XVIII^es.)”, in Sean L. FIELD, Robert E. LERNER and Sylvain PIRON (eds), *Marguerite Porete et le “Miroir des simples âmes”: Perspectives historiques, philosophiques et littéraires*, Paris, 2014, p. 283.

⁴⁶ See different analysis with reproduced folios in García-Acosta, “Los marginalia”.

⁴⁷ Descriptions of the codex: GUARNIERI, “Il movimento”, p. 502-504 and *Mirouer*, p. viii.

⁴⁸ Geneviève HASENOHR, “La seconde vie”, p. 282, has identified two copyists: the first as the author of the table of contents (folios 1r-5v) and the poem (fol. 6r) preceding the treatise; and the second as author of the main text of the *Mirror* (folios 8r-119r) and some rubrics. These two scribes are also the authors of most of the marginalia too. See her paleographical analysis of CH on p. 285-286.

⁴⁹ GUARNIERI, “Il movimento”, p. 502, identifies the watermark of the paper (the crucifixion cross plus three nails) with the number 7216 of Briquet's catalogue; HASENOHR, “La seconde vie” corrects this to Briquet 1541 and 1548. Guarnieri's conclusion was that CH has been produced in the Region of Orléans between 1450 to 1530 (cf. *Mirouer*, p. viii).

it is the only volume of the Continental tradition to which we can attribute an explicit ownership, since on folio 1r is written: “Ce present livre est a Jehanne” [“This book belongs to Jehanne”] and “Ce present livre est a Jehanne Bontemps et le donne et delaisse apres mon trespas a ma fille Seur Claudine Bontemps religieuse au desusdit convent de La Madeleine” [“This book belongs a Jehanne Bontemps and I give and bequeath it after my death to my daughter, Sister Claudine Bontemps, nun at the aforementioned convent of La Madeleine”] (see Figure 2).⁵⁰ These key notes tell us about a book which not only was read privately (at least in the time when the Bontemps owned it), but also which circulated within the walls of a convent. Although we know these two owner names, it is impossible for us, as in the rest of the cases, to make a reliable connection between readers and writers in the margins.

The visual resources of CH indicate that it was likely designed for an individual reading, since the writing is very clear, the titles of the chapters are numbered and transcribed in red, and the sentences start with capital letters decorated with red and blue flourishes and there are clear spaces between words.⁵¹ Therefore, the marginalia with a “practical” function are here reduced to their minimum expression. The majority of marginalia in this codex are hermeneutic. However, I would make a distinction between two types of notes: a group which should be understood as contemporary to the copy, and others (specifically, some manicules) which were the products of later user(s).⁵²

The importance of these pointing hands is that their combination with the notes puts them in relation to the reading practices of the late Middle Ages.⁵³ As G. Hasenohr suggests in the quote above, these signs must be attributed to the hand of the copyists: therefore, we should acknowledge

Recently, HASENOHR, “La seconde vie”, p. 286, has corrected this date to 1425-1460. For a schema of the watermarks of CH, see GARCÍA-ACOSTA, “Los marginalia”, p. 249, n. 16. On the paper of CH, see HASENOHR, “La seconde vie”, p. 281. Additionally, on folio 1r, it is written: “De conventu magdalenes prope aurellianis” [From the convent of La Madeleine, close to Orléans].

⁵⁰ On the convent of La Madeleine-lès-Orléans, see HASENOHR, “La seconde vie”, p. 275-276 and the quoted bibliography. Guarnieri reproduces and comments on this first folio in “Il movimento”, figure I and p. 503.

⁵¹ On the color code which works in the visual reading of CH, see García-Acosta, “Los marginalia”, p. 260-261.

⁵² HASENOHR, “La seconde vie”, p. 282-283, asserts that all the marginalia are by the two copyists. Due to the diverse typology of the manicules, I think that some of them are additions by later user(s).

⁵³ See William H. SHERMAN, “Towards a History of Manicule”, in *Owners, Annotators and the Signs of Reading*, ed. by Robin MYERS, Michael HARRIS and Giles MANDELBROTE, New

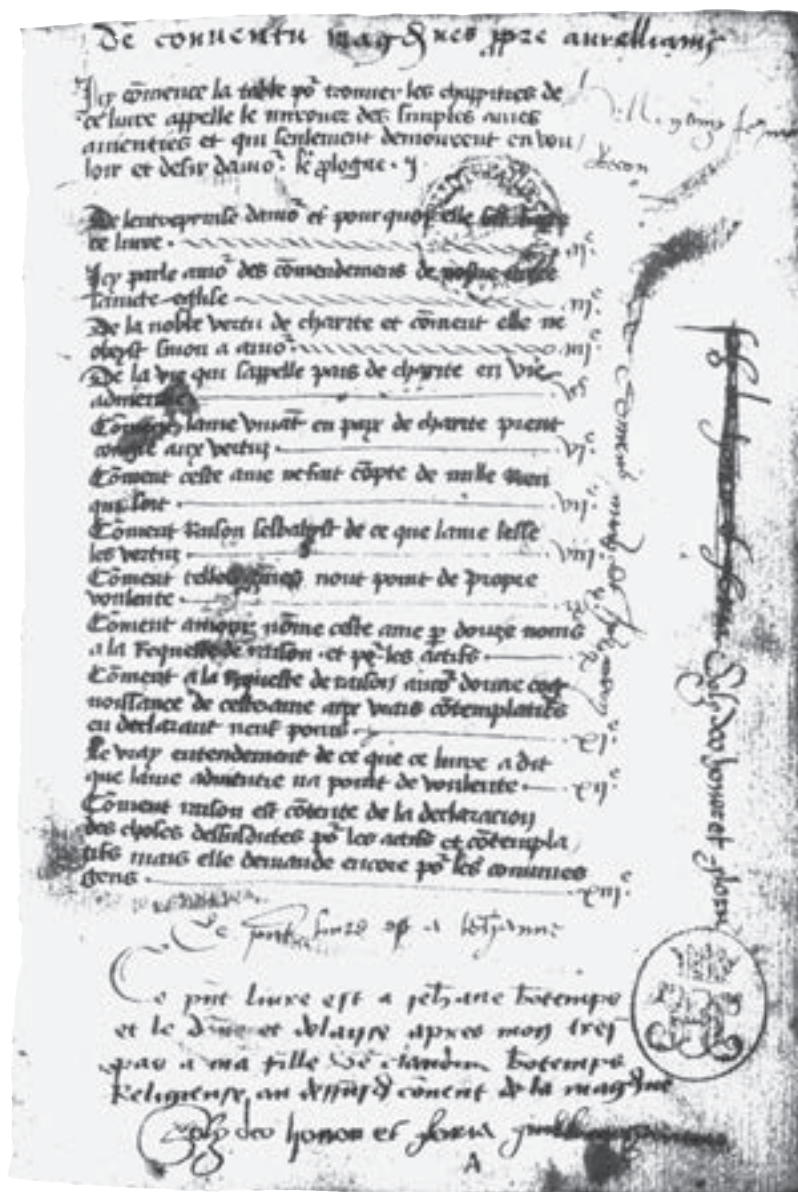


Figure 2: Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. F XIV 26, Cat. 157, fol. 1r
© Bibliothèque et archives du château de Chantilly

that the scribe (and, then, the first commissioner of the codex which CH reproduces) intended to provide users with a complete, planned interface for reading and thus with a guided experience of the text. Perhaps such a reading guided by pointing fingers combined with notes could be described as “mystagogical”, due to their possibly didactic implications in religious environments.⁵⁴ Without any doubt, not only the content, but also the way the marginalia work, gives us a lot of information about what kind of book CH was in its context. In contrast to the controversy-laden reception of F or B, this codex seems to consider the text to have precious devotional learning. In fact, we can find this combination of manicules and annotation in early printed religious books by orthodox authors such as Ruysbroeck in the famous translation by Surius: in these cases, the reading is also oriented by an interface that the user could access from the margin, but the set of signs is decided previously in the print workshop.⁵⁵

This idea contrasts with the notion of a reader writing private notes in the margins, but it does not cancel it completely. Although we can distinguish a primary set of annotations that were originated in the lost manuscript which CH reproduces, there are additional notes by anonymous users which reinforced this first apparatus. In this sense, this supplementary annotation seems to serve a more urgent necessity of the individual reader, who adds to the copy the marks inspired by her or his devotional needs. Although these two complementary moments (a first one contemporary to the manufacturing of the codex; other ones contemporary to various readings) seem to be the reason for the overpopulated margins of CH, certainly there are major difficulties in the task of distinguishing between different *strata* of annotation.⁵⁶ The main reason is that users tried very carefully to hide the differences between signs or, at least, between different moments of writing in the margins. As has been remarked, CH is a book which presents a much-harmonized aspect, and surely its margins suffered from what I have called a “homogenizing process”.⁵⁷ In this sense, we should take into account the idea of different readers being influenced by those annotations in different measures or as a whole: from the very first reading until now, the *Mirror* in CH seems to have included the annotation apparatus as an integral part of the book.

Castle-London, 2005), 19-48. For an example of interaction between main text, manicules and notes in a folio of CH, see GARCÍA-ACOSTA, “Los marginalia”, p. 262-267.

⁵⁴ Cf. HASENOHR, “La seconde vie”, p. 282-284

⁵⁵ See IOANNIS RVSBROCHII, *Opera Omnia* (Colonia: Ioannis Quentel, mense martio 1552). Cf. GARCÍA-ACOSTA, “Forgotten Marginalia”, p. 426.

⁵⁶ In this sense, a deep paleographical analysis of the notes could provide us with precious information. This is work still to be done.

⁵⁷ Cf. GARCÍA-ACOSTA, “Forgotten Marginalia”, p. 428.

In general, the limitations in the analysis of different hands acting in the margins (their anonymity, their similarity in appearance, their silent primary intention) do not mean, however, that these marginalia are useless at all in an inquiry about the different receptions of the *Mirror*. In CH, for instance, the reference to a circulation inside the walls of a convent where the book becomes the object of an inheritance, can help us to understand it in a concrete context or, at least, to express some possible explanations to the abundant marginalia. The original set of notes seems to have been designed to orientate the reading of a group: it contains most of times a plural ("Notez", in the expanded form) which in one occasion takes the form of a concrete vocative: "Notez bien, bonnes pucelles" [Pay attention to this, good maidens].⁵⁸ Should we understand the book from which CH was copied as a device originally designed for a feminine religious community? The majority of notes seem to follow consciously the desire to guide the reader and most of them evaluate the text in a very positive way. Anyway, annotation in CH needs a deeper evaluation which would take into account not only the positive notes or signs (the majority), but also some controversial ones. For instance, in an upper margin we can read, in a completely different cursive hand: "Plus est mort le Pape de Rome" (literally, more dead is the Pope of Rome, see Figure 3): since the annotator wrote the note on a page of the main text in which Porete discusses the topic of the suffering and death of Christ, the meaning of this sentence (and what it can tell us about its writer) is ambiguous.⁵⁹

Manuscripts A and D are very similar in the resources that they offer to the readers, and consequently are also similar in that the marginal notes are numerous and often ambiguous. Let me start by describing A, which is the basis of Verdeyen's Latin edition.⁶⁰ This is an easy to handle codex (210 × 148/150 mm; 57 folios) written by two Italian hands in a very homogeneous and clear gothic letter of the fourteenth century.⁶¹ It was copied on paper without a watermark in brown ink without any supplementary ornamentation. This gives it a very modest appearance. Since the reading resources are modest too, divisions of the treatise are hard to detect. It has just two rubrics indicating the beginning and the end of the

⁵⁸ For an analysis of this specific note, see GARCÍA-ACOSTA, "Los marginalia", p. 267-268 and HASENOHR, "Le second vie", p. 284. An example of the plural instruction is in fol. 13r: "Helaz, pour Dieu notez bien!".

⁵⁹ CH, folio 109v.

⁶⁰ For descriptions of the codex: GUARNIERI, "Il movimento", p. 505 and *Speculum*, p. viii-ix.

⁶¹ Cf. *Speculum*, p. viii-ix. It is titled: *Iste liber vocatur speculum simplicium animarum* (fol. 1r). The two Italian scribes wrote folios 1r-11v and 12r-55r, respectively.

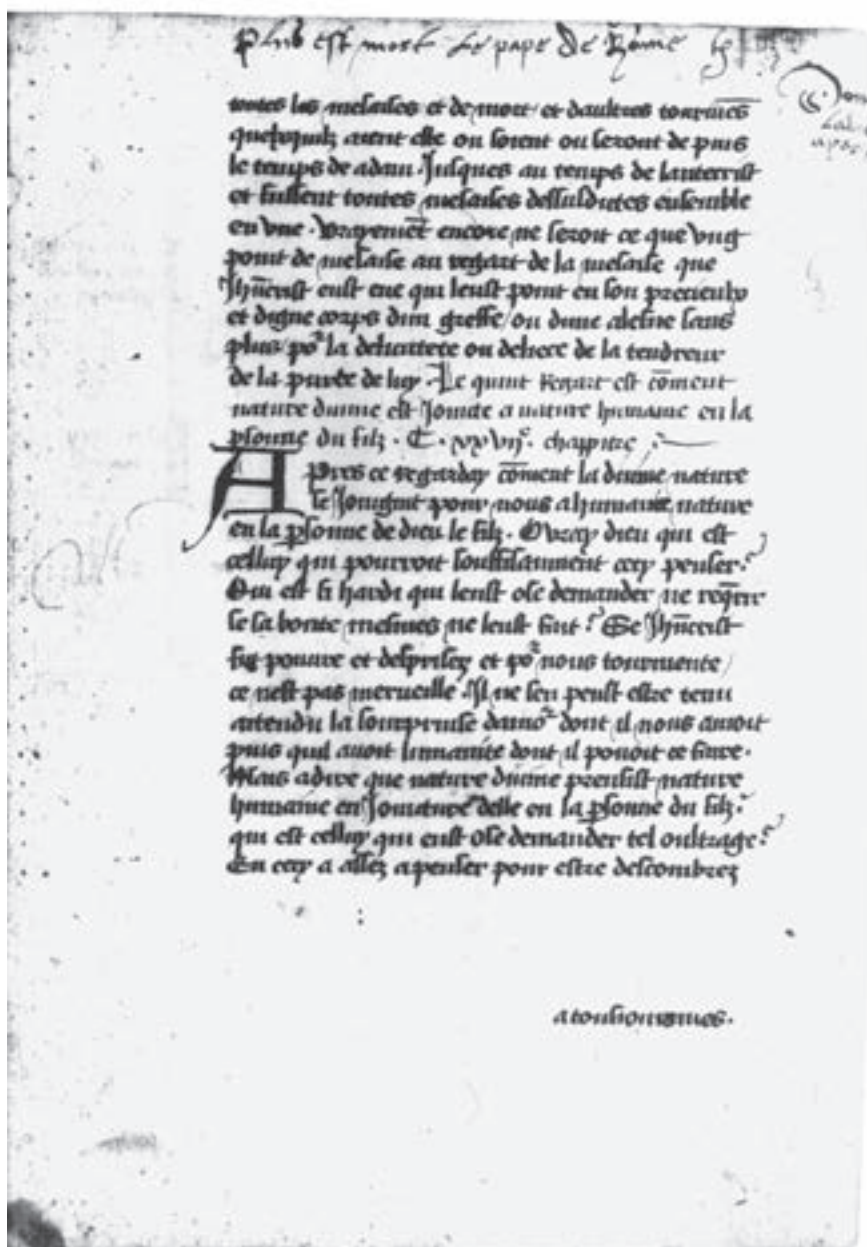


Figure 3: Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. F XIV 26, Cat. 157, fol. 109v
 © Bibliothèque et archives du château de Chantilly

work and, inside these boundaries, the text fills the pages densely, with very few separations such as blank lines or clear indentations.⁶² The most significant divisions are some unexecuted initials, which leaves a blank space to be filled with the decorated letter plus a previous line break.⁶³ Furthermore, chapter titles and labels with the names of the allegorical characters are elided in this version. On the other hand, the text is full of abbreviations, which might indicate well-educated users with a high level of literacy.⁶⁴ The notes are neatly written in the margins using a more cursive, but very possibly contemporary letter, inserted later into the copy.⁶⁵

Of course, due to the difficulties in decoding allegorical dialogue in such a plain codex, many of these marginalia have to be considered examples of “practical annotation”, which indicates where *Raison* asks something and where *Amour* answers her, or which locates the explanation of each one of the nine points about “*pacem caritatis in vita adnichilata*” [the peace of charity in annihilated life].⁶⁶ However, a large amount of the marginalia is clearly not doing this. These notes do not improve readability, but they could have arisen from a personal work in / with the text (if we take for granted the idea of the “reader notes”) or they drive navigation through it in very specific ways (and, therefore, shape its interpretation), ones inserted in the codex as reader notes. The notes are distributed throughout the whole manuscript and they show not only a deep understanding of the text, but also a very positive response to it. The numerous *Nota bene*, for instance, reveal the annotator’s intense interest in the *Mirror*, because they not only mark a passage, but promote access to it in later readings (by the same or other users).⁶⁷ More specifically, there are explicit evaluations of the text, for example on folio 15r, where it is written: “O quam bene dicit!” [Oh how well said!] referring to a passionate discourse by “Amour” directed to Christ; or on folio 9r, commenting on the comparison of the Soul’s nature with the four elements, the annotator wrote: “Bonum exemplum ad propositum” [Good exemplum for the topic].⁶⁸

⁶² The two rubrics are the “Incipit” on folio 1r and the “Explicit” on folio 55r.

⁶³ To the non-executed initials noted by Verdeyen in *Speculum*, p. ix (folios 1r, 2r, 47r and 54v), should be added: two in 43v (marking the beginning of the important chapter 118, where the book speaks about the seven degrees of love, and the second degree), 44r (third degree of love), two in 44v (fourth and fifth degrees) and two in 46r (sixth and seventh degrees).

⁶⁴ TROMBLEY, “The Latin Manuscripts”, p. 190.

⁶⁵ I thank Elizabeth Brown for this information.

⁶⁶ The explanation for which Reason asks and the answer of Love in form of “puncta” are on folio 4v, with the annotation: “Nota declarationem”.

⁶⁷ On the *nota bene*, see GARCÍA-ACOSTA, “Forgotten Marginalia”, p. 424-425.

⁶⁸ See a reproduction of folio 15r in GARCÍA-ACOSTA, “Forgotten Marginalia”, p. 425.

Beyond the *Nota bene* and the brief evaluations of some passages, a specific way in which the annotator(s) of A work with the text of the *Mirror* is “rebuilding textual material”, as part of what I have classified as “hermeneutic functions” (see Figure 1). As has been noted, on some important occasions the prose of the *Mirror* has a very strong rhythmic pattern, which plays with parallelism and repetition, creating a sort of poetic prose inside the allegorical dialogue. As many other of her contemporaries, Marguerite and her character of *Amour* sometimes sing, and not only speak. Howsoever these compositions may have been presented in the lost original, they are confused in bigger blocks of prose in both the French and Latin versions. However, some users of A recreate or simply remark those patterns by visually reorganizing the text in the margins.⁶⁹ Of course, this is a practice related not only with a restoration of the oral character inherent to the book, but also with the mnemonic implications of reading in fourteenth-century Italy.

Finally, **D** is a pocket-size codex (140 × 100 mm) which encompasses a miscellany, a fruit of the re-binding of different spiritual treatises, some prayers, and two recipes.⁷⁰ The *Mirror* is written in four quires (folios 93-140) which, along with two quires more (folios 141-152) are made with a shorter paper than the rest of the manuscript (147 mm long), which could make us consider an earlier, independent existence.⁷¹ A note in the folio 140v informs the reader about the place where the copy was made and gives a date: the *Sacro Speco* of Saint Benedict in Subiaco: “Copiatur fuit in Sacro Specu Sancti Benedicti et finitus 1521 et die 5 novembris” [This was copied at the Holy Cave of Saint Benedict and completed on November 5 1521]. Both the origin of this manuscript and a note which comments on a controversial passage point to the possibility that this was a sort of draft related to an unspecified printing plan.⁷² The letter, defined by Verd-

⁶⁹ See an example with an analysis and a reproduction of the folio 22v in GARCÍA-ACOSTA, “Forgotten Marginalia”, p. 424-426.

⁷⁰ D was manufactured by re-binding booklets which pertained to different books. Therefore, the volume contains five *libelli*: *Nota brevissima totum psalterium referentes ad Christum* (folios 1-40), copied in a seventeenth century Italian script; a miscellany of devotional texts specified in a table on folio 41r (folios 41r-92v); the *Mirror*, titled in fol. 93r: *Speculum animarum simplicium in vountate et desiderium morantium. Alias Anima adnichilata* (folios 93r-140v); *De ignoto Deo inter Gentilem et Christianum Dyalogus* by Nicholaus Cusanus (folios 141r-143r) in one hand, probably of the eighteenth century; and some prayers and two recipes in French (folios 143v-152v). I thank Elizabeth Brown for her help in completing this information. Descriptions of the codex: GUARNIERI, “Il movimento”, 505 and *Speculum*, p. ix.

⁷¹ Cf. *Speculum*, p. xi.

⁷² *Speculum*, p. xi. There is additional information supporting this hypothesis in other marginalia. On folio 126v, we can read: “Credo quod non probaretur hic libellus pro typo, quia nimis altus pro simplicioribus vel quasi scandalosus” [“I believe that this little book

eyen as a “lettre gothique, cursive et textuelle”, is clear but tiny, the words are heavily abbreviated, which points to a highly learned reader, capable of working with a *Mirror* with such characteristics.⁷³ The copy seems to have been realized by one hand for the entire *Mirror*, but the annotations belong to different hands. The characteristics of this codex related to its proportions (specifically, the diminutive size of both the codex and the letter), the humble materials with which it was manufactured and, perhaps, its original idiosyncrasy as a working document gives it a very poor, but very used aspect. Moreover, at a certain point the scribe declares that the original manuscript from which he is coping the text has *lacunae* in different parts due to mice, which he marks with a blank line and a new paragraph.⁷⁴

As we have observed in some other cases, in the *Mirror*'s Latin tradition this multiplies the “practical notes” as necessities for “fixing” the text but, at the same time, we can find a large group of “hermeneutical annotations” as well. This is exactly what happens in D: its thin margins are full of material. Due to their functional or clearly controversial character, some notes have been transcribed and commented by modern scholars; some of them were even edited by Verdeyen in the critical apparatus. For example, one annotation which reinforces the negative character of some of the “scandalous” statements is located on folio 139v: “Difficile est ad credendum seu intellegendum” [This is difficult to believe or understand].⁷⁵ This note indicates the next passage in the D version: “Et ideo habet a Deo id quod habet; et est id quod Deus est propter mutationem qua amore eam mutavit et reduxit ad illum punctum quo erat, antequam a Dei bonitate manasset” [And whatever she has, she got it from God; and she is what God is, as a result of the transformation (by means of love) in which He transformed her and reduced her to the state she was in before she had flowed out from God's goodness].⁷⁶ Of course, the author of the note recognized here the *reditus* of the Soul in the form deification, a very controversial topic related to the errors condemned at Vienne and one of the traits of the Free Spirits.

would not be approved for printing, because (it is) too elevated for simpler people, or almost scandalous”]. The note is indicating a very controversial passage of the *Mirror*: its comments about the biblical proverb “septies in die cadit iustus”. Cf. KERBY-FULTON, p. 276.

⁷³ *Speculum*, p. xi. I thank Elizabeth Brown for this observation.

⁷⁴ Folio 127v: “Hic mures roderunt originale et sic accidit aliis in locis similibus” [Here mice gnawed the original and the same thing happened in other similar places].

⁷⁵ *Speculum*, p. 397.

⁷⁶ We found “quasi scandalosus” on fol. 106v in the outer margin and “Videtur haec expositio esse contra omnes doctores” on fol. 107r. For a commentary on these notes, see Trombley, “The Latin Manuscripts”.

As we know, historically the *Mirror* was judged and condemned as a heretical book and to understand its doctrines in the context of the theological landscape of the fourteenth century onwards has been one important line of research. However, in this article I have shown examples (which can be reinforced by the information provided in the transcription) where the contents of Porete's book were very positively evaluated. Perhaps CH is the greater of these examples, circulating inside a convent with margins indicating "beautiful" (*belle*) or "joyful" (*joyeuse*) passages; places at which to laugh ("C'est pour rire"); or which urge one to "Note the great marvelous thing that the Soul is saying": "Notez grant merveille que dit l'Ame" (folio 35v).⁷⁷ In this sense, the majority of marginalia found in D are not controversial at all: they are, mostly, *Nota bene* or they indicate simply the location of a topic or an image in the text. Therefore, they should be considered as practical notes. However, the simple act of indicating a passage through a *Nota bene* (literally, "pay deeper attention" or "focus") should be considered an indicator of interest in the passage, more than a recrimination against it.⁷⁸ From a diachronic point of view, annotation in D (even in A) seems more related to the processes of copying and addition in CH, than with the inquisitorial or controversial marks found in F or B.

3. Conclusions

The appearance of new contexts of interpretation related to medieval spirituality and, in particular, to the *Mirror*, has created new necessities within the scholarly community, including renewed tools of study. In this sense, the trilingual edition by Guarnieri and Verdeyen must be updated. In general, the concept of manuscripts as containers of valuable characteristics necessary for a correct hermeneutical analysis (and, at the same time, de-emphasizing the chimeric search for the philologically "perfect text") is essential, especially in a case like Marguerite's in which the heretical character of the book was one of the main causes for her process and execution.⁷⁹ In this context, we must focus on the annotations as significant pieces or, in some cases, systems of information, because despite their anonymity, they permit us to investigate the circulation of the treatise, or allow for a particular, historically determined decoding.

⁷⁷ The complete quotes are "Notez ycy belle matere" [Note here: beautiful topic] (fol. 29v); "Notez ceste matere, car elle est joyeuse a oir" [Note this topic, because it is joyful to hear] (fol. 33v) and "C'est pour rire" [This is a joke] (fol. 35r).

⁷⁸ On the *nota bene* and its functions, see Schipper, p. 27.

⁷⁹ In the "Introduction" of the *Mirouer / Speculum*, p. vi, Guarnieri and Verdeyen talk about "retrouver autant que possible le texte original de Marguerite Porete", that is to say to restore the text of the lost autograph in the original Picard using the text of the extant manuscripts.

As shown in these pages, for instance, CH can be understood not just as a linguistically and geographically annotated variant, but as a specific reading device that was viewed and handled by its historical users in specific ways. In this sense, the tools developed by the schools of thought in the history of reading (together with other traditional fields such as codicology and paleography) allow us to review the Latin and French traditions in search of a wider understanding not only of the manuscripts themselves, but also the works that they contain. In particular, for revising our approaches to the *Mirror*, marginalia are fundamental in manifold senses. First, they reopen and broaden a history of reception of the *Mirror* where the categories of orthodoxy and heterodoxy should be reviewed, taking into account the extant materials. In the case of the reception of Porete's book as heretical, significant research has been made and the results are concrete.⁸⁰ However, the perspectives of the *Mirror* as a devotional text (that is to say, the uses of the book as, for instance, a mystagogical treatise) have not been explored yet.⁸¹ Second, for a history of reading linked to the history of production of the manuscripts, CH, D and A are very important pieces of information, because their marginalia allow us to hypothesize the origins and original uses of these codices. In this sense, the marginalia could help to clarify the filiation between manuscripts: not only between the extant ones, but also between those extant and the now lost exemplars which were used to produce them.⁸² Here, there are especially suggestive environments of interpretation. For example, the links which D establishes with the printing press in the *Sacro Speco*, or the circulation of CH inside the walls of the convent of La Madeleine in Orléans.

Finally, to open, reopen, and go deeper into these lines of research it is essential to take a first step by transcribing the marginalia and making them accessible to the international scholarly community. The following work of transcription and cross-reference should be useful for working with both the Brepols standard edition and for direct consultation of the manuscripts.

4. Transcription

The only editor of the *Mirror* who showed any interest in publishing systematically its annotations was M. de Corberon, who in 1955 started to publish in *Études Traditionnelles* (the famous journal of the René Guenon

⁸⁰ See, for instance, TROMBLEY or KERBY-FULTON.

⁸¹ Sargent points to both these avenues, "The Continental Latin", p. 96.


⁸² For an analysis on the circulation of the lost and extant manuscripts, see KOCHER, "The Apothecary's".

milieu which specialized in esoteric and metaphysical topics) a comprehensive transcription of CH, in which he intended to include an *a fronte* Modern French translation of the original text, an interpretative apparatus of notes, and the majority of the marginalia included in the manuscript.⁸³ Despite the fact that philology was not the specialization of the journal, the edition of de Corberon was an interesting attempt (careful in many ways) to restore the immediate codicological context in which Marguerite's work was inserted in CH. His incomplete edition has to be viewed as an early attempt not only to present the *Mirror* to the public, but also to do it while also extracting most of the information present in the folios.⁸⁴ Unfortunately, de Corberon did not finish this work and in 1958 he published his last piece of research, which culminated in the edition of the chapter XXXI of the *Mirror*.

As said previously, my transcription is intended to complete the editions of the French and Latin manuscripts of the *Speculum simplicium animarum* / *Mirouer des simples ames* which Romana Guarnieri and Paul Verdeyen published in the Brepols series CCCM (volume LXIX) in 1986. Therefore, it links a specific codex with a chapter, page and line of the printed edition, that is to say the transcribed information preceding each marginalia links the position of the annotation in the manuscript with its location in the printed book. The format used should be read as follows:

F. (= folio): **1** (= Order of appearance of the note from top to bottom; the annotations in the outer margin are always numbered first), **line / lines** (= line in which the annotation is written in the manuscript) [**marks XX-XX**] = group of lines related explicitly with the annotation; *Speculum simplicium animarum* / *Mirouer des simples ames* **chapter: page: line.**

The annotations generally are found in the outer margin of the folio. If there are exceptions or different margins contain information, it will be marked as follows: [**right**] = **right margin**; [**left**] = **left margin**; [**bottom**] = **lower margin**; [**top**] = **upper margin**. If the annotator explicitly relates the note to a long passage, I use [**marks XX-XX**], where XX-XX is the length of the relevant passage given in lines. The symbol [+] will be used to indicate explicit relationship between different annotations.

Concerning the graphic symbols, manicules are, by far, the most common ones (especially in the Chantilly manuscript). In this sense,  will

⁸³ De Corberon edited chapters 1 to 31 of the French text of CH in fourteen issues of *Études traditionnelles* from number 322 (March 1955) to number 349 (September-October 1958). I thank Zan Kocher for this reference.

⁸⁴ The French traditionalist says about the *maniculae* (p. 51): "... ces mains désignent tells lignes ou paragraphes plus particulièrement dignes d'attention". However, strangely, they are absent from his margins.



be used as a symbol which makes reference to a manicule in the manuscripts, and it is followed by a superscript number to both individualize it and to order its appearance on the page. Other marks (for instance, signs in the margin used for interrelating two passages in different folios or iconography), will be described between square brackets, for example [cross+two inscribed circles].

I have not transcribed corrections from the copyist or addenda included in the standard edition, but only unedited marginalia. I have tried to transcribe transparently and helpfully, allowing the modern reader to figure out as accurate as possible what, where, and how it is found in the manuscripts. In this regard, I have expanded the abbreviations, but always with squared brackets. I use the sign / to mark a line break in the annotation. If the new line starts with a new word, I have left a space before and after the sign. If the line continues an unfinished word I do not include those spaces. Additionally, I have normalized u to v when it is intervocalic; added [,] to mark vocative or elements in a list and [!] when the expression is emphatic. In very rare cases, < > is added when we complete a word by inserting letters.











In the case of the Chantilly manuscript I have conserved the original orthography of the notes (except in the cases explained in the previous paragraph), in that it would be helpful in any attempt of commenting on their age or comparing their French with that of the main text: in this regard, apostrophes and accents are not used. However, following the guidelines of Romana Guarnieri's edition I have added capitals when the note speaks about an allegorical character (Raison, Amour, Virtues...) or Dieu.







In manuscript A textual diagrams with parallel columns are found, normally in the lower margin, giving back the text's rhythmic patterns, connecting certain parts, or placing emphasis on a structure lost in the prose. I try to reflect these relations in the transcription. In this sense (*column 1*) = column 1, (*column 2*) = column 2, etc.



4.1. Transcription of the annotations in Chantilly, Musée Condé, F XIV 26 (formerly #986), Cat. 157

- F. 9r: 1, lines 2-5; 1: 14: 49: Querez ces / sept estres ou / CXVIII^e chapp[itre] / de ce livre
 2, line 9 [marks 12-13]; 2: 14: 7: A tel signe. [cross+two inscribed circles]⁸⁵
 3, lines 11-13; 2: 14: 8: No[tez] ce qui est dit ou XII^e chapp[itre]
 4, line 12; 2: 14: 7: ¹
- F. 9v: 1, lines 5-6 [marks 6]; 3: 16: 15: Durus est / hic s[er]mo
 2, line 9; 3: 16: 18: ¹

⁸⁵ Cross-reference, see folio 18r.

- 3, [right], line 4; 3: 16: 14: ²
- F. 10r: 1, line 2; 4: 18: 11: ¹
 2, lines 7-9; 4: 18: 16: No[tez] Charite / est sage mar/chande
 3, lines 16-18 [marks 17]; 5: 18: 5: No[tez] q[ue] ces IX poins / sont
 declarez en le / XI^e chapp[itre]
 4, lines 20-24 [marks 23]; 5: 20: 14: No[tez] q[ue] lAme est / adnien-
 tie q[uan]t elle na point / de voulente / que soubz Dieu
 5, line 26; 5: 20: 17: Com[m]ent lAme / a six ales
 6, [left] lines 18-20; 5: 18: 4: Ente[n]des / tout se/nement
 7, [left] line 21; 5: 20: 11: ²
- F. 11v: 1, lines 16-18; 7: 24: 2: Querez la decla/racion de cecy / ou XIII^e chap
 p[itre]
 2, line 26; 7: 26: 13: No[tez] le bien de / l'Ame qui est / adnientie
- F. 12r: 1, lines 13-16; 7: 26: 27: No[tez] que lAme / adnientie ne / scait plus
 de / Dieu parler
- F. 12v: 1, lines 18-21; 8: 30: 23: No[tez] du danger / en quoy sont / les Ames
 qui / encores se[r]ve[n]t / aux Vertuz
- F. 13r: 1, lines 4-5; 8: 30: 34: Helaz po[ur] Dieu / notez bien[!]
 2, line 5; 8: 30: 29: 35: ¹
 3, lines 24-26; 9: 32: 11: No[tez] de quoy / telles Ames vivent
 4, line 25; 9: 32: 11: ²
- F. 13v: 1, lines 6-8; 9: 32: 19: Cecy est declare / ou XIII^e chapp[itre]
 2, lines 13-15; 9: 32: 25: No[tez] telles Ames / nont point de / soing
 3, [right] line 13; 9: 32: 25: ¹
 F. 14v: 1, lines 11-12; 11: 36: 6: Querez les ou V^e / chappitre
 2, lines 16-17; 11: 36: 12: Le p[re]mier / point
 3, lines 24-26; 11: 38: 19: No[tez] q[ue] p[ar] peche / ceste Ame est /
 moins q[ue] nient
- F. 15r: 1, lines 5-7; 11: 38: 28: Le II^e point est q[ue] / lAme se saulve de/ foy
 sans œuvres
 2, line 19; 11: 40: 42: Le III^e point
- F. 15v: 1, lines 2-4; 11: 40: 51: Le quart. / Ceste ne fait / rien po[ur] Dieu
 2, line 3; 11: 40: 53: ¹
 3, line 13; 11: 40: 62: Le V^e
 4, lines 22-25; 11: 42: 70: Le VI^e / No[tez] q[ue] on ne / luy peut /
 rien apren/dre
 5, line 22; 11: 42: 70: ²
 6, [right], line 13; 11: 40: 62: ³
- F. 16r: 1, line 3; 11: 72: 77: ¹
 2, lines 11-13 [marks 14]; 11: 42: 84: Le VII^e. No[tez] q[ue] on / ne
 luy peut rien / tollir
 3, line 20; 11: 44: 92: Le VIII^e

- F. 16v: 1, line 2; 11: 44: 99: ¹
 2, lines 4-5; 11: 44: 101: Qui poterit / cape[re] capiat ⁸⁶
 3, line 9; 11: 44: 107: ²
 4, lines 10-12; 11: 44: 106: No[tez] q[ue] nul ne peut / actaindre a
 divine / amo[ur] par cognois/sance seulement
- F. 17r: 1, lines 18-21; 11: 46: 135: No[tez] q[ue] de la divine / bonte ne peut /
 nul parler sans / y faillir
 2, [bottom] [marks 26, 'Car...']; 11: 46: 142: ¹
- F. 17v: 1, lines 11-13; 11: 48: 151: Conclusion q[ue] on / ne peut rien / doner
 a / telle Ame
 2, line 16; 11: 48: 158: Le IX^e
 3, lines 20-22; 11: 48: 161: Ceste Ame / na point de / voulente
- F. 18r: 1, line 20; 11: 48: 161: ¹
 2, line 3; 12: 48: 3: XII^e
 3, lines 20-23; 12: 50: 18: Cecy est declare / en la fin de ce / p[rese]nt
 chappitre./ A tel signe [sign: cross+two inscribed circles] ⁸⁷
 4, lines 25-26; 12: 50: 22 : Entendeme[n]t de / Raison ne peut co[m]-
 prendre le IX^e/ point. [sign: circle+inscribed cross] ⁸⁸
 5, [left], line 14; 12: 50: 12: ²
- F. 18v: 1, lines 8-11; 12: 50: 28: No[tez] q[ue] lestre do[n]t il / p[ar]le ycy est
 Inno/cence co[mm]e il app[er]t / ou XXIX^e chapp[it]re / A tel
 signe [sign: circle+cross+circle] ⁸⁹
 2, lines 13-15; 12: 50 :32: Entendeme[n]t de / Divine Amour / len-
 tend bien
 3, lines 22-23; 12: 52: 43: No[tez] bien car / il est subtil a / entendre
- F. 19r: 1, lines 12-14; 12: 52: 55: Response ad ce q[ue] / Raison a dit deva[n]t /
 a tel signe [sign: circle+inscribed cross] ⁹⁰
 2, [left], line 12; 12: 52: 55: ¹
- F. 19v: 1, lines 9-10; 13: 54: 18: No[tez] ycy le nom de / ce livre
- F. 20r: 1, lines 3-5; 13: 56: 34: No[tez] selon le [con]seil de / Raison quelle
 chose / on doit desirer
 2, lines 19-21; 13: 56: 46: No[tez] q[ue] Foy et Amo[ur] / sont
 maistresses / de Raison
- F. 20v: 1, lines 8-10; 13: 58: 57: Telles Ames / ont aussy cher / Ho[n]te
 co[mm]e Hono[ur]

⁸⁶ Given its position, this annotation must be explicitly related with the content marked by ¹ and ².

⁸⁷ Cross-reference, see folio 9r.












⁸⁸ Cross-reference, see folio 19r.

⁸⁹ Cross-reference, see folio 32v.










⁹⁰ Cross-reference, see folio 18r.

- F. 21r: 1, lines 1-4; 13: 58: 73: Telles Ames / ayme[n]t aussy / cher adv[er]site
co[mm]e p[ro]sperite
2, lines 17-18; 13: 60: 86: No[tez] que qui a / Dieu il a tout
3, line 18; 13: 60: 86: ☛¹
4, [left], line 1; 13: 58: 73: ☛²
- F. 21v: 1, lines 15-16; 14: 62: 15: Croire Dieu est / vraie c[on]templacion
- F. 22r: 1, lines 3-5; 15: 62: 9: No[tez] merveilhez / du sacrement / de lautel
2, lines 14-17 [marks 18]; 15: 62: 21: No[tez] en q[ue]lle mani[er]e /
lumanite de Jesus / et la vierge Marie / et les anges voie[n]t / ce
sacrement
- F. 22v: 1, lines 22-23; 15: 64: 46: No[tez] le bien de gra[n]t / sens naturel
2, [right], line 18; 15: 64: 45: ☛¹
- F. 23r: 1, lines 6-8; 15: 64: 54: Cognoissance et / lumie[re] viene[n]t /
dAmo[ur]
2, line 7; 15: 64: 55: ☛¹
3, lines 20-26 [marks 25-26]; 16: 64: 8-14: No[tez] q[ue] lAme veult /
tout [+] Et si ne / veult nient
4, line 25; 16: 64: 8-14: ☛²
- F. 23v: 1, lines 8-10; 16: 66: 20: LAme ne desire / ne messes ne / sermons
2, lines 20-23; 16: 66: 30: LAme si na / mesaise de / peche quelle / fist
oncques
3, [right], line 19; 16: 66: 30: ☛¹
- F. 24v: 1, lines 4-6; 17: 70: 11: No[tez] q[ue] on nose / p[ar]ler app[er]te-
me[n]t / de telles Ames
2, lines 10-12; 17: 70: 19: Telles Ames / ne peue[n]t avoir / soing de
le[ur] vie
3, lines 23-25; 17: 70: 27: No[tez] de la gra[n]t / charite de telles /
Ames
- F. 25r: 1, line 3; 17: 70: 33: ☛¹
2, lines 13-15; 17: 72: 41: No[tez] q[ue] sans remors / on doit prendre
ce / q[ui] est a na/ture neccessaire
- F. 25v: 1, line 25; 19: 74: 10: ☛¹
- F. 26r: 1, line 1-4; 19: 74: 10: LEglise gouv[er]nee de Raison / sesbahist de
tel/les Ames
2, lines 25-26; 76: 19: 30: Les Vertuz sont / faictes po[ur] telles /
Ames
- F. 26v: 1, [right], line 8; 19: 76: 39: ☛¹
- F. 27r: 1, line 1; 20: 78: 14: ☛¹ 91

⁹¹ The manicule has been drawn behind the annotation, so it is later.

- 2, lines 2-4; 20: 78: 15: Les co[m]paignes / de telles Ames / les
cognoissent
- F. 27v: 1, lines 1-3; 21: 80: 12: No[tez] q[ue] les Vertuz / obeisse[n]t a telles /
Ames
- F. 28v: 1, lines 5-6; 22: 82: 13: No[tez] q[ue]lle pre[n]t co[n]ge de nature
2, lines 16-19; 22: 84: 22: No[ta] no[ta] no[ta] q[uod] qui / parva
desiderant/ n[on] su[n]t digni mini/ma adipisci[!]
3, [right] line 3; 22: 82: 11: ¹
- F. 29r: 1, lines 14-15; 23: 86: 16: No[tez] q[ue] lAme / est yvre
- F. 29v: 1, line 1; 23: 86: 27: ¹
2, lines 10-11; 26: 86: 34: No[tez] par / similitude [+]
3, lines 15-19 [marks 10-21]; 26: 86: 37-43 [iconography: barrel]⁹² [+]
4, lines 20-21; 23: 88: 43: No[tez] ycy belle / matere
5, line 20; 23: 88: 43: ²
6, [right], line 10; 23: 86: 34: ³
- F. 30r: 1, line 6; 23: 88: 53: No[ta] bene
2, lines 12-14; 24: 88: 3: No[tez] q[ue] cecy est / declare ou / XXIX^e
chappit[re]
3, lines 25-26; 24: 90: 16: Telles Ames / so[n]t seules et / co[m]mu[n]es
- F. 30v: 1, lines 1-2; 24: 90: 18: No[tez] q[ue] elles sont / seules et co[m]mu[n]es
2, line 3; 24: 90: 19: ¹
3, line 18; 25: 90: 10: No[tez] q[ue] celluy qui / sart na mie froit
4, line 18; 25: 90: 10: ²
5, lines 24-25; 25: 92: 14: De igne Amoris
- F. 31r: 1, lines 21-22; 26: 92: 7: No[tez] q[ue] telle Ame / est clere en cog/
noissance
2, line 23; 26: 92: 10: ¹
- F. 31v: 1, lines 9-10; 27: 94: 5: Amo[ur] fidelis / no[n] q[ue]rit co[n]so/
laciones
2, lines 15-16; 27: 94: 11: No[ta] bene
3, line 21; 27: 94: 15: No[ta] q[ui] bene amat / m[er]cedem no[n]
q[ue]rit
4, line 21; 27: 94: 15: ¹
5, [right], line 9; 27: 94: 5: ²
6, line 16; 27: 94: 11: ³
- F. 32r: 1, line 19; 28: 96: 9: ¹

⁹² For an analysis of this page, including the drawing of the barrel, see Pablo GARCÍA ACOSTA, *Images for Deification: Visual Literacy in Marguerite Porete's Mirror of Simple Souls*, in *Exploring Visual Literacies Inside, Outside and Through the Frame* ed. by Aundreta CONNER FARRIS and Frida PATTENDEN (Oxford, 2012), p. 123-132.










- F. 32v: 1, lines 12-16; 29: 96: 8: Ad ide[m] sup[ra] / capp[itul]o XII^o / [sign: circle+cross+circle]⁹³ / Ex[emplu]m
- F. 33r: 1, line 12-13; 30: 98: 19: No[tez] ycy belle / matere
2, line 18; 30: 98: 25: ¹
- F. 33v: 1, lines 12-14; 30: 100: 42: No[tez] ceste mat[er]e / car elle est /joyeuse
a oir
2, lines 19-21; 30: 100: 47: Cest ung / argument / joyeux
3, line 19; 30: 100: 48: ¹
- F. 34r: 1, lines 22-25; 31: 102: 10: En co[m]paignie / damy et damye / no doit
point / avoir seig[nur]ie
- F. 34v: 1, lines 3-4; 31: 102: 16: Amo[ur] apaise / ceste Ame
2, lines 10-11; 31: 102: 22: LAme argue fort / co[n]tre Amour
- F. 35r: 1, lines 4-5; 31: 104: 39: Cest po[ur] / rire
2, line 10-13; 31: 104: 45: No[ta] q[uod] nichil de / Deo verius dici /
p[otes]t quam q[uod] est in/co[m]prehe[n]sibilis
3, line 16; 31: 104: 49: ¹
4, [left] line 4; 31: 104: 39: ²
- F. 35v: 1, line 4; 32: 106: 9: No[tez]
2, line 4; 32: 106: 9: ¹
3, lines 26-28; 32: 106: 27: No[tez] gra[n]t mer/veille que dit / lAme
- F. 36v: 1, line 12; 33: 110: 14: ¹ ⁹⁴
2, lines 14-16; 33: 110: 14: No[ta] q[uod] ma/iora / dedit De[us] a[n]i-
[m]e n[ost]re / q[uam] cor/pori suo / p[ro]prio
- F. 37r: 1, lines 6-8; 34: 110: 7: No[ta] q[uod] nichil meli[us] / q[uam] sua[m]
miseriam / cognoscere
2, line 16; 34: 112: 14: No[ta] bene
3, lines 24-25; 34: 112: 22: No[tez] ycy merveilles
4, line 24; 34: 112: 22: ¹
5, [left], line 6; 34: 110: 7: ²
6, [left] line 11; 34: 112: 11: No[tez]
7, [left] line 16; 34: 112: 14: ³
- F. 38r: 1, lines 1-2; 35: 114: 10: No[tez] devant ou / XXXJ^e. chappit[re]
2, lines 4-7; 35: 114: 12: LAme dit q[ue] Dieu / ne ama oncq[ue]s /
nulle chose sans / elle
3, lines 9-11; 35: 114: 16: Raison repret / lAme de ce que / elle a dit
4, lines 17-19; 35: 114: 25: Com[m]ent lAme / dit q[ue] Raison est /
ennuyeuse
5, lines 25-26; 35: 114: 31: Istud facit ad / p[ro]po[s]itu[m] de pre/
destinacione

⁹³ Cross-reference, see folio 18v.



⁹⁴ The annotation is written behind the manicule, so it is later.

- 6, line 25; 35: 114: 31: ☛¹
 7, [left] line 1; 35: 114: 8: ☛²
- F. 38v: 1, lines 7-15; 35: 116: 38: No[ta] q[ui] bene amat. / [+] No[ta] bene /
 [+] no[n] obedit/ Racioni
 2, lines 17-18; 35: 116: 47: Raison p[ro]met / obedience a ceste / Ame
 3, [right] line 14; 35: 116: 45: ☛¹
- F. 39r: 1, line 2; 36: 116: 13: ☛^{1 95}
 2, lines 4-5; 36: 116: 13: Rudis est / Racio
 3, lines 11-14; 36: 118: 17: No[ta] n[ihi]l aliud / vult A[n]i[m]a nisi /
 q[uo]d vult ipse Deus
 4, [left] line 11; 36: 118: 17: ☛²
- F. 39v: 1, lines 9-11; 37: 118: 10: No[ta] q[uod] p[er] p[unc]t[u]m / cognos-
 cit[ur] Dei/n[omi]na
 2, lines 16-17; 37: 120: 15: Qui caritate[m] / h[abe]t nu[m]q[uam]
 h[a]b[e]t / scrupulum
- F. 40r: 1, lines 14-16; 38: 120: 7: Po[ur] nulle mise/⟨ri⟩corde on ne peut /
 recouvrer le/ te[m]ps passe
- F. 41r: 1, lines 12-13; 39: 124: 28: No[ta] q[uod] sine discrec[i]one / debet
 esse Amo[r]
 2, [left], line 13; 39: 124: 28: ☛¹
- F. 41v: 1, line 5; 40: 126: 11: ☛¹
 2, line 7; 40: 126: 8: Abysme / en / humilite
 3, lines 22-24; 41: 128: 5: No[tez] en ce chap/pitre belle ma/tere
- F. 42r: 1, lines 15-16; 41: 128: 23: Qui Amore morit[ur] / no[n] cognoscit
 Rac[i]onem / neq[ue] natura[m]
 2, lines 18-20; 41: 130: 27: Telle Ame ne / veult ne ne refuse / Paradis
 ne Enfer
 3, line 19; 41: 130: 27: ☛¹
 4, [left], line 15; 41: 128: 23: ☛²
- F. 42v: 1, line 21; 42: 130: 20: ☛¹
- F. 43r: 1, lines 23-24; 43: 132: 24: Amo[ur] appelle / Raison borgne
 2, [left], line 24; 43: 132: 24: ☛¹
- F. 43v: 1, lines 12-13; 43: 134: 37: Bonne volente / est repute[e] po[ur] œuvre
- F. 44r: 1, lines 6-7; 43: 134: 53: Amo[ur] ne peut estre / guerdonnee que /
 dAmour
 2, lines 12-13; 43: 134: 55: Non est ta[n]ta vis / sicut Amoris
 3, line 10; 43: 134: 55: ☛¹
- F. 44v: 1, lines 12-14; 44: 136: 23: Telles Ames / nont point / de volente
- F. 45r: 1, lines 16-17; 45: 138: 12: No[tez] bien car il / est subtil

⁹⁵ The subsequent annotation is written on the manicule (or vice versa).

- 2, [left], line 16; 45: 138: 12: ¹
- F. 46v: 1, lines 3-5; 47: 142: 15: Telle Ame ne / fait nul juge/ment sinon en / bien
2, [right], line 3; 47: 142: 15: ¹
- F. 47v: 1, lines 7-8; 49: 146: 17: No[tez] ycy gra[n]t / chose
2, [right], line 7; 49: 146: 17: ¹
- F. 48r: 1, lines 6-7; 50: 148: 13: No[tez] ycy / merveilles
2, line 6; 50: 148: 13: ¹
- F. 48v: 1, [top]: Ledons le [...] chouses⁹⁶
2, lines 1-3; 51: 150: 9: Quel bien / cest se cog/noistre nient
3, lines 19-21; 51: 152: 24: Amo[ur] appelle / ceste Ame pre/cieuse
Hester
4, [right], line 1; 51: 150: 9: ¹
- F. 49r: 1, lines 17-18; 52: 152: 15: No[tez] cest exemple
2, [left], line 17; 52: 152: 15: ¹
- F. 50r: 1, lines 4-6; 53: 156: 8: Les demandes / de Raison ont / gaste ce livre
- F. 50v: 1, lines 23-24; 55: 158: 8: De celles qui / vivent de vie / de perfection
- F. 51r: 1, [left], line 15; 55: 160: 24: ¹
- F. 52r: 1, lines 19-21; 57: 164: 11: Les marriz sont / plus a louer q[ue] / les periz
- F. 52v: 1, lines 1-3; 57: 164: 19: Pour quoy ilz / sont pl[u]s sages / q[ue] les periz
2, lines 17-18; 57: 166: 32: Nient vouloir / est le plus droit / chemin
- F. 54v: 1, lines 9-11; 59: 172: 26: LAme sexcuse / des fors mots / q[ue]lle a baillez / a entendre
- F. 55r: 1, lines 15-18; 60: 174: 23: No[tez] q[ue] par le Loing/pres est entendue / la T[ri]nite com[m]e tu / orras ycy apres
- F. 56v: 1, lines 8-9; 61: 178: 37: Notez bien car / il est bien fort / a entendre
- F. 58r: 1, lines 10-11; 64: 184: 3: Nul ne goust de / vie desperit sil nest / mort de mort desp[er]it
- F. 59v: 1, lines 9-10; 67: 190: 5: Notez cecy car / il est subtil
- F. 61r: 1, line 12; 69: 196: 37: ¹
2, line 20; 69: 196: 44: B[e]n[e] no[ta]⁹⁷
3, line 26; 69: 196: 49: ²

⁹⁶ There is an unclear central part of ± 5 letters. It could say: 'Le double des chouses'. This hand seems to be different to the rest of the annotations and the same as that on folio 109v [top] and 110r [bottom]. See above, p. 363.

⁹⁷ For its position, this annotation is explicitly related with the content marked by ¹ and ².

- F. 62v: 1, lines 22-23; 72: 200: 22: Notez q[ue] en vie / desperit est encore /
voulente
- F. 63r: 1, lines 16-18; 72: 202: 41: La difference et / nom de Ame et / nom de
desperit
2, line 22; 72: 202: 47: ☛¹
3, line 23; 72: 202: 47: No[tez]
4, [left], line 23; 72: 202: 47: ☛²
- F. 63v: 1, lines 14-16; 73: 204: 15: Amo[ur] mo[n]stre a / verite une Ame /
ainsi p[ar]faicte
2, line 23; 73: 204: 22: ☛²
- F. 64v: 1, lines 2-3; 74: 206: 8: Telle Ame a nom / pure[,] celestielle et /
espouse de paix
- F. 65r: 1, line 16; 75: 208: 29: ☛¹
2, line 22; 75: 210: 34: ☛²
3, line 24; 75: 210: 35: No[tez]⁹⁸
4, line 26; 75: 210: 37: ☛³
- F. 66r: 1, line 25-26; 77: 214: 19: No[tez]
2, [left], line 24; 77: 212: 17: ☛¹
- F. 66v: 1, lines 6-8; 77: 214: 25: Garder q[ue] pour / nulle chose Amo[ur] /
ne soit escondite
- F. 68v: 1, line 2 [marks 1-5]; 78: 220: 29: No[tez]
- F. 70r: 1, lines 16-17; 80: 226: 12: Notez bien cecy / car il est subtil
- F. 70v: 1, line 1; 80: 228: 27: ☛¹
- F. 71v: 1, [right] line 20; 82: 232: 10: ☛¹
- F. 72r: 1, line 3; 82: 234: 19: ☛¹
- F. 73r: 1, lines 18-19; 84: 238: 14: LAme vit de vie / divine
- F. 73v: 1, lines 1-2; 84: 238: 21: Amo[ur] a fait faire / et escripre ce livre
2, lines 11-13 [marks 14]; 84: 238: 30: LAme na cure / des disciples de /
Raison
- F. 74r: 1, lines 23-24; 84: 242: 15: LAme est arse / du feu de Charite
- F. 74v: 1, lines 4-5; 84: 242: 20: Notez bien / merveilles
- F. 75v: 1, lines 9-10; 86: 246: 49: Notez ycy de / Marthe et / de Marie
- F. 76r: 1, lines 8-9; 87: 246: 11: Raison ycy / sesmerveille
2, lines 16-17; 87: 248: 20: Raison est / morte
- F. 76v: 1, lines 10-11; 88: 248: 16: Humilite est / mere des Vertuz
- F. 77r: 1, lines 9-11; 88: 250: 45: Ceste Ame est / quitte de tous / services

⁹⁸ For its position, this annotation is explicitly related with the content marked by ☛² and ☛³.

- F. 77v: 1, lines 8-9; 89: 252: 14: Ceste Ame ressem/ble a celui qui / est yvre
 F. 83r: 1, lines 15 -18; 98: 272: 13: Telles Ames / cognoistro[n]t en / ce livre
 leur / usage
 F. 84v: 1, lines 25-16; 101: 278: 18: Notez la bonte du / livre d'Amour
 F. 89v: 1, lines 25-26; 109: 296: 23: Notez belle / matere et / piteuse
 F. 91r: 1, lines 15-16; 110: 300: 27: L'Ame a p[er]du / l'usage de ses / sens
 F. 91v: 1, lines 24-25; 111 : 302: 22: No[tez] que nous / avons franche / vou-
 lente
 F. 94r: 1, lines 7-13 [marks 7-13]; 116: 310: 16-23: Raison est / borgne [+]
 Notez bien / pour quoy
 F. 97r: 1, line 7; 118: 320: 44: No[tez]
 2, line 24; 118: 322: 59: No[tez]
 F. 107v: 1, lines 15-17; 124: 360: 120: Notez bien / car il est / subtil
 F. 108v: 1, lines 6-7; 126: 362: 7: Notez bien[,]/ bonnes pucelles
 F. 109r: 1, lines 5-7; 126: 364: 28: Contre ceulx / qui ne vuellent / pardonner
 2, lines 12-14; 126: 364: 34: Helaz notez / bien orgueilleux[!]
 F. 109v: 1, [top]: plus est mort le pape de Rome⁹⁹ [+]
 2, [right], lines 1-2; 126: 366: 46: Domine / labia mea / aperies¹⁰⁰
 F. 110r: 1, [bottom]: [...] gl[ori]a Deo¹⁰¹
 F. 113v: 1, line 25; 131: 382: 61: Notez
 F. 114r: 1, lines 2-10 [marks 2-10]; 131: 382: 63- 70: ycy [+] m[er]veillez
 F. 116v: 1, lines 8-10; 133: 192: 7: Notez qui / sont les / marriz
 F. 117r: 1, lines 14-16; 133: 392: 33: Notez bien / car il est / subtil

4.2 Transcription of the annotations in Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. Lat. 4355 (Verdeyen's A)

- F. 1v: 1, line 21-23; 3: 17: 1: Ma[n]data ecc[lesi]e / custodie[n]da q[ua]li[te]r /
 iste Amor dicit esse [...] ¹⁰²
 F. 2r: 1, lines 7-8 [marks 7-20]; 4: 19: 1-21: No[ta] de p[ro]p[i]etatib[us] /
 p[er]f[ec]te [c]a[r]itatis
 2, lines 23-24, 5: 19: 1: ¶ No[ta] de vita q[ue]]/ d[ic]itu[r] pax

⁹⁹ This hand seems to be different to the rest of the annotations and the same as that on folio 48v [top] and 110r [bottom].

¹⁰⁰ This hand seems to be different to the rest of the annotations and the same as that on folio 48v [top] and 109v [top].

¹⁰¹ Illegible fragment of ±17 letters. The hand is perhaps the same as that on folios 48v, 109v and 110r.

¹⁰² Illegible fragment of ±16 letters.

- 3, [bottom]No[ta] de t[a]li / A[n]i[m]a / q[ue] p[er] fide[m] non /
 potest salvari sin[e] / op[er]ib[us] [cum] i[m]pu/gnatores
 (column 1): No[ta] ista nove[m] pu[n]cta:
 T[a]lis A[n]i[m]a n[o]n p[otes]t i[n]veniri
 q[ue] salvet[ur] p[er] fidem sine op[er]ib[us]
 q[ue] sola sit i[n] Amore
 q[ue] n[ichi]l faciat p[ro]p[ter] Deu[m]
 n[e]c a[l]i[qui]d dimmitat p[ro]p[ter] Deu[m]
 (column 2): q[ue] Deum no[n] possit edoce[r]i
 cui n[ichi]l possit auferri
 nec a[l]iqui[d] dari
 q[ue] n[ull]am pe[n]itus h[ab]eat vo[lunta]tem.
 Declar[at]io[n]em isto[rum] puncto[rum] vide ait 3 car[ta]si-
 q[ue]ntes
- F. 2v: 1, lines 3-5; 5: 21: No[ta] quo[d] A[n]i[m]a i[n] vi/ta pacis h[ab]et
 VI / alas [et] [est] Sera/phym
 2, line 12; 5: 23: 34: No[ta]
 3, lines 25-26 [marks 25-29]; 6: 25: 1-19: No[ta] quo[d] A[n]i[m]a
 ser/vit V[ir]tutibus [+]
 4, lines 30-31 [marks 32-34]; 6-25: 12: ¶ [Et] quo[d] lib[er]a / [est] a
 Virtutib[us]
- F. 3r: 1, line 1; 7: 25: 2: ¶ No[ta] a q[ui]b[us] p[ri]vat[ur]
 2, lines 19-20; 7: 27: 29: Servat ma[nda]tum / Ecc[lesi]e h[ec] A[n]i-
 [m]a
 3, lines 22-23; 8: 29: 1: ¶ Ob[iec]tio [contra] A[n]i[m]a / q[ue] lice[n]-
 tiavit V[ir]/tutes¹⁰³
 4, line 29; 8: 29: 9: R[espons]io
- F. 3v: 1, line 2 [m: 2-8]; 8: 29: 15-24: No[ta] to[tu]m
 2, lines 11-12; 8: 31: 29: No[ta] q[ue] t[alite]r q[ue]ru[n]t V[ir]/tutes
 3, lines 21-22; 8: 31: 41: No[ta] quo[d] et qu[ando] A[n]i[m]a d[o]-
 nat[ur] V[ir]tutib[us]
 4, lines 31-33; 9: 33: 9: R[at]io d[i]ct[orum] q[ua] t[a]lis / A[n]i[m]a
 n[ull]am h[ab]et vo[lunta]tem / et sol[u]m v[i]vit de amore / et
 laude di[vi]na
- F. 4r: 1, lines 6-7; 9: 33: 19: ¶ No[ta] q[uod] tal[is] si[n]e / rimorsu o[mnia]
 op[er]at
 2, ll- 18-19; 9: 35: 32: ¶ q[ua]li[ter] istud do[nu]m / datur
 3, lines 25-26 [m: 25-33]; 10: 35: 3-11: No[ta] 12 no[mina] isti[us] /
 A[n]i[m]e

¹⁰³ With this symbol (¶) the change of paragraph is marked, for instance with the answer of an allegorical character. In *Speculum*, Verdeyen follows the majority of these indications.

- 4, [left] lines 6-7; 9: 33: 18: No[ta] de Anima intellige[n]te [+] ¹⁰⁴
- F. 4v: 1, line 8; 37: 11: 10: No[ta] declar[ati]o[n]em
 2, line 9; 11: 37: 10: P[ri]mi puncti
 3, line 20; 11: 39: 28: Decla[ra]tio 2ⁱ
 4, line 31; 11: 41: 44: Decla[ra]tio 3ⁱ
- F. 5r: 1, line 2; 11: 41: 51: Decla[ra]tio 4ⁱ
 2, line 8-9; 11: 41: 62: Decla[ra]tio 5ⁱ
 3, line 14; 11: 43: 71: Decla[ra]tio 6ⁱ
 4, line 22; 11: 43: 84: Decla[ra]t[i]o 7ⁱ
 5, line 25; 11: 45: 91: Decla[ra]tio 8ⁱ
- F. 6r: 1, line 8; 11: 49: 150: ¶ Decla[ra]tio 9ⁱ pu[n]cti
 2, line 20; 12: 51: 10: No[ta] ob[ie]ctionem / R[ati]o[n]is
 3, line 31; 12: 51: 26: R[esponsi]o
- F. 6v: 1, line 4; 12: 51: 31: A[ltera] r[esponsi]o
 2, lines 20-21; 13: 53: 1: ¶ Pet[i]t R[ati]o decla[ra]/tio[n]em punc-
 to[rum]
 3, line 26; 13: 55: 9: R[esponsi]o Amo[ri]s
 4, [bottom]:
- | | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| <i>(column 1)</i> | <i>(column 2)</i> | <i>(column 3)</i> | <i>(column 4)</i> |
| t[a]lis A[n]i[m]a | curam | co[n]solat[i]onem | h[abe]t t[ame]n |
| n[on] habet | solicitu[di]nem | desolat[i]onem | to[tu]m [et] n[ichi]l |
| | verecu[n]diam | amore[m] | h[abe]t |
| | honore[m] | odium | scit o[mni]a [et] |
| | paup[er]tate[m] | I[n]fernu[m] | n[ichi]l scit |
| | divitias | P[ar]adisum | om[ni]a vult [et] |
| | | | n[ichi]l vult |
| | | | [et] m[u]lta si[mi]lia |
- F. 7r: 1, lines 5-6; 13: 57: 28: R[ati]o n[on] val[e]t / i[n]te]lig[e]re hoc
 2, line 22; 13: 57: 51: Amor d[ici]t
 3, line 25; 13: 59: 55: No[ta] r[ationem] Am/oris
 4, [left] lines 19-21; 13: 57: 46: q[ue] s[un]t illa p[ro]p[ter] q[ue] /
 A[n]i[m]a h[abe]t lice[n]tia[m] / facie[n]di q[ui]cq[ui]d / s[ib]i
 placet
- F. 7v: 1, line 3; 13: 59: 69: No[ta] d[e]clar[at]i[o]n]em [et] / bona[m]
 2, line 11; 13: 61: 81: Additio R[ati]o[n]is
 3, line 13; 13: 61: 84: R[esponsio] Amo[r]is
- F. 8r: 1, line 7; 16: 65: 1: ¶ D[e]cla[ra]t[i]o q[uod] A[n]i[m]a / scit to[tum]
 et ni[chi]l scit
 2, line 19; 16: 67: 17: ¶ Quo[d] n[on] desid[er]at / missas

¹⁰⁴ This manicule, explicitly related to the note, points to the passage: ‘in imitation amoris ubi huius’.

- 3, line 23; 16: 67: 23: No[ta] bona[m] ratione[m]
 4, lines 26.27; 16: 67: 27: ¶ Q[uod] n[on] habet tristi[ti]am / de alicuo
 p[er]cc[at]o q[uod] unq[uam] / [com]mis[er]it
 5, line 29; 16: 67: 31: No[ta] d[e]clat[i]o[n]em
- F. 8v: 1, line 9; 16: 69: 51: d[e]clat[i]o pu[n]cti
 2, line 28; 17: 71: 25: No[ta] i[n]tellect[um] v[er]bo[rum]
- F. 9r: 1, line 3; 17: 73: 35: ¶ Bo[nu]m ex[emplu]m ad p[ro]po[situ]m
- F. 9v: 1, line 15; 20: 77: 1: ¶ Petit[i]o R[ati]o[n]is
 2, line 18; 20: 79: 5: R[esponsi]o Amo[r]is
- F. 10r: 1, lines 6-8 [marks 3-12]; 21: 79: 2: No[ta] quo[d] / accep[i]t lice[n] /
 tiam a V[ir]tut[us]
 2, line 28; 21: 83: 38: ¶ i[n]t[er]rogat[i]o
- F. 10v: 1, lines 10-11 [marks 11-17]; 22: 83-85: 10-17: No[ta] de [con]dit[i]o-
 [n]ibus h[ab]et / A[n]i[m]e
 2, lines 24-25; 23: 85: 2: No[ta] quo[d] ista A[n]i[m]a / appodiat se
- F. 11r: 1, line 3; 23: 87: 21: ¶ i[n]t[er]r[og]at[i]o R[ati]o[n]is
- F. 11v: 1, line 12; 25: 91: 1: ¶ i[n]t[er]r[og]at R[ati]o
 2, line 13; 25: 91: 3: ¶ R[esponsi]o Amo[r]is
- F. 12v: 1, lines 1-2; 28: 97: 1: ¶ A[n]i[m]a man[et] i[n] gau[di]o / et c[u]m
 n[ullu]m g[a]u[d]ium se[n]tit
 2, lines 20-21; 29: 99: 10: No[ta] ex[emplu]m quo[d] h[ec] A[n]i[m]a
 / facit q[ui]d[ui]d vult
 3, line 30; 30: 99: 14: No[ta] q[ui]d d[icit] Amor
- F. 13r: 1, lines 6-7 [marks 5-25]; 30: 99-101: 25-51: No[ta] p[er]lchram al[ter]i
 r[ation]em
 2, line 20; 30: 101: 50: No[ta] bonas ra[tion]es
- F. 14r: 1, line 3; 32: 107: 1: No[ta] quo[d] A[n]i[m]a / i[n]sanit
 2, line 10; 32: 107: 12: ¶ No[ta] bona[m] r[ati]o[n]em
 3, lines 22-23; 32: 107: 24-40: ¶ No[ta] p[er]fec[t]um sta[tu]m h[ab]et
 A[n]i[m]e
- F. 14v: 1, lines 20-21; 33: 111: 24: No[ta] A[n]i[m]e i[n]t[er]r[og]at[i]o[n]em
 2, lines 22-23; 34: 111: 1: R[esponsi]o
- F. 15r: 1, line 1; 34: 113: 18: O qua[m] b[e]n[e] d[icit]t[!]
 2, line 11 [marks 8-13]; 34-35: 113-115: 26-2: No[ta] to[tu]m
 3, line 20; 35: 115: 13: ob[ie]ctio
 4, line 22; 35: 115: 16: R[esponsi]o
- F. 21r: 1, lines 14-15; 55: 159: 5: No[ta] de duplici mo[dus] / vive[n]di
 2, line 16; 55: 159: 6: p[ri]m[us] [et] vide to[tu]m
 2, lines 21-22; 55: 161: 15: hic
 3, line 29; 55: 161: 24: No[ta]

- F. 21v: 1, line 1; 56: 163: 1: ¶ Q[ue]rela V[ir]tutum
2, line 22, 57: 165: 1: ¶ de r[ati]o mo[dus] vive[n]di
- F. 22r: 1, line 1, 57: 165: 19: No[ta] r[ati]o[n]em bona[m]
- F. 22v: 1, lines 20-21 [marks lines 19-24]; 59: 171: 1-9: No[ta] de t[ri]plici /
vita
2, [bottom]:
No[ta] de vita gr[ati]e q[ue] nas[ci]t[ur] i[n] morte pec[cat]i
de vita sp[iritu]s q[ue] nas[ci]t[ur] i[n] morte nature
de vita di[vi]na q[ue] nas[ci]t[ur] i[n] morte sp[iritu]s
- F. 23r: 1, lines 4-6 [marks lines 4-8]; 60: 173: 2-6: ¶ No[ta] q[uod] t[ri]b[us] /
mortib[us] o[portet] / mori
- F. 24r: 1, lines 7-9 [marks lines 4-10]; 62: 181: 13-22: No[ta] hic / [com]
par[a]ti[o]n]em / de vita gr[ati]a]e / et vita sp[iritu]s
- F. 25v: 1, line 24 [marks 24-34]; 69: 195: 30-44: No[ta] to[tum]
- F. 26r: 1, lines 3-4 [marks 3-6]; 197: 69-70: 50-52 *et* 1-2: ¶ No[ta] quo[d]
h[ec] A[n]i[m]a / i[n]ve[n]it d[o]m[ini] u[bi]q[ue]
- F. 26v: 1, lines 8-10; 72: 201: 12: No[ta] q[uod] ang[e]li ma[lo] p[ro]p[ter]
sua[m] vo[lunta]tem / p[er]diderunt di[vi]nam / bo[n]itatem
2, lines 28-30; 72: 203: 38: No[ta] cui h[oc] nom[en] / A[n]i[m]a
e[st] p[ro]p[ri]um [et] / cui nom[en] sp[iritu]s
- F. 27r: 1, lines 13-15; 73: 205: 18: No[ta] de A[n]i[m]a i[n] / sta[tu] n[ichi]
litis [ve]l gl[ori]e
2, lines 31-32; 74: 207: 8: de no[m]i[n]e talis / A[n]i[m]e
- F. 27v: 1, line 4; 74: 207: 14: No[ta] de Ma[r]ia de / pace i[n] i[s]ta A[n]i[m]a
2, lines 10-12; 75: 209: 5: No[ta] de tra[n]sfig[ura]t[i]o[n]e / q[ui]a
n[on] fueru[n]t so[lum] / 3^{es} discip[u]li
3, line 24 ; 75 : 209 : 24: q[ui]a i[n] mo[n]te t[ran]sfig[ura]t[ur]
4, line 26; 75: 211: 27: q[ui]a q[uod] n[ichi]l dicer[en]t
5, lines 30-31; 76: 211: 1: No[ta] bo[num] ex[emplum]
6, line 34; 76: 211: 5: Hic no[ta]
- F. 28r: 1, lines 3-6 [marks 1-7]; 76: 211 6-16: No[ta] i[s]ta ex[empl]a / q[uod]
A[n]i[m]a lib[er]a / n[ec] vanagl[ori]am / n[ec] verecundiam /
h[ab]et de a[liqu]o
2, line 16; 77: 213: 5: bona r[ati]o
- F. 30v: 1, lines 32-34; 82: 233: 1: No[ta] q[uod] a 4^{or} / laterib[us] h[ab]et h[ec]
c A[n]i[m]a li[b]ertatem / [et] p[u]lcre
- F. 31r: 1, line 4; 82: 233: 13: 2^m
2, line 9; 82: 235: 21: 3^m
3, line 11; 82: 235: 25: 4^m
4, line 21; 82: 235: 36: No[ta] b[e]n[e]
5, line 30; 82: 237: 45: vide ex[em]p[l]a de/c[la]r[ati]va
- F. 31v: 1, lines 18-19; 84: 239: 10: ¶ q[ua] vita vivit / A[n]i[m]a talis

- F. 32r: 1, line 22; 85: 243: 16: vide hic b[e]n[e]
2, line 28; 86: 243: 4: decla[ra]tio
- F. 32v: 1, line 3; 86: 245: 14: ex[em]p[l]um p[re]d[ic]t[orum]
2, lines 25-26; 86: 247: 45: No[ta] de ex[empl]o de Mar[tha] et Ma[r]ia
- F. 33r: 1, line 1; 87: 247: 1: No[ta] p[ro]p[ri]etates / h[uius] A[n]i[m]e
- F. 33v: 1, lines 13-14; 89: 253: 4: I[s]ta A[n]i[m]a n[on] h[ab]et / de q[uod] p[er]ccet
- F. 34r: 1, lines 15-17; 90: 257: 24: No[ta] de vita / sp[iritu]s q[ue] s[cilicet] vi/vu[n]t
2, lines 22-23; 90: 257: 35: No[ta] de statu li/b[er]tatis
- F. 34v: 1, line 34; 93: 261: 5: No[ta] de Magda/lena
- F. 35r: 1, line 10 [marks 4-11]; 93: 261: 9-19: de b[ea]ta V[ir]gine
- F. 35v: 1, line 26; 96: 267: 1: No[ta] b[e]n[e]
2, line 31; 9: 267: 7: Ex[emplu]m p[ro]pter q[uod] f[a]c[t]us / fu[i]t i[s]te liber
- F. 36r: line 16; 97: 269: 2: No[ta] ad p[ro]p[ositu]m de/ latrone i[n] cruc[e]m
- F. 37r: 1, line 8 [marks 7-11]; 100: 275: 1-7: No[ta] de angelis [+]
2, line 11; 100: 275: 5: ad p[ro]p[ositu]m
2, line 28; 100: 277: 25: de A[n]i[m]a lib[er]a
- F. 38r: 1, 12-14; 103: 281: 23: Male i[n] t[a]l[ite]r id / septies i[n] die / cad[et] iustus et / r[ati]o[n]em assignat
- F. 38v: 1, lines 16-18 [marks 16-34]; 105: 287: 1-23:
No[ta] v[er]a[m] expo[siti]onem / septies i[n] die cad[et] iustus
- F. 39r: 1, lines 25-26; 106: 291: 28: No[ta] sum[m]am i[n] t[em]p[or]e r[ati]o[n]at[i]o[n]em
2, line 27; 107: 291: 1: P[ri]mu[m]
3, line 31; 107: 291: 6: 2^m
- F. 39v: 1, lines 18-19; 108: 293: 18: No[ta] q[ua]m obligat[ur] / A[n]i[m]a p[ro] uno p[er]c[re]a[t]o
2, line 33; 108: 295: 36: No[ta]
- F. 40r: 1, line 2; 108: 295: 43: hic b[e]n[e]
- F. 42r: 1, line 2; 115: 309: 4: No[ta] de t[ri]b[us] p[ar]t[i]s
- F. 43v: 1, lines 16-17; 118: 217: 1: No[ta] de 7^{em} sta/tib[us] [et] p[u]lcre
2, line 19; 118: 319: 1: Pr[i]m[us]
3, line 34; 118: 319: 26: 2^{us}
- F. 44r: 1, line 10; 118: 321: 29: ¶ 3^{us} stat[us] v[er]l / grad[us]
- F. 44v: 1, line 1; 118: 323: 67: 4^{us}
2, lines 26-27; 118: 325: 96: 5^{us}
- F. 45v: 1, line 1; 118: 329: 143: 4^{us}
2, line 27; 118: 331: 174: 5^{us}

- F. 46r: 1, line 1; 118: 331: 184: 6^{us}
2, line 26; 118: 333: 211: 7^{us}
- F. 47r: 1, lines 13-15; 123: 349: 10: ¶ No[ta] a[li]c[ua]s i[n]t[e]r[r]o/gat[i]o-
[n]es sp[irit]ua/les q[ua]s A[n]i[m]a fac[it]
2, line 16; 123: 349: 10: P[rima]
3, line 26; 124: 351: 1: 2^a me/ditat[i]o
- F. 47v: 1, line 1; 124: 351: 10: 3^a
2, line 21; 124: 353: 34: No[ta] ex[emplu]m
3, line 34; 124: 355: 49: No[ta] de [bea]ta / Ma[r]ia Magda/lena
- F. 48r: 1, line 5; 124: 355: 55: No[ta] de Magda/lena
- F. 48v: 1, line 24; 124: 361: 114: Alia medita/tio
- F. 49r: 1, lines 13-14; 126: 365: 10: No[ta]
2, line 16 ; 126: 365: 12: No[ta] de Bap[tis]ta
3, line 23; 126: 365: 21: hi[c] no[ta]
4, [left], line 7; 126: 363: 1: ¶
5, [left], line 9; 126: 363: 4: ¶
- F. 49v: 1, line 12; 127: 367: 1: ¶
2, line 29; 128: 369: 1: ¶
- F. 50r: 1, lines 23-28; 129: 373: 10: No[ta] 7 r[e]sp[ec]t[us] / d[ic]t[arum]
[con]side[r]at[i]o/num / pri[mu]s, / 2^{us}, 3^{us}, / 4^{us}, 5^{us}, / 6^{us}, / 7^{us}
2, line 4; 128: 371: 12: ¶
3, line 11; 128: 371: 21: ¶
4, line 16; 129: 371: 1: ¶
- F. 51r: 1, [top]:
¶ No[ta] ista q[ue] A[n]i[m]a i[n] alt[issimo] Dei amore potu[m]
veller pot[ius] / qua[m] offend[er]e D[o]m[in]i v[e]l sui seu [con-
tra] aut preter divi[n]am vo[lunta]tem¹⁰⁵
2, line 1; 131: 377: 6: 1
3, line 3; 131: 377: 9: 2
4, line 6; 131: 379: 13: 3
5, line 11; 131: 379: 19: 4
6, line 13 131: 379: 22: 5
7, line 19; 131: 379: 29: 6
8, line 24; 131: 381: 35: 7
9, line 27; 131: 381: 40: 8
10, line 30; 131: 381: 45: 9
11, line 34; 131: 381: 50: 10

¹⁰⁵ This sentence is very unclear. An alternative reading, proposed by Zan Kocher in private correspondence, would be: ¶ No[ta] i[s]ta q[ue] a[n]i[m]a i[n] alti[ssi]m[o] dei amore vo[lun]ta nell[et] poti[us] qua[m] offend[er]e d[eu]m al[is] su[mm]i cui n[ature] aut p[re]tet divi[n]am vo[lunta]tem.



- F. 51v: 1, line 4; 131: 383: 57: ¶
 2, line 9; 131: 383: 62: ¶
 3, line 21; 131: 385: 77: hi[c] no[ta] ¶
 4, line 25; 131: 385: 81: No[ta] to[tu]m
 5, line 32; 131: 385: 91: No[ta] i[s]ta 3^a
- F. 52v: 1, line 2; 131: 389: 8: No[ta] hic
 2, lines 10-11; 132: 391: 21: ¶ q[uod] A[n]i[m]a tal[is] d[ici]t / se
 puru[m] n[ichi]l
- F. 55r: 1, line 1; 140: 405: 9: No[ta] q[ui]s [com]posuit li[bru]m
 2, line 10; 140: 407: 20: Examin[a]t[i]o li[br]i
 3, line 14; 140: 407: 24: Id[e]m
 4, line 16; 140: 407: 26: No[ta] b[e]n[e] o[mn]i[n]o

4.3. Transcription of the annotations in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,
 Cod. Rossianus 4 (Verdeyen's **B**)¹⁰⁶

- F. 4v, lines 4-5: 1, 5: 19: 1: [cross].
 F. 6r: 1, line 11; 6: 25: 4: [cross].
 F. 8v: 1, line 4; 8: 31: 3: [cross].
 F. 9v: 1, line 17; 9: 33: 15: [cross].
 F. 11v: 1, line 5; 11: 37: 11: [cross].
 F. 12r: 1, lines 8-9; 11: 39: 28: [cross].
 F. 13r: 1, lines 20-21; 11: 41: 65: [cross].
 F. 23r: 1, line 10; 16: 67: 17: error.
 F. 23v: 1, line 1; 16: 67: 25: [cross].
 F. 24v: 1, line 15; 17: 61: 12: [cross].
 F. 25v: 1, line 4; 17: 63: 32: [cross].
 F. 26v: 1, line 14; 19: 75: 12: [cross].
 F. 29r: 1, line 3; 21: 81: 15: Nota er[rore]m.
 F. 29v: 1, line 22; 21: 83: 41: [cross].
 F. 32r: 1, lines 6-7; 23: 87: 28: [cross].
 F. 34r: 1, line 2; 25: 93: 11: [cross].
 F. 36r: 1, line 5; 27: 97: 24: [cross].
 F. 37v: 1, line 30; 99: 24: [cross].
 F. 44v: 1, line 21; 35: 115: 9: [cross].
 F. 51v: 1, lines 1-2; 43: 133: 1: [cross].
 F. 125v: 1, line 10; 117: 313: 32: [cross].

¹⁰⁶ These crosses are studied by Trombley, "The Latin Manuscripts", p. 197-198. I thank her for her help with these marginalia.

4.4. Transcription of the annotations in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,
Cod. Chigianus B IV 41 (Verdeyen's C)

- F. 51v: 1, line 11; 4: 19: 1: ¹
F. 58r: 1, line 24; 68: 193: 9: ¹

4.5. Transcription of the annotations in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,
Cod. Chigianus C IV 85 (Verdeyen's D)

- F. 94r: 1, line 2, 5: 21: 14: veritat[i]s
2, line 19; 6: 25: 4: A[nima] l[ibera]t[ur] / s[er]vitut[e]
F. 95r: 1, lines 27-28; 10: 35: 1-2: de no[mi]n[e] / h[ui]us A[n]i[m]e
F. 96v: 1, line 18; 11: 47: 134: ♀
F. 97v: 1, lines 10-12; 13: 55: 14: Nomen / h[ui]us libri
F. 98r: 1, [left], line 21; 13: 59: 73: No[ta]
F. 99r: 1, [left], line 33; 17: 71: 9: No[ta]
F. 100r: 1, [left], lines 2-3; 18: 75: 12: cito obli/visci
2, [left], line 19; 19: 77: 25: No[ta]
F. 101v: 1, lines 12-13; 23: 87: 15-16: De ebie[ta]tis / A[n]i[m]e a[m]a[n]tis
F. 102r: 1, line 27; 25: 91: 5: No[ta]
F. 102v: 1, lines 24-25; 27: 95: 1: medita[ti]o / puri A[m]oris
F. 103r: 1, line 18; 13: 97: 28: d[u]lc[i]s / muta[ti]o
F. 103v: 1, lines 3-4; 30: 99: 14: Deus e[st] i[n][com]/preh[en]sibil (sic)
F. 104v: 1, line 4; 32: 107: 9: No[ta]
2, line 17; 32: 107: 26: No[ta] / v[erbu]m A[m]oris
3, line 34; 33: 109: 5: visio[ni]s / Tri[ni]tatis
F. 106r: 1, line 34; 39: 125: 6-28: No[ta]¹⁰⁷
F. 107r: 1, lines 32-33; 41: 129: 17: A[n]i[m]a est / ubi a[m]at
F. 107v: 1, lines 32-35; 43: 133: 19-47: No[ta]¹⁰⁸
F. 108r: 1, lines 32-33; 44: 139: 23: meritu[m] / abnega / vol[unta]tis
F. 109: 1, lines 24-27; 48: 147: 26-27: Fides / et A[m]or / fa[ciun]t lib[er]/um
F. 110v: 1, lines 10-11; 53: 157: 18: No[ta] de / mortib[us]
F. 111r: 1, lines 30-31; 56: 163: 23-25: No[ta] de / A[m]ore
F. 112r: 1, line 9; 59: 169: 6-7: ap[er]tura
2, line 30; 58: 171: 35-36: pastum / glo[ri]osum
3, lines 32-34; 59: 171: 1-4: tripli / mors / et vita
F. 112v: 1, lines 16-17; 60: 173-74: tripli / mors

¹⁰⁷ The last three lines of the folio and the first nine of the following one are underlined.

¹⁰⁸ The first fifteen lines of the following folio are underlined.

- 2, lines 29-30; 60: 175:21: sa[n]guinei / et colle[ric]i
- F. 113r: 1, line 8; 61: 177: 1: Status
2, lines 24-26; 61: 177: 8: Lo[n]ge p[ro]/p[i]mq[uu]m quid e[st]
- F. 114v: 1, line 4; 66: 191: 16: scola / di[vin]a
2, lines 20-22; 68: 191: 1: A[n]i[m]a i[n] / unita/s Tri[nitate] [est]
- F. 115r: 1, lines 23-25; 68: 193: 10: No[ta] / b[es]tia[l]is
- F. 115v: 1, lines 1-4; 70: 197: 3: No[ta] / ubi sit/ Deus
2, 72: 201: 8-17¹⁰⁹: No[ta] de casu angelo[rum]
- F. 116r: 1, lines 18-21; 72: 203: 39-43ss: No[ta] b[e]n[e] / qu[ando] A[n]i[m]a /
sit spi[ritu]s
2, lines 22-32; íd: 43 + 73: 205: 1-2: mors s[piritu]s
3, line 33; 73: 205: 6: no[ta] sit
- F. 117r: 1, line 6; 211: 75: 28: No[ta]
2, lines 32-34; 77: 213: 11: dispone/ri se gra[tia] / dat[u]r
- F. 117v: 1, lines 5-6; 77: 215: 24: v[ir]tutes s[un]t / nun[t]ii A[m]o[r]em
2, line 21; 77: 217: 46: No[ta]
- F. 118r: 1, line 17; 78: 221: 22: atho/mos
2, line 30, [left]; 78: 223: 39-40: No[ta]
- F. 118v: 1, lines 5-6 ; 79: 223: 13: Q[ui] totu[m] dat / totu[m] h[a]b[e]t
- F. 119r: 1, lines 6-7; 80: 227: 13: No[ta] / de vo[lunta]te
- F. 119v: 1, line 11; 81: 231: 21: No[ta]
2, lines 24-26; 82: 233-235: 1: 4^{or} lat[era] / nobi[l]is / A[n]i[m]e
- F. 120r: 1, lines 11-14; 82: 235-237: 41: Ex[emplu]m / de flume[n] / mare /
intrans[e]
- F. 121r: 1, lines 8-9; 86: 245: 15: No[ta] / ex[emplu]m
- F. 121v: 1, lines 22-23; 249: 88: 5: m[ate]r pacis
2, lines 25-26; 88: 249: 11: Humilitas / m[ate]r V[ir]tutu[m]
3, lines 29-30; íd: 17: Humilitas / m[ate]r V[ir]tutu[m]
- F. 122r: 1, line 11-13; 89: 253: 5: difficil[em] / cred[e]r[e] h[ic] / punt[us]
- F. 122v: 1, line 3; 90: 255: 10: No[ta]
2, lines 12-28; 90: 257: 24: No[ta] / ordin[e]m / p[er]fecti/onis
- F. 123r: 1, line 7; 91: 259: 26: Sex[tus] sta/tat[us] (sic)
2, lines 33-34; 93: 261: 7: gloriosa / vita
[right], line 31; 93: 261: 5: de Ma/gdalena
- F. 123v: 1, line 5; 93: 263: 15-16: No[ta]
2, lines 7-8; 93: 263: 18: de v[ir]gi[n]e / Ma[ri]a
3, line 17; 94: 263: 5-6: No[ta]

¹⁰⁹ The note is in the bottom margin, but annotating lines 32-36 and lines 1-6 of the following folio.

- F. 124r: 1, line 7; 95: 265: 1: patria V[irtu]tum
2, l, 7: [right]; 95: 265: 4: No[ta]
- F. 124v: 1, lines 9-10; 97: 269: 3: de bono / latrone
2, lines 29-31; 97: 271: 27: Amor est / a[u]ctor isti[us] libri
- F. 125r: 1, line 10; 98: 273: 9¹¹⁰
2, line 15; 98: 273: 15: No[ta]
3, lines 19-23; 98: 273: 20: qui s[un]t / aut fu/turi s[un]t / isti[us]
e[ss]e cog[no]sce[ru]nt
4, lines 26-27; 99: 275: 5: sa[n]gui[nei] / vel col[eri]ci
5, lines 31-32; 100: 275: 1: Ang[e]lo[rum] / differ[enti]a
- F. 125v: 1, line 9; 100: 277: 17-18: creden[di]
2, line 23; 101: 277: 2-3: No[ta]
3, lines 35-36; 101: 279: 15-16: No[ta] de / libro vite¹¹¹
- F. 126r: 1, line 23; 102: 281: 9: No[ta]
2, lines 29-30; 102: 281: 16: nullus def/ect[us] par/vus¹¹²
3, line 35; 103: 281: 1: No[ta] [+] [bottom]: Septies in die ca[dit] iu[s-
tus] quo[d] intellige[re] v[olunt]atis
- F. 126v: 1, lines 2-17: Credo quod non probaretur hic libellus pro typo, quia
nimis altus pro simplicioribus vel quasi scandalosus¹¹³
2, lines 33-36; 105: 287: 1: [septi]es in die / cad[i]t i[us]t[u]s
- F. 127r: [top]: Videtur haec expositio esse contra omnes Doctores¹¹⁴
- F. 127v: 1, lines 5-12: hic mures / roderunt originale / et sic accidit aliis in locis
similibus¹¹⁵
2, lines 23-25; 108: 293: 7: No[ta] / de bo[nitat]is / miliora / bo[n]o
fa[cen]do
- F. 128r: 1, line 9 [left]; 108: 295: 41: No[ta]
- F. 128v: 1, lines 12-13; 109: 299: 50: qui no[n] vult / no[n] peccat
2, lines 24-25; 110: 301: 9-11: Ingeniu[m] / Intellect[u]s / notitia
- F. 129v: 1, line 2; 112: 305: 5: unde A[m]or / manat
2, line 14; 113: 307: 14: De[us] e[st] q[uo]d / de se e[st]

¹¹⁰ Unidentified symbol.

¹¹¹ The note marks the following fragment in the main corpus: 'Quia ille liber est talis conditionis', but the reference to the 'libro vitae' is in f. 126r, line 7; 101: 279: 27.

¹¹² The sentence to which the annotation makes reference is in line 14; 102: 281: 13-14: 'Nullus est defectus qui parvus sit', but the development of this idea starts where the note is located.

¹¹³ Cf. *Speculum*, p. IX.

¹¹⁴ Referring to chapter 105, which starts on folio 126v of manuscript D; 105: 287: 2.

¹¹⁵ Cf. *Speculum*, p. IX. From this folio onwards the text contains *lacunae*, marked with blank lines.

- F. 130v: 1, lines 6-7; 117: 313: 12-13: magis / pauperitas / de[be]t ele[mosy]na
[dari]
- F. 131r: 1, lines 17-19 [left]; 117: 317: 70: forti[us] / co[n]vertit / i[n] se
min[us] / forte
2, lines 27-29 [left]; 117: 317: 83-84: de i[m]p[er]f[ec]t[i]o / ad p[er]-
f[ec]t[u]m
3, lines 36-3 [left]; 118: 319: 8: prim[us] / stat[us]
4, lines 18-19[right]: forti[us] co[n]ver/tit q[uod]¹¹⁶
- F. 131v: 1, line 11; 118: 319: 27: 2^{us}
2, line 20; 118: 321: 39: 3^{us}
- F. 132r: 1, lines 5-6 [left]; 118: 323: 67: 4^{us}
2, line 25 [left]; 118: 325: 96: 5^{us}
- F. 132v: 1, lines 3-4; 118: 327: 118-119: i[n]cli[n]a[tionem] ad / nihil
- F. 133r: 1, line 19; 118: 331:184: 6^{us}
- F. 133v: 1, line 6; 118: 333: 211: 7^{us}
2, lines 23-24; 119: 335: 18-19: De[us] exup[er]at/ [...] ¹¹⁷ et cogi[tatio]-
nem]
- F. 134r: 1, line 12; 121: 339: 8-10: No[ta]
2, lines 19-20; 123: 349: 1-3: inve[ne]/runt
3, [left]; 123: 349: 5-7: opti[m]e / co[n]side/rat[i]on[es]
- F. 134v: 1, lines 27-29; 124: 353: 34-36: [...] ¹¹⁸
- F. 135r: 1, lines 14-16; 124: 357: 61-63: seme[n] / recte / i[n]te[n]tion[is]
2, line 35; 124: 359: 86: No[ta]
3, [right], lines 13-14; 124: 357: 60-61: seme[n]
- F. 135v: 1, lines 20-21; 125: 361: 1: de Jo[hanne] / B[a]pt[ist]a
- F. 136r: 1, lines 28-30; 126: 367: 36-38: de co[n]si/derat[i]on[is] / Passio[n]is
2, line 2; 126: 363: 1: de vi[r]gi[n]e[m] / Ma[ria]
- F. 137r: 1, lines 13-15; 129: 373: 11-13: ad / VII / [con]sider[a]t[i]oni[b]us]
- F. 138r: 1, lines 4-5; 131: 379: 29-31: hic / conside[ratur] / vis A[m]oris
- F. 139r: 1, line 15; 133: 393: 3-4: Mesti / sunt / qui
2, lines 21-22; 133: 393: 14-15: vita lib[er]/tatis
3, lines 21-22 [left]; 133: 393: 14-15: [cross]
- F. 139v: 1; lines 28-30; 135: 397: 18: diffi[ci]l[e] e[s]t / ad crede[n]du[m] /
seu i[n]t[e]li[g]e[n]du[m]
- F. 140r: 1, line 17 [left]; 401: 138: 5: pote[n]ti/aru[m]
- F. 140v: 1, lines 9-10, 139: 405: 15-16: duo ei[us]/d[em] sp[iritu]s

¹¹⁶ Unfinished note.¹¹⁷ Illegible word of ±5 letters¹¹⁸ Illegible fragment of ±19 letters.

4.6. Transcription of the annotations in Bodleian Library, Cod. Laud. lat. 46 (Verdeyen's E)

There only remains the title page and the end of the *Mirror*, the rest having been mutilated. However, on the stubs of parchment we can note the presence of incomplete, indecipherable marginalia.

4.7. Transcription of the annotations in *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Cod. Vat. lat. 4953 (Verdeyen's F)

This manuscript is a collection of 30 extracts from the *Mirror* and has its origins in the Council of Florence. The only marginalia that it has are the words 'error' plus a number [error 1, error 2...], which serves to list, locate and number the thirty extracts next to which it is placed.¹¹⁹

Summary

This article contains three different parts: first, it presents and analyzes the main scholarship related to the edition of the text of the *The Mirror of Simple Souls* (*Speculum simplicium animarum* / *Le Mirouer des simples ames*) by the heretic beguine from Hainaut Marguerite *dicta* Porete (d. 1310). It demonstrates that despite the publication of the 1985 bilingual edition by Romana Guarnieri and Paul Verdeyen, the manuscripts of the French and Latin Continental traditions need to be examined afresh from a material point of view. Second, it describes each of the codices, gathering the information that already exists in each case, adding new findings which come from direct examination, and classifying these manuscripts according to origin, date and use. Afterwards, since each one possesses marginalia, the article places special emphasis upon analysis and commentary from the point of view of this annotation. It posits that it is essential to establish not only diverse typologies of notes in terms of their functional relationship with the main text (some of them comment, while others evaluate or guide the reader's access to the main allegorical discourse), but also to understand how these marginalia were conceived from the perspective of the history of reading and the production of the manuscripts. Third, it provides a transcription of the whole corpus of marginalia, cross-referencing the contents of the margins of the manuscripts with the 1986 *Corpus Christianorum* text.

Pablo ACOSTA-GARCÍA
Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona)
<pablo.garcia@uab.cat>

¹¹⁹ See above, p. 355.

Techniques of Compilation in Late Ancient and Medieval Historiography

Edited by P. VAN NUFFELEN, E. DELACENSERIE, P. MANAFIS

The following four papers derive from the workshop *Compilations and Excerpt Collections of Historiographical Material in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. It was to be held on 24 and 25 March, 2016 in Ghent, Belgium, but was cancelled after the terrorist attacks in Brussels on 22 March.¹ The aim of the workshop was to re-assess the role played by techniques of compilation in late ancient and medieval historiography. Their widespread presence in late ancient and medieval literature has long tended to be interpreted as a sign of the decline in literary standards. Indeed, modernity identifies individual originality as a sign of literary quality, a feature that seems absent from some late ancient historiography. By contrast, originality and individuality are usually assigned to classical historiography, which thus tends to conform the recurring presupposition that antiquity prefigures, in some way, modernity. Drawing inspiration from recent work by other scholars,² one of the aims of the workshop was to question this narrative. Compilation is, in fact, a common technique in historiography since its origins: except when dealing with contemporary events, historians tended to rely on written sources and adapted these to a greater or lesser degree so as to construct their own narrative. Compilation is, moreover, never wholly passive: it implies choices in selection and invariably entails reworking the original material into a new order and narrative. As such, it always implies an authorial voice as well as a recognition of the authority of the antecedent text. In addition, late ancient historiography is very rich in works that are original and independent and thus should find favour

¹ We acknowledge the support of the Flemish Research Fund (FWO), the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy of Ghent University and the European Research Council: The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP/2007-2013) / ERC Grant Agreement n. 313153.

² For a status quaestionis, see now the introduction in G. SWEDLER, R. SCHWITTER, and S. DUSIL, eds. *Exzerpieren - Kompilieren - Tradieren Transformationen des Wissens zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter*, Berlin, 2017.

in the eyes of modernity.³ There is, then, a degree of prejudice in the tendency to characterise Late Antiquity as a period of unoriginal *breviaria* and *epitomai*. Indeed, writing a work that was basically a compilation was clearly a matter of choice and also done by authors such as Cassiodorus, whose own voice is distinct enough in other works.

One of the foci of the workshop were excerpt collections, that is, series of lemmata drawn from one or more sources. Papers resulting from a panel on the *excerpta constantiniana* are published in *Byzantino-slavica* 75, 2017. The papers published here focus on techniques of compilation in narrative works, that is, techniques that involve cutting from an antecedent text and pasting the selections together again in order to compose a new narrative. Alexander Meeus shows that classical historians relied heavily on such techniques and that the supposed contrast with Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages is incorrect. Emerance Delacenserie compares the *Historia Tripartita* by Cassiodorus (c. 534-551) and the work that inspired him, the Church history of Theodore Lector (518). However closely related, different contexts and times generate significant differences between both. Marianna Mazzola distinguishes two phases in Syriac historiography as regards the use of compilation: chronicles from the sixth to ninth century would often paste different antecedent texts one after the other with minimal interventions. The chronicles of the Syriac renaissance (twelfth-thirteenth centuries), by contrast, aimed at producing an integrated narrative that thoroughly reworked the selected material. Finally, Stephen Rapp shows how Georgian historiography developed as a constant reworking of earlier texts, again and again adapted to the changed political and religious context. As the last two papers show, the workshop aimed at bringing scholars who work on material from the Christian Orient in dialogue with classicists and medievalists. We hope that this publication will stimulate further dialogue.

Peter VAN NUFFELEN
UGent

⟨peter.vannuffelen@UGent.be⟩

³ See the inventory in P. VAN NUFFELEN & L. VAN HOOF, eds., *Clavis Historicorum Tardae Antiquitatis*: <http://www.late-antique-historiography.ugent.be/database/>, forthcoming as a book publication (Brepols, 2018).

Compilation or Tradition? Some Thoughts on the Methods of Historians and Other Scholars in Antiquity*

Alexander MEEUS

(Mannheim)

Introduction

The compilatory method in works of history and other scholarly genres is often considered typical of Late Antiquity and especially of the Middle Ages.¹ This is rather surprising given the strikingly high number of ancient writers who have been or still are frowned upon as mere compilers, although many of them have more or less recently come to be considered authors in their own right: Diodoros, Pompeius Trogus, Didymos, Dionysios of Halikarnassos, Livy, Plutarch, Suetonius, Appian, Polyainos, Diogenes Laërtius, Pausanias, Athenaios, Apollodoros, Cassius Dio, Dexippos, and many others. These two observations suggest three things I would like to start exploring in this paper:

* I would like to thank Peter Van Nuffelen, Emerance Delacenserie and the anonymous referee for their helpful advice and criticism, and the audience who heard a very early version at a Munich workshop of the international network ‘*Historiai*. Antike Geschichtsschreibung und Vergangenheitsvorstellungen’, especially Stefan Schorn. All translations of ancient texts are from the Loeb Classical Library unless stated otherwise.

¹ See e.g. S. FEKADU, “Compilation”, in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik* 10, ed. by G. UEDING, Darmstadt, 2011, col. 482; S. F. JOHNSON, “Preface: On the Uniqueness of Late Antiquity”, in *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, ed. by id., Oxford, 2012, p. xx. P. VAN NUFFELEN, “Historiography as a cultural Practice”, in *Historiographie tardo-antique et transmission des savoirs*, ed. by P. VAN NUFFELEN, P. BLAUDEAU, Berlin, 2015, p. 15, notes that “Compilatory activity existed throughout Antiquity, but only from the fifth century onwards does it seem to become an important form of cultural expression”. While pointing out that more research on the matter is needed, he draws particular attention to the phenomenon of the compiler’s anonymity, which does seem a significant departure from the pride the so-called compilatory authors of previous centuries took in their works: for the pride of ancient compilers, see e.g. M. BEAGON, “Labores pro bono publico: The burdensome mission of Pliny’s Natural History”, in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. by J. KÖNIG, G. WOOLF, Cambridge, 2013, p. 84.

1. that compilation, though often not in the strictest sense, was a normal working method of scholars in Antiquity,
2. that the distinction between compilers and original writers therefore obscures more than it enlightens in the study of ancient and medieval scholarship that did not concern the author's present or a topic that had not been studied before,
3. that a particular author having been considered a mere compiler has to a large extent been determined by the cultural prejudice of those studying her or him.

The presence of Plutarch in this list is probably the most striking, as he is now generally considered to be a creative author, often even an interesting thinker.² Part of the explanation, no doubt, is thus to be found in the kind of questions scholars ask, i.e. in the focus on *Quellenforschung* among earlier generations and the move away from it in recent decades – far sooner for some authors than for others. Yet there obviously is more to it: the *Quellenforscher*, though overly enthusiastic in their method, were not necessarily always wrong in their conclusions. We have learnt much about Livy's own interests and historical vision from recent scholarship, but for long stretches of his narrative he still seems to have followed Polybios as a very dominant source, to give just one example.³ Nowadays, however, scholars seem to tend to the opposite extreme from the *Quellenforscher* in taking it for granted that historians, including ancient ones, mostly compare sources.⁴ It remains to be seen whether this is a valid assumption to hold about

² See e.g. C. PELLING, *Plutarch and History. Eighteen Studies*, Swansea 2002. The older view is expressed e.g. by H. NISSEN, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Quellen der vierten und fünften Dekade des Livius*, Berlin 1863, 83: "Plutarch hat seine Biographien aus Excerpten nach verschiedenen Schriftstellern zusammengestellt, aber nie diese zu einer einheitlichen selbständigen Darsetzung verarbeitet."

³ See e.g. H. TRÄNKLE, *Livius und Polybios*, Basel, 1977; D. S. LEVENE, *Livy on the Hannibalic War*, Oxford, 2010. Both scholars clearly demonstrate the ways in which Livy's narrative is shaped by his own aims and interests, but do not deny that Polybios was his main and often only source in the fourth and fifth decades of the work. See esp. TRÄNKLE, p. 45, for a concise and trenchant description of the lack of critical research in this part of Livy's work; cf. LEVENE, p. 132, on the "relatively mechanical reproduction of significant portions of Polybios which we see in the Fourth Decade". P. A. BRUNT, "On Historical Fragments and Epitomes", *CQ*, 30 (1980), pp. 477-494, already stressed the freedom with which historians generally worked even when following a single source: see esp. p. 478 for Livy.

⁴ L. PITCHER, *Writing Ancient History: An Introduction to Classical Historiography*, London, 2009, 78, seems to consider historians who used a single main source for long stretches of narrative as the exception, and lists only one example of such an exception, namely Diodoros. Yet nowadays many scholars assume that even Diodoros must have relied on a broader collation of sources without taking into account the very likely possibility of indirect use: e.g. P. GREEN, *Diodorus Siculus, Books 11-12.37.1. Greek History, 480-431 BC—the Alter-*

ancient historiography. Although the matter is obviously related, I shall not deal with epitomators who explicitly state at the outset of their works that they are offering a *florilegium* from the work of a single predecessor (e.g. Justin, *praef.*), but only with those who presented themselves as the authors of new works in their own right.⁵ Most examples will be taken from the field of Greek historiography, but it seems to me that Greek and Roman historiography are basically alike in this respect.

At the root of Greek historiography seems to lie nothing less than a revolution: the emergence of a critical attitude towards tradition.⁶ In his *Genealogies* Hekataios of Miletos not only organized Greek myths but also rationalized them, because 'the stories of the Greeks are many and ridiculous', as he famously put it (*FGrHist* 1 F 1).⁷ His apparently rather naïve and simplistic critical attitude was further developed by Herodotos, Heklanikos, Thoukydides and others (*cf. infra*). The critical method of Greek historiography has rightly received much attention from scholars, as it is what turned this Greek way of dealing with the past into a true form of historiography by our standards.⁸ This may easily lead to a scorning attitude towards those who mostly just seem to have followed the work of some predecessor or a series of predecessors, terming them scissors-and-paste artists, mindless compilers, worthless scribblers etc. Yet the long but selective list above suggests that such scorn may be out of place. It therefore seems time to examine with an open mind what role the strong tendency to believe unverified traditions played in the works of writers who qualify as independent or even critical historians. Obviously, one can only

native Version, Austin, 2006, esp. p. 28; J. E. LONDON, *Song of Wrath: The Peloponnesian War Begins*, New York, 2010, p. 425.

⁵ The production of epitomes is likewise often seen as a typically late antique phenomenon, though see e.g. T. M. BANCHICH, "The Epitomizing Tradition in Late Antiquity", in *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*, ed. by J. MARINCOLA, Malden, 2007, p. 306: "the comprehensive reconsideration required to judge whether historical epitomes and breviaria of the period in question represent a historiographical phenomenon peculiar to late antiquity does not yet exist". See also G. SCHEPENS, S. SCHORN, "Verkürzungen in und von Historiographie in klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit", in *Condensing Texts – Condensed Texts*, ed. by M. HORSTER, C. REITZ, Stuttgart, 2010, pp. 395-434.

⁶ M. I. FINLEY, "Myth, Memory, and History", *HE&T*, 4 (1965), pp. 299-300; L. BERTELLI, "Hekataeus: From Genealogy to Historiography", in *The Historian's Craft in the Age of Herodotus*, ed. by N. LURAGHI, Oxford, 2001, esp. pp. 76-94). See also below.

⁷ In this context it is definitely worth pointing out, though, that the identification of Hekataios as the pioneer of Greek historiography is a modern one, based on our views of critical historiography, and that the answer to the question of the first historian has changed through the ages: see M. MULSOW, "Zur Geschichte der Anfangsgeschichten", in *Die antike Historiographie und die Anfänge der christlichen Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. by E.-M. BECKER, Berlin, 2005, pp. 19-28.

⁸ See e.g. R. G. COLLINGWOOD, *The Idea of History*, Oxford, 1962 (= 1946), pp. 17-20.

scratch the surface of such an encompassing problem in a single article,⁹ but a selection of relevant examples will allow me to make the basic case, namely: while there obviously was large variation between the practices of individual authors, the so-called compilatory method seems to have been the normal way of working for many ancient and medieval scholars when not dealing with the present.¹⁰

In many ways this observation in itself is far from new. It has often been made by Momigliano,¹¹ and Marincola has recently stated that ‘we have no indication that a writer concentrating on the past was expected to re-inquire into earlier matters in any way other than reading his predecessors’.¹² This is hardly surprising, because the Greeks were, as Van Groningen famously put it, “in the grip of the past”, and the same seems very much true of the Romans as well.¹³ Their primary point of reference and source of author-

⁹ Thus, while such problems as orality or the use of documents are no doubt highly relevant, they cannot be addressed within the confines of this article. These questions have received a great deal of attention in recent scholarship: see e.g. J. MARINCOLA, *Authority and Tradition in Ancient historiography*, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 99-101; J. VON UNGERN-STERNBERG, “The Tradition on Early Rome and Oral History”, in *Greek and Roman Historiography*, ed. by J. MARINCOLA, Oxford, 2011, pp. 119-149; A. M. BIRASCHI et al. (edd.), *L'uso dei documenti nella storiografia antica*, Napoli, 2003; P. LIDDEL, P. LOW (edd.), *Inscriptions and their Uses in Greek and Latin Literature*, Oxford, 2013.

¹⁰ Much more research on the role of tradition in the historical method of the ancients seems necessary to appreciate the matter properly. I intend to contribute to the study of this problem in the Habilitationsschrift I am preparing at the Universität Mannheim with the working title *The Method of Tradition in Ancient Historiography*.

¹¹ E.g. A. D. MOMIGLIANO, *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography*, Oxford, 1977, pp. 142; id., *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography* (Sather Classical Lectures 54), Berkeley, 1990, pp. 106-107.

¹² J. MARINCOLA, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-107; cf. id., “Historiography”, in *A Companion to Ancient History*, ed. by A. ERSKINE, Chichester, 2009, pp. 13-22; id. “Rethinking Isocrates and Historiography”, in *Between Thucydides and Polybius: The Golden Age of Greek Historiography*, ed. by G. PARMEGGIANI, Washington DC, 2014, pp. 39-61. Other scholars having made this point include NISSEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83; COLLINGWOOD, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 33, 37-38, 258; P. A. BRUNT, *art. cit.*; P. VEYNE, *Les Grecs ont-ils cru à leurs mythes? Essai sur l'imagination constituante*, Paris, 1983, pp. 17-27; M. I. FINLEY, *Ancient History: Evidence and Models*, London, pp. 7-8; T. J. LUCE, *The Greek Historians*, London, 1997, p. 2.

¹³ B. A. VAN GRONINGEN, *In the Grip of the Past: Essay on an Aspect of Greek Thought*, Leiden, 1953. To the best of my knowledge the most encompassing study demonstrating the centrality of the past in ancient Rome is U. WALTER, *Memoria und res publica: Zur Geschichtskultur im Republikanischen Rom*, Frankfurt am Main, 2004. On p. 23 WALTER quotes an apt phrase of Joseph Vogt that constitutes a Roman equivalent to Van Groningen's “grip of the past”: “Die Tradition lastete schwer, man nahm dankbar ihr ganzes Gewicht auf sich, verlor dadurch an Bewegungsfreiheit, gewann aber den sicheren wuchtigen Gang”. See also e.g. A. DEMANDT, *Geschichte als Argument. Drei Formen politischen Zukunftsfidens im Altertum*, Konstanz, 1972 (admittedly, on p. 14 Demandt suggests that the Roman relationship to the past that he is discussing was only to be found in some periods of Roman history, but

ity was not the present or the future, but the past.¹⁴ Of course, traditions, even authoritative ones, were always at least to some extent flexible and susceptible to change, as is clearly revealed by the concept of *patrios politeia* or the importance of ancestors – even when fictitious – in the legitimization of Hellenistic kings.¹⁵ It seems, however, that some of the consequences of this worldview have rarely been explored in detail: much work remains to be done in order to understand what this means for historical method in ancient historiography. This requires a greater focus on the authority of what has been handed down from the past, the workings of the literary tradition and the more limited nature of the concept of originality in the pre-modern world. As Schwartz so aptly put it, ‘(...) für die antike Literatur, ja für das ganze antike Geistesleben gilt, dass das, was einmal geworden und geschaffen ist, auch der Folgezeit die Wege und Formen des Denkens und Produzierens vorschreibt’.¹⁶ Furthermore, the ancients lacked the currently widespread notion of scientific progress.¹⁷ I thus suggest that even what may seem a mere compilation to us, was considered a new work in its own right, and that tradition is a far more useful concept to understand ancient and medieval historiography than compilation. The word compilation obscures to the modern reader that this procedure was indeed a normal way of doing things (a method) even for many of those composing what was by ancient standards without any doubt a new historical work (rather than a compilation in our sense).¹⁸ It thus seems to me that in Antiquity tradition was a method too, just as well as rational criticism.

That such a practice is usually considered typical of the Middle Ages and gravely downplayed in scholarship on Antiquity is the result of the old view that values most aspects of ancient culture much higher than the so-called dark Middle Ages, of the fact that the sources of Medieval authors are often still available for comparison while this is rarely true for the ancients, and of an undue focus on contemporary history and the greatest authors in

there seems room for disagreement here); J. D. CHAPLIN, *Livy's Exemplary History*, Oxford, 2000, 11-16.

¹⁴ F. HARTOG, “Time’s Authority”, in *The Western Time of Ancient History: Historiographical Encounters with the Greek and Roman Pasts*, ed. by A. LIANERI, Cambridge, 2011, esp. pp. 33-36.

¹⁵ On the concept of *patrios politeia* and its relationship to tradition and historiography, see M. I. FINLEY, *The Use and Abuse of History*, London, 1986², pp. 34-59.

¹⁶ E. SCHWARTZ, “Aristobulos”, in *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* II.1, ed. by G. WISSOWA, Stuttgart, 1895, col. 914; MARINCOLA, *op. cit.*, p. 106 with n. 223.

¹⁷ J. KÖNIG, G. WOOLF, “Introduction”, in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. by J. KÖNIG, G. WOOLF, Cambridge, 2013, p. 9.

¹⁸ The articles by Delacenserie, Mazzola and Rapp in this volume all demonstrate very clearly how late antique and mediaeval compilations are new works reflecting their authors’ own interests and aims, in spite of the strong dependence on earlier texts.

the study of ancient historiography.¹⁹ Another factor may well be that we quite simply possess far more Christian than pagan works, and therefore more late antique and mediaeval ones, while the selection of earlier, pagan texts is somewhat skewed in favour of the great literary classics, a phenomenon which obviously obscures the number of so-called compilations from pagan times.²⁰ Furthermore, especially for Greek historiography the focus of scholarship seems to be on the source critical dimension, because criticism of tradition is essential to what we would nowadays consider history.²¹ This focus is of course well justified to the extent that its critical method is what made Greek historiography unique in the ancient western world. Yet recent research has demonstrated how strong the traditional, mythological dimension in Greek ideas of the past remained throughout antiquity, well after writers like Hekataios, Herodotos and Thoukydides had developed those critical methods of reconstructing the past.²²

1. Passing on Traditions

From Hekataios to the end of Antiquity (and beyond) historians constantly struggled with the tension between criticism and tradition. Unfortunately, we have little explicit discussion of the latter approach in our preserved sources. The most explicit one concerns the origins of Greek historiography in Dionysios of Halikarnassos' work on Thucydides (*Thuc.* 5-6):²³

¹⁹ Cf. already NISSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 83, claiming it to be "unzweifelhaft sicher, daß das Prinzip der Quellenbenutzung, wie es durch Ranke und seine Nachfolger als Grundsatz der mittelalterlichen Historiographie nachgewiesen ist, dieselbe Geltung für das Alterthum besitzt". Cf. FINLEY, *loc. cit.*, commenting on the question of source-criticism in Antiquity: "not only mediaeval historians and pre-eighteenth century modern historians paid little attention to the distinction between primary and derivative sources; so did the historians in antiquity". The focus on contemporary history is found e.g. in COLLINGWOOD, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-29; FINLEY, *art. cit.*, pp. 300-301; LUCE, *loc. cit.*: "it is clear that what we today consider the greatest of the ancient historians, whether of Greece or Rome, were the writers of contemporary history".

²⁰ Cf. L. D. REYNOLDS, L. G. WILSON, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, Oxford, 1991³, pp. 48-51 and 79-89, for the preference for literary classics; VAN NUFFELEN, *art. cit.*, p. 12, for the preservation of late antique historiography.

²¹ Cf. E. SCHULIN, *Traditionskritik und Rekonstruktionsversuch. Studien zur Entwicklung von Geschichtswissenschaft und historischem Denken*, Göttingen, 1979.

²² E.g. FINLEY, *art. cit.*; H.-J. GEHRKE, "Mythos, Geschichte, Politik—antik und modern", *Saeculum*, 45 (1994), pp. 239-264; P. CARTLEDGE, *The Greeks: A Portrait of Self and Others*, Oxford, 2002², pp. 18-35.

²³ Although they do not explicitly mention historians, one may also compare Isoc., *Panath.* 149-150 and *Paneg.* 28-30, with MARINCOLA, *art. cit.*

ένα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν φυλάττοντες σκοπόν, ὅσαι διεσφύζοντο παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις μνημαὶ κατὰ ἔθνη τε καὶ κατὰ πόλεις, εἴ τ' ἐν ἱεροῖς εἴ τ' ἐν βεβήλοις ἀποκείμεναι γραφαί, ταύτας εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων γνῶσιν ἐξενεγκεῖν, οἷας παρέλαβον, μήτε προστιθέντες αὐταῖς τι μήτε ἀφαιροῦντες· ἐν αἷς καὶ μῦθοί τινες ἐνῆσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ πεπιστευμένοι χρόνου καὶ θεατρικαὶ τινες περιπέτειαι πολὺ τὸ ἡλίθιον ἔχειν τοῖς νῦν δοκοῦσαι. (...)

διήλλαξε τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ συγγραφέων (...) κατὰ τὸ μηδὲν αὐτῇ μυθῶδες προσάψαι, μηδ' εἰς ἀπάτην καὶ γοητείαν τῶν πολλῶν ἐκτρέψαι τὴν γραφήν, ὥς οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐποίησαν, Λαμίας τινὰς ἱστοροῦντες ἐν ὕλαις καὶ νάπαις ἐκ γῆς ἀνιεμένας, καὶ Ναϊδας ἀμφιβίους ἐκ Ταρτάρων ἐξιούσας καὶ διὰ πελάγους νηχομένας καὶ μιζόθηρας, καὶ ταύτας εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἀνθρώποις συνερχομένας, καὶ ἐκ θνητῶν καὶ θεῶν συνουσιῶν γονὰς ἡμιθέους, καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς ἀπίστους τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίῳ καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἀνόητον ἔχειν δοκούσας ἱστορίας.

They all had the same aim: to make generally known the traditions of the past as they found them preserved in local monuments and religious and secular records in the various tribal and urban centres, without adding to or subtracting from them. These accounts contained some stories which had been believed from remote antiquity, and many dramatic tales of changing fortunes which men of today would think quite silly. (...)

[Thucydides] differed from the earlier historians (...) by his exclusion of all legendary material and his refusal to make his history an instrument for deceiving and captivating the common people, as all his predecessors had done when they wrote stories like those of female monsters at Lamia rising up out of the earth in the woods and glades, and amphibious Naiads issuing forth from Tartarus, half-human and half-animal, swimming across the ocean and joining the society of men, and producing from this union of mortals and divine beings a race of demi-gods; and other stories which seem incredible and largely ridiculous to us in these days.

Dionysios, for his purposes of praising Thucydides, surely exaggerates the novelty of his critical attitude (much as Thucydides did himself), but overall his analysis seems reliable enough.²⁴ The famous opening of Hekataios of Miletos (*FGrHist*/*BNJ* 1 F1) reveals the beginnings of a critical attitude towards the ancient traditions, but for the most part Hekataios reported slightly rationalized versions of traditional stories, as the fragments reveal.²⁵

²⁴ D. L. TOYE, "Dionysius of Halicarnassus on the First Greek Historians", *AJP*, 116 (1995), pp. 279-302.

²⁵ R. L. FOWLER, "Herodotos and His Contemporaries", *JHS*, 116 (1996), pp. 71-72.

This changed with Herodotos,²⁶ but he still saw it as his task to report traditions even when he did not believe them, as he famously pointed out himself in book seven: ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γέ μὲν οὐ παντάπασιν ὀφείλω, καὶ μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα λόγον.²⁷

If such a principle seems awkward when uttered by the father of history, what about Quintus Curtius Rufus' "Equidem plura transcribo quam credo: nam nec adfirmare sustineo de quibus dubito, nec subducere quae accepi"?²⁸ Tarn, denying the parallel with Herodotus for reasons not stated, interpreted this as the "complete lack of historical principle" and claimed that "one may search the histories of the world in vain for any similar pronouncement; cynicism can go no farther".²⁹ The difficulty disappears as soon as one recognizes the role that tradition generally played in the method of historians in Antiquity. Herodotos and Curtius were not alone in making such a claim, as Cassius Dio, in a passage that seems to be echoing Herodotos, likewise asserted the following:

καὶ ἐγὼ γνώμην ἔχω περὶ πάντων τῶν τοιοιτοτρόπων αὐτὰ τὰ λεγόμενα συγγράψαι, μηδὲν ὑπὲρ τὰ δεδημοσιευμένα, πλὴν τῶν πάντων φανερώων, μήτε πολυπραγμονῶν μήθ' ὑπολέγων, μήτ' εἰ δικαίως μήτ' εἰ ἀδίκως τι γέγονε, μήτ' εἰ ψευδῶς μήτε εἰ ἀληθῶς εἴρηται. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν μοι καὶ κατὰ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γραφησομένων εἰρήσθω.

it is my purpose to report in all such cases simply the recorded version of the affair, without busying myself with anything beyond the published account, except in perfectly patent cases, or giving a hint as to the justice or injustice of the act or as to the truth or falsity of the report. Let this explanation apply also to everything that I shall write hereafter.³⁰

²⁶ Fowler, art. cit.

²⁷ Hdt. VII 152.3: "For myself, though it is my business to set down that which is told me, to believe it is none at all of my business; let that saying hold good for the whole of my history". Cf. also II 123.1; IV 5.1. Burkert has remarked that this aspect of Herodotus' work is rather understudied: W. BURKERT, "Das Ende des Kroisos. Vorstufen einer Herodoteischen Geschichtserzählung", in *Catalepton. Festschrift B. Wjss*, Basel, 1985, p. 15, "Herodot als Historiker von Traditionen, nicht als Ausgräber von Fakten zu verstehen, ist eine Aufgabe, an der Historiker wie Philologen noch zu arbeiten haben".

²⁸ Curt. IX 1.34: "As for myself, I report more things than I believe; for I cannot bring myself to vouch for that about which I am in doubt, nor to suppress what I have heard". Cf. also X 10.12 "Traditum magis quam creditum refero" ("I report what is recorded rather than believed").

²⁹ W. TARN, *Alexander the Great II, Sources and Studies*, Cambridge, 1948, p. 92 with n. 2. MARINCOLA, *op. cit.*, p. 106, very differently, suggests that Curtius "is not abdicating responsibility, but rather fulfilling the duty of a faithful recorder". See also A. B. BOSWORTH, "Plus ça change... Ancient Historians and Their Sources", *CLAnt*, 22 (2003), pp. 177-178.

³⁰ D. C. LIV 15.3-4.

These are surely not expressions of a naïve faith, but rather manifestations of the importance of tradition in the historical method of the ancients.³¹ Livy's similar assertion in his preface (§ 6) and at V 21.9 may be somewhat different in that he claims to limit the procedure to ancient times – though at V 21.9 he has already reached 396 BC –, but it is in principle the same idea.³²

This same importance of tradition explains why some authors could write very long stretches of narrative entirely in indirect discourse, such as we see in Diodoros I-V, where about one third of the text consists of reported speech: while thus distancing himself somewhat from the contents by his narrative manner, he realizes that he cannot simply leave out the traditional mythical accounts.³³ Even such statements as we find in Arrian's proem (*pr.* 1) about accepting as the complete truth (πάντη ἀληθῆ) everything on which Ptolemaios and Aristoboulos agree, is not as fundamentally different from just following one tradition as it has seemed to some, since there is no investigation of the independence of these traditions: the method basically consists of an additional check on the tradition, not of critical scrutiny.³⁴ Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* V 8.12) mentioned the burdensomeness of comparing existing accounts (*onerosa collatio*) for authors of non-recent history, but also notes that the inquiry had already been done (*parata inquisitio*), and does not tell us whether the task consists of comparison in order to select one main source or of an actual confrontation of the various sources. We face the same problem in other statements about wide reading such as those of Diodoros (I 3.6, 4.3) or Cassius Dio (I 1.2).

2. The Limitations of Research

The reliance on tradition obviously results in a method of using sources which appears utterly strange and uncritical to the modern historian, but it does explain why so many ancient authors appear as compilers to us. And as there can only be a thin line between following a tradition and plagiarizing it, this also explains the many works on literary theft by historians in Antiquity. Eusebios (*PE* X 3), apparently quoting Porphyrios, commented on this in a very polemical context in which he intends to dis-

³¹ G. SCHEPENS, "History and Historia: Inquiry in the Greek Historians", in *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*, ed. by J. MARINCOLA, Malden, 2007, p. 46.

³² COLLINGWOOD, *op. cit.*, p. 37; J. L. MOLES, "Livy's Preface", in *Livy*, ed. by J. D. CHAPLIN, C. S. KRAUS, Oxford, 2009, p. 64.

³³ H. VOLKMANN, "Die indirekte Erzählung bei Diodor", *RbM*, 98 (1955), pp. 354-367; MARINCOLA, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

³⁴ One may also compare D. S. III 11.2-3 on Agatharchides and Artemidoros.

miss pagan authors – unfortunately we do not know the original context and Porphyrios' aims:

“μεθ’ ὧν ἔβδομος αὐτὸς κατακλινεῖς, τοῦ δείπνου προκόπτοντος καὶ τινος ζητήσεως περὶ Ἐφόρου ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις γενομένης· Ἀκούσωμεν’, ἔφη, ‘τίς ὁ περὶ Ἐφόρου θόρυβος.’ ἦσαν δ’ οἱ ζητοῦντες Καύστριός τε καὶ Μάξιμος ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ Θεοπόμπου προὔτιθει, ὁ δὲ Καύστριος κλέπτειν ἀπεκάλει. ‘Καὶ τί γὰρ Ἐφόρου ἴδιον’, (ἔφη), ‘ἐκ τῶν Δαϊμάχου καὶ Καλλισθένους καὶ Ἀναξιμένους αὐταῖς λέξεσιν ἔστιν ὅτε τρισχιλίους ὅλους μετατιθέντος στίχους’;

πρὸς δὲν ὁ γραμματικὸς Ἀπολλώνιος ἔφη ‘Οὐ γὰρ ἔγνωσ ὅτι καὶ τὸν Θεόπομπον, δὲν σὺ προτιμᾷς, κατείληφε τουτὶ τὸ πάθος, ἐν μὲν τῇ ἐνδεκάτῃ τῶν Περὶ Φίλιππον ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσοκράτους’ Ἀρεοπαγιτικοῦ μεταγράψαντα αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἐκεῖνα, ὅτι ‘τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν κακῶν οὐδὲν αὐτὸ καθ’ αὐτὸ παραγίνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις,’ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. (...)

‘Κἀγὼ’, φησὶν ὁ Νικαγόρας, ‘ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς ἐντυγχάνων αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος πολλὰ τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος αὐτὸν μετατιθέντα κατείληφα, καὶ τὸ δεινόν, ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον.’ (...)

‘Καὶ τί ὑμῖν λέγω ὡς τὰ Βαρβαρικά νόμιμα Ἑλλανίκου ἐκ τῶν Ἡροδότου καὶ Δαμάσ(τ)ου συνῆκται; ἢ ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ πολλὰ Ἐκαταίου τοῦ Μιλησίου κατὰ λέξιν μετήνεγκεν ἐκ τῆς Περιγηγήσεως, βραχέα παραποιήσας, τὰ τοῦ Φοίνικος ὀρνέου καὶ περὶ τοῦ ποταμίου ἵππου καὶ τῆς θήρας τῶν κροκοδείλων; (...)

ἀλλ’ ἵνα μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς κλοπῆς ἄλλους αἰτιώμενος κλέπτῃς ἁλῶ, τοὺς πραγματευσαμένους τὰ περὶ τούτων μηνύσω. Λυσιμάχου μὲν ἔστι δύο Περὶ τῆς Ἐφόρου κλοπῆς, Ἀλκαῖος δέ, ὁ τῶν λοιδῶρων ἰάμβων καὶ ἐπιγραμμάτων ποιητής, παρώδηκε τὰς Ἐφόρου κλοπὰς ἐξελέγχων, Πολλίωνος δὲ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Σωτηρίδαν Περὶ τῆς Κτησίου κλοπῆς, τοῦ δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ Περὶ τῆς Ἡροδότου κλοπῆς ἔστι βιβλίον καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἰχνευταὶ πολλὰ περὶ Θεοπόμπου λέγεται, Ἀρητάδου τέ ἔστι Περὶ συνεμπτώσεως πραγματεία, ἐξ ὧν τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἔστι γινῶναι.”

Καὶ μεθ’ ἑτερα. “Καὶ ὁ Προσῆνης ‘Τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους’, ἔφη, ‘κλέπτας ἐφωράσατε ὅτι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ ἥρως Πλάτων, οὗ τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἐορτὴν σήμερον πανηγυρίζομεν, πολλοῖς καταχρῆται τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ (αἰδοῦμαι γὰρ τῷ τῆς κλοπῆς ὀνόματι ἐπὶ τούτου χρῆσθαι), οὐκ ἐτι κατείληφατε.’ (...)

Καὶ ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν διὰ πλείονων τίθησι τὰς ἀποδείξεις. ἀλλ’ ὁποῖος μὲν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν συγγραφέων ὁ τρόπος ὅτι τε οὐδὲ τοῦ καθ’ ἑαυτῶν ἐφείσαντο ἐλέγχου, ἀρκεῖν ἀπὸ μυρίων ἡγοῦμαι τὰ εἰρημένα.

“With these reclined the host himself making seven, and while supper was going on, and some question about Ephorus had arisen among the others, he said, ‘Let us hear what is this clamour about Ephorus?’ Now the disputants were Caystrius and Maximus: for the

latter was for preferring him to Theopompus, while Caystrius called him a plagiarist. 'For what,' said he, 'belongs properly to Ephorus, who transfers from the writings of Daimachus, and Callisthenes, and Anaximenes word for word sometimes as much as three thousand whole lines?'

In answer to whom Apollonius the Grammarian said, 'Yes, for you are not aware that even Theopompus, whom you prefer, is infected with the same fault, as having in the eleventh book of his *History of Philip* copied word for word from the *Areopagiticus* of Isocrates that famous passage, "that nothing good and nothing evil comes to men quite of itself", and the rest.' (...)

'I too,' says Nicagoras, 'in reading his *Hellenics* and Xenophon's, have detected him in transferring many things from Xenophon; and the mischief is that he has changed them for the worse.' (...)

'Why need I tell you, how the *Barbarian Customs* of Hellanicus is a compilation out of the works of Herodotus and Damastes? Or how Herodotus in his second Book has transferred many passages of Hecataeus of Miletus from the *Geography*, verbally with slight falsifications, as the account of the bird Phoenix, and of the hippopotamus, and of the hunting of crocodiles?' (...)

'But lest while charging others with plagiarism I should be convicted as a plagiarist myself, I will indicate those who have treated this subject. There are two books of Lysimachus *Concerning the Plagiarism of Ephorus*. Alcaeus also, the poet of the vituperative Iambics and Epigrams, has detected and parodied the plagiarisms of Ephorus: then there is an epistle of Pollio to Soteridas *Concerning the Plagiarism of Ctesias*, and a book of the same author *Concerning the Plagiarism of Herodotus*, and in the book entitled *The Searchers* there are many statements concerning Theopompus, and there is a treatise of Aretades *Concerning Coincidence*, from which works one may learn many examples of this kind.'

After other passages he adds: "Prosenes also said, 'The other plagiarists you have detected: but that even this hero Plato himself, after whom the feast which we are celebrating to-day is named, makes use of many works of his predecessors (for in his case I feel too much respect to use the term plagiarism), this you have not proceeded to discover.'" (...)

But I think that out of numberless examples those which have been mentioned are sufficient to show what was the character of the Greek writers, and that they did not spare even the exposure one of another. (trans.: Gifford)

Two observations on this very rich text are the most relevant to my purpose. First, although Eusebios here wants to dismiss pagan authors in general, it seems that for the participants in the discussion such borrowings

were entirely unproblematic when they involved literary improvement, as one can see in the underlined parts; plagiarism was thus very relative. Secondly the practice was extremely widespread among historians; it should thus not surprise us if the authors in the list this article started with would have used the same method.

Further nuance is to be gained from an equally polemical text of Josephus (*Ap.* I 15 and 23-27) that takes exactly the opposite approach: Greek authors are unreliable not because they all say the same, but because they constantly contradict each other:

Πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλογον τετυφῶσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡς μόνους ἐπισταμένους τὰρχαῖα καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς παραδιδόντας; ἢ τίς οὐ παρ' αὐτῶν ἂν τῶν συγγραφέων μάθοι ῥαδίως, ὅτι μηδὲν βεβαίως εἰδότες συνέγραφον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰκαζον; τὸ πλεῖον γοῦν διὰ τῶν βιβλίων ἀλλήλους ἐλέγχουσι καὶ τἀναντιώτατα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγειν οὐκ ὀκνοῦσι. (...)
 Ἄτε δὴ τοῖσιν οὐδεμιᾶς προκαταβεβλημένης ἀναγραφῆς, ἢ καὶ τοὺς μαθεῖν βουλομένους διδάξειν ἔμελλε καὶ τοὺς ψευδομένους ἐλέγξειν, ἢ πολλὴ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγένετο διαφωνία τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι. δευτέραν δὲ πρὸς ταύτῃ θετέον ἐκείνην αἰτίαν: οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ γράφειν ὁρμήσαντες οὐ περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐσπούδασαν, καίτοι τοῦτο πρόχειρόν ἐστιν αἰ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα, λόγων δὲ δύναμιν ἐπεδείκνυντο. (...) ὅλως δὲ τὸ πάντων ἐναντιώτατον ἱστορίᾳ πράττοντες διατελοῦσι: τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀληθοῦς ἐστὶ τεκμήριον ἱστορίας, εἰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἅπαντες ταῦτα καὶ λέγοιεν καὶ γράφοιεν. οἱ δ' εἰ ταῦτα γράψαι ἐτέρως, οὕτως ἐνόμιζον αὐτοὶ φανεῖσθαι πάντων ἀληθέστατοι. λόγων μὲν οὖν ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς ἐν τούτοις δεινότητος δεῖ παραχωρεῖν ἡμᾶς τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς, οὐ μὴν καὶ τῆς περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀληθοῦς ἱστορίας καὶ μάλιστα γὰρ τῆς περὶ τῶν ἐκαστοῖς ἐπιχωρίων.

Surely, then, it is absurd that the Greeks should be so conceited as to think themselves the sole possessors of a knowledge of antiquity and the only accurate reporters of its history. Anyone can easily discover from the historians themselves that their writings have no basis of sure knowledge, but merely present the facts as conjectured by individual authors. More often than not they confute each other in their works, not hesitating to give the most contradictory accounts of the same events. (...)

It is, then, this lack of any basis of documentary evidence, which would have served at once to instruct the eager learner and to confute the liar, that accounts in the main for the inconsistencies between different historians. But a second reason must be added. Those who rushed into writing were concerned not so much to discover the truth, notwithstanding the profession which always comes readily to their pen, as to display their literary ability (...) In short, their invariable method is the very reverse of historical. For the

proof of historical veracity is universal agreement in the description, oral or written, of the same events. On the contrary, each of these writers, in giving his divergent account of the same incidents, hoped thereby to be thought the most veracious of all. While, then, for eloquence and literary ability we must yield the palm to the Greek historians, we have no reason to do so for veracity in the history of antiquity, least of all where the particular history of each separate foreign nation is concerned.

Of course, as I already noted, this is a very polemical text with its own axe to grind, but the notion that historians should all say the same to achieve the truth is nevertheless interesting. It might have made much sense in ancient Greece and Rome, and perhaps other pre-Enlightenment societies where even in scholarship and science tradition enjoyed great authority and the modern prominence of originality was unseen.³⁵ The – at least theoretical – disappearance of the authority of tradition in Enlightenment thinking should not blind us to the realities of earlier times. This weight of the tradition is of course nowhere more obvious than where historians find themselves confronted with the authority of Homer that even Thucydides could only submit to minor factual criticism, and that Strabo so fiercely defended.³⁶

The learned tradition seems to reveal all the more clearly how normal such a practice was, not just in the Byzantine encyclopedias, but already in Antiquity. The following table shows parallels between Photios' lexicon and the *Suda* which suggest a common source, and the parallels that are often found in other encyclopedias, scholia collections etc. show that this common source often is to be dated to ancient times, sometimes even revealing several indirect stages at that early point in the tradition.

Photios	<i>Suda</i>	Others
Ἀνεβάλλετο (α 1779): ἀνεκρούετο· ἀναβολὰς γὰρ καὶ τὰς ἀνακρούσεις καὶ τὰς ἀρχάς. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ἤρχετο καὶ ἀπῆρχετο. σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τὸ ὑπερετίθετο.	Ἀνεβάλλετο (α 2209): προοιμιάζετο, ἀνεκρούετο, ἐνῆρχετο, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπερετίθετο. Ἀρριανός· ἀνεβάλλετο τὴν τῆς ἄλλης χώρας δῆρῳσιν, οἰόμενος ἐνδῶσεν Ἀθηναίους. Ἀναβολὰς γὰρ καὶ τὰς ἀνακρούσεις	Hesych. s.v. ἀνεβάλλετο (4781)

³⁵ On the development of the modern concept of originality in the romantic era, and – as he argues – especially in subsequent decades, see R. MACFARLANE, *Original Copy: Plagiarism and Originality in Nineteenth-Century Literature*, Oxford, 2007, pp. 18–45.

³⁶ Cf. L. KIM, *Homer between History and Fiction in Imperial Greek Literature*, Cambridge, 2010. Delacenserie and Mazzola, this volume, also stress the authority of older texts as an important fundament of the compilatory method.

	καὶ τὰς ἀρχάς. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ἤρχετο καὶ ἀπῆρχετο. καὶ Ἀνεβάλλοντο, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐσχηματίζοντο.	
ἔδρα (ε 136): βάσις, καθέδρα.	Ἔδρα (ε 262): βάσις, καθέδρα. Ἔδρα καὶ ἡ προεδρία παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει· καὶ σ' ἀντὶ τούτων εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον καλῶ, ἐς τὴν ἔδραν θ', ἐν' ἐκείνῳ ἦν ὁ φαρμακός. καὶ Ἀρριανός· ὅτι με καὶ ὕμνασι καὶ φωνῇ καὶ ἔδρα ἐτίμησας. ἀντὶ τοῦ καθέδρα.	Hesych., s.v. ἔδρα (ε 501)
Κεραμεικός (κ 579): ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ αἱ πόρνοι.	Κεραμεικοί (κ 1357): δύο τόποι Ἀθηνῶν. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ προειστήκεισαν αἱ πόρνοι.	<i>Schol. in Aristoph. Equ.</i> 772; <i>Schol. in Paus.</i> 1,2,4; <i>Anecdota Graeca</i> (Bekker I, 275,19); Hesych., s.v. Κεραμεικός; <i>Schol. in Plat. Parm.</i> 127c
Κεραμεικός (κ 588): δύο ἦσαν Κεραμεικοί· ὁ μὲν ἔνδον τῆς πόλεως, ὁ δὲ ἔξω· ἔνθα καὶ τοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσαντας ἔθαπτον δημοσίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιταφίους ἔλεγον.	Κεραμεικοί (κ 1356): δύο ἦσαν Κεραμεικοί, ὁ μὲν ἔνδον τῆς πόλεως, ὁ δὲ ἔξω· ἔνθα καὶ τοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσαντας ἔθαπτον δημοσίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιταφίους ἔλεγον.	Harp. s.v. Κεραμεικός; Tim. <i>Lex.</i> , s.v. Κεραμεικοί δύο; <i>Lexicon Vindobonense</i> , s.v. Κεραμεικοί δύο
Κέρκωπες (κ 609): ἐξαπατητῆρες ἱστοροῦνται καὶ ψεῦσαι οἱ Κέρκωπες. Ξεναγόρας δὲ εἰς πιθήκους αὐτοὺς μεταβαλεῖν φησι καὶ τὰς Πιθηκούσας νήσους ἀπ' αὐτῶν κληθῆναι. δύο δὲ ἦσαν οἱ Κέρκωπες, ὧν ὁ μὲν † Ἄνδουλος†, ὁ δὲ † Ἀτλαντος† ὀνομάζεται.	Κέρκωπες (κ 1405): ἡ δὲ μήτηρ Μεμνονίς ταῦτα ὁρῶσα ἔλεγε, μὴ περιτυχεῖν Μελαμπύγῳ, τουτέστι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ. Φησὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ξεναγόρας εἰς πιθήκους μεταμορφωθῆναι διὰ τὴν κακότητειν, καὶ τὰς Πιθηκούσας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὀνομασθῆναι νήσους. τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν Κάνδουλος καὶ Ἄτλας.	Suet. <i>Περὶ βλασφημιῶν</i> ; <i>Schol. Lucian. Alex.</i> 4 (ὕπερ τοὺς Κέρκωπας); Harp. s.v. Κέρκωψ; Zenobios (4,50); Apostolios (9,64); Eustathios (<i>Od.</i> 19,247, II p. 202,20-21 Stallbaum)
Μυκ(ώ)νιος γείτων (μ 588): αὕτη τάττεται κατὰ τῶν διαβεβλημένων ἐπὶ γλίσχρότητι καὶ σμικροπρεπείᾳ· παρὰ τὴν σμικρότητα τῆς νήσου τῆς Μύκ(ωνος) καὶ εὐτέλειαν.	Μυκώνιος γείτων (μ 1400): αὕτη τάττεται κατὰ τῶν διαβεβλημένων ἐπὶ γλίσχρότητι καὶ σμικροπρεπείᾳ, παρὰ τὴν σμικρότητα τῆς νήσου τῆς Μύκωνος καὶ εὐτέλειαν. καὶ ἑτέρα παροιμία· Μυκωνίων δίκην ἐπεισπέταικεν εἰς τὰ συμπόσια. διὰ γὰρ τὸ πένεσθαι διεβέβληντο ἐπὶ γλίσχρότητι. εἴρηται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκλήτως εἰσιόντων εἰς τὰ συμπόσια.	Zenobios 5.21

These are just some randomly chosen instances of a procedure for which many more examples can be found. Especially telling are the lemmata on the Athenian Kerameikos and on the Kerkopes. *Kerameikos* originally seems to have been a single lemma split up at some point in the tradition, as is suggested by the fact that both lemmata start by pointing out that two places are concerned and then only define one of them: Hesychios (s.v. Κεραμεικός) seems to preserve the original unified lemma in a strongly abbreviated form. This referring to two places and only defining one of them is rather unproblematic for the encyclopedias as they have the two separate lemmata. In the Scholia to Aristophanes it is rather remarkable, however; as the wrong function of the Kerameikos is being explained: surely the sausage seller referred to the cemetery at *Eq.* 772, not to the ancient equivalent of a red light district. Likewise, in the *scholia vetera* to Platon's *Parmenides* there is no reason to limit the definition to just this aspect. Clearly all these texts go back to one and the same source, many of them no doubt indirectly, and seem to have preserved its phrasing largely unaltered, as the close echoes suggest. The complexity and interdependence of the tradition is revealed by the fact that Harpokration's lexicon is the oldest witness, but – at least in its current form – does not contain the complete lemma, while the later version of Hesychios does seem to offer the complete lemma, albeit in a very compressed form. The lemma on the Kerkopes offers another clear example of the same phenomenon: eight versions have been preserved in the learned tradition, all so closely echoing each other that there is no doubt that they indirectly go back to a single source older than Suetonius, perhaps already Didymos.³⁷ The quotation of Xenagoras found in five of those versions is undoubtedly indirect in all instances.³⁸ These cases thus illustrate very well how the learned tradition worked, with each author taking over much from predecessors while at the same time writing a new work in its own right. In the context of the *Naturalis historia*, Carey aptly wrote of 'the intricate system of chain relay through which Pliny received his information'.³⁹

³⁷ See J. TAILLARDAT, *Suétone. Περὶ βλασφημιῶν. Περὶ παιδιῶν (extraits byzantins)*, Paris, 1967, pp. 11-22, on Suetonius as the source of Eustathios, and *ibid.*, pp. 22-26, on the identification of Suetonius' – in turn indirect – source as Didymos.

³⁸ On the wide-spread practice in the learned tradition of citing indirectly, see recently e.g. A. CAMERON, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World*, Oxford, 2004, pp. 89-123.

³⁹ S. CAREY, *Pliny's Catalogue of Culture. Art and Empire in the Natural History*, Oxford, 2003, p. 9. J. KÖNIG, G. WOOLF, *art. cit.*, pp. 1-20, identify compilation as the one characteristic that all pre-enlightenment encyclopaedic works have in common, despite the difficulties of clearly defining the category further (see e.g. pp. 1, 4 and 6-7). On p. 14 they note that this does not exclude that the authors of such texts aimed at radical innovation.

Within the context of ancient historiography strictly speaking, this same procedure can be observed when comparing the accounts of Alexander the Great's campaigns in the vulgate authors Diodoros of Sicily and Q. Curtius Rufus. Parker has conclusively demonstrated that all instances on which Diodoros provides information that demonstrably (i.e. through fragments of earlier Alexander historians) originated with another author than Kleitarchos, the likely source of the vulgate tradition, he did this through Kleitarchos, since Curtius has exactly the same information: as Parker rightly concluded there seems no other explanation for the fact that both authors "on six occasions in precisely the same order and usually at precisely the same point in the narrative" deviated from their main source and in each of these six instances turned to the same author for the same piece of information (three times Aristoboulos, twice Onesikritos and once Nearchos).⁴⁰ It is clear, then, from these and other parallel passages in their Alexander narratives that Diodoros and Curtius at times followed their common source very closely.⁴¹ The same phenomenon is obvious for instance in the descriptions of India by Strabo (XV 1) and Arrian (*Ind.* 1-17), which contain citations of previous authors in the same order and contexts, revealing how close they both stayed to their common source Eratosthenes, and how normal they found it to take over everything, including source citations.⁴² Such instances reveal the workings of the authority of tradition in way that is rather similar to our earlier cases of explicit avowals of transmitting what is being reported.

⁴⁰ V. PARKER, "Source-Critical Reflections on Kleitarchus' Work", in *Alexander & his Successors: Essays from the Antipodes*, ed. by P. WHEATLEY, R. HANNAH, Claremont, 2009, pp. 28-32, on Diod. XVII 49.5/Curt. IV 7.15; Diod. XVII 52/Curt. IV 8.1-6; Diod. XVII 75.6/Curt. VI 4.22; Diod. XVII 90.5/Curt. IX 1.9-10; Diod. XVII 91.4-7/Curt. IX 1.26; Diod. XVII 105-106/Curt. X 1.10-12.

⁴¹ E. SCHWARTZ, "Q. Curtius Rufus", in *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* IV.2, ed. by G. WISSOWA, Stuttgart, 1901, col. 1873: "Auch bei oberflächlichster Beobachtung fällt es auf, wie oft C. sich bis auf die Worte mit Diodor berührt" (in 1873-1875 he lists the parallels). See more recently e.g. N. G. L. HAMMOND, *Three Historians of Alexander the Great: The so-called Vulgate authors, Diodorus, Justin and Curtius*, Cambridge, 1983, esp. pp. 116-120 and 160-165, who, in my view, even underestimates the extent to which Diodoros and Curtius plainly and simply followed a single common source by his unconvincing Diyllos-hypothesis, which has been almost universally rejected (see e.g. the reviews by R. M. ERRINGTON, *Gnomon*, 56 (1984), pp. 779-781, and S. HORNBLLOWER, *CR*, 34 (1984), pp. 261-264).

⁴² A. B. BOSWORTH, *From Arrian to Alexander. Studies in Historical Interpretation*, Oxford, 1988, pp. 45-46. Delacenserie and Mazzola, this volume, show that late antique and mediaeval authors at times even combined direct and indirect use of their sources.

3. The Persistence of Old Information

A final aspect that, perhaps most clearly, reveals the authority of tradition in ancient historiography is what one may call the persistence of old information: even when writing about the present, there often seems to be a preference for older sources among ancient historians. Ancient descriptions of Babylon, for instance, often seem ultimately to go back to Herodotos and Ktesias, even when Alexander's campaigns may have and a little later the work of Berossos definitely did offer more accurate information based on autopsy.⁴³ It is particularly telling to look at the use of autopsy in the work of Ammianus Marcellinus who comes very late in the tradition and travelled widely with the Roman army. Even when describing places he personally visited, such as Egypt or Persia, much of the information he offers about these lands is still ultimately Herodotean: the information, and the ideology on which it was based, were by then 800 years old.⁴⁴ In his analysis of Ammianus' digression on Persia, Drijvers concludes that "apparently the Romans did not feel the need to gain more and better geographical knowledge than that which was handed down by tradition (...) Since this tradition was static no new information on Parthia and the Parthians can be gained from Ammianus' work".⁴⁵ It would seem that even the description of some of the siege engines used in the Persian campaign, which he had seen himself, is based on an inadequate literary source rather than on his own observation.⁴⁶ Similarly, the late antique Greek historians who deal with Persia, Prokopios, Agathias and Theophylaktos, even when also offering contemporary information, are strongly influenced by the classical Persia of Herodotos, Ktesias and Xenophon.⁴⁷ To some extent, this may be

⁴³ Cf. B. JACOBS, "Ktesias und die Architektur Babylons", in *Ktesias' Welt/Ctesias' World*, ed. by J. WIESEHÖFER, R. ROLLINGER, G. B. LANFRANCHI, Wiesbaden, 2011, pp. 151-152.

⁴⁴ D. DEN HENGST, *Emperors and Historiography: Collected Essays on the Literature of the Roman Empire* (ed. by D. W. P. BURGERSDIJK, J. A. VAN WAARDEN), Leiden, 2010, pp. 249-250: "almost every detail in Ammianus' discussion of the Nile and the Egyptian mirabilia goes back ultimately to the second book of Herodotus".

⁴⁵ J. W. DRIJVERS, "Ammianus Marcellinus' Image of Arsaces and Early Parthian History", in *The Late Roman World and Its Historian: Interpreting Ammianus Marcellinus*, ed. by J. W. DRIJVERS, D. HUNT, London, 1999, esp. pp. 195 and 199-202 (quotation pp. 200 and 202). DRIJVERS rightly points out that "his traditional method makes Ammianus neither an ignorant author nor a bad historian" (p. 202).

⁴⁶ DEN HENGST, *op. cit.*, pp. 321-332.

⁴⁷ H. BÖRM, "Das Perserbild in der klassizistischen griechischen Historiographie", in *Das Weltreich der Perser – Rezeption, Aneignung und Verargumentierung von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart*, ed. by R. ROLLINGER, K. RUFFING, Wiesbaden, forthcoming, speaks of a „Spannungsverhältnis zwischen oft durchaus zuverlässigen Nachrichten über arsakidische und sa-

the result of a persistence of ideology and frames of reference,⁴⁸ but that alone cannot explain how close the echoes are: rather, it is clear that there was a tradition of writing on Persia that considered Herodotos as the main authority, even if his text was not necessarily always used directly.⁴⁹

Conclusion

In this paper I have considered three remarkable phenomena in ancient historiography: the reporting of tradition regardless of belief, the writing up of events from the further past on the basis of a single source at a time for shorter or longer stretches of narrative (including the borrowing of source references), and the use of old information when more recent information was readily at hand. Admittedly, I have considered none of them in any detail, but I nevertheless believe that the combination of these phenomena suggests that tradition played a larger part in ancient historical writing than is often acknowledged, and that to style those authors in whose work this is most obvious as mere compilers is to misunderstand or underestimate an important aspect of Greek and Roman culture. Just as much as the rational critical method, the role of tradition in ancient historiography and the tension between both demand our attention if we want to proceed beyond the ideas that most ancient historians merely were either literary artists or mindless compilers, or that their research practices are completely comparable to ours.⁵⁰ It seems that to transmit information as it had been reported by others was a normal method for ancient scholars and historians and emanated not from intellectual laziness but from a fundamental respect for and trust in tradition. It follows that in the study of ancient and medieval historiography the concept of *compilation* is often counterproductive and because of its modern connotations leads to misunderstandings that can be avoided by thinking rather in terms of *tradition*.

sanidische ‚Realien‘ einerseits und einer starken Färbung durch Motive, Vorurteile und Klischees, die dem griechischen Publikum bereits seit Herodot bekannt waren, andererseits.”

⁴⁸ As is clear from the references to the Persians in one of the new Dexippos fragments (*Cod. Vindob. Hist. gr.* 73, ff. 192v-193r, 7-8): see G. MARTIN, J. GRUSKOVÁ, “‘Scythica Vindobonensia’ by Dexippus(?): New Fragments on Decius’ Gothic Wars”, *GRBS*, 54 (2014), pp. 728-754.

⁴⁹ Rapp’s contribution to this volume documents the persistence of tradition over many centuries in Georgian historical writing.

⁵⁰ The overall effect of the authority of tradition on the reliability of the ancient authors is more difficult to assess: J. E. LENDON (“Historians Without History: Against Roman Historiography”, in *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Historians*, ed. by A. FELDHER, Cambridge, 2009, pp. 41-61) claims this practice has guaranteed the reliability of a large part of the tradition; FINLEY, (*op. cit.*, pp. 8-10) is rather less optimistic.

Summary

Historiographical compilations are usually seen as a typical late antique and mediaeval phenomenon. This paper argues that the compilatory method was already wide-spread in earlier centuries and indeed was the normal procedure for ancient authors dealing with the non-contemporary past, as can be seen from their reporting of traditions they did not necessarily believe, from the ubiquitous use of a single main source and the often indirect use of other sources, and from the persistence of old information over many centuries. As remarkable as this may seem to the modern scholar, it is hardly surprising when one considers the authority of tradition in the ancient world. For this reason it may be more productive to think about this phenomenon in terms of tradition rather than compilation.

Alexander MEEUS
Universität Mannheim
⟨meeus@uni-mannheim.de⟩

Beyond the Compilation

The Two *Historiae Tripartitae* of Theodore Lector and Cassiodorus*

Emerance DELACENSERIE

(Ghent / Angers)

Among the late antique literary works classified as compilations are the two so-called *Historiae Tripartitae* composed during the first half of the sixth century.¹ Both *Histories* tell the story of the Church of the fourth and first half of the fifth centuries, from Constantine's until Theodosius II's reign. Theodore Lector wrote the first one, in four books, in Greek c. 518,² Cassiodorus the second, in Latin, in twelve books, around the second half of the sixth century.³ The latter partially based his work on the former's.

* The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP/2007-2013) / ERC Grant Agreement n. 313153. The author of this article also thanks the Academia Belgica of Rome for having welcomed and financially supported her during the writing of this article.

¹ Theodore' and Cassiodorus' *Church Histories* are still described as "compilations" by several dictionaries and encyclopedias. For instance: the *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur*, ed. by S. DÖPP, W. GEERLINGS, with the cooperation P. BRUNS et al., Freiburg im Breisgau [u.a.], 1998 -: it mentions Theodore's work as a "Kompilation aus den Kirchenhistorikern", while the Italian version (*Dizionario di Letteratura cristiana antica*) speaks of Cassiodorus' work as a compilation. This way of speaking also appears in recent studies. For instance: B. POUDERON, "Pour une évaluation de l'Épitomé anonyme d'histoires ecclésiastiques: confrontation des trois historiens sources, de la Tripartite de Théodore le Lecteur et de celle de Cassiodore", *Travaux et Mémoires* 18 (2014), p. 527-545; P. NAUTIN, "Théodore Lecteur et sa « réunion de différentes Histoires » de l'Église", *Revue des études byzantines* 52 (1994), p. 213-243; Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. by G. C. HANSEN (GCS N.F.3), Berlin – New York, 1995 (first edition 1971) speaks of Theodore's work as a compilation; P. SINISCALCO, "De l' 'Histoire ecclésiastique' à l' 'Histoire de la littérature grecque chrétienne': une tradition millénaire", dans *Histoire de la littérature grecque chrétienne*, sous la direction de B. POUDERON, Paris, 2008, p. 37-111: Siniscalco uses the term compilation for the both *Historiae Tripartitae*; W. TREADGOLD, *The Early Byzantine Historians*, New York, 2007., p. 169-170.

² For an overview about Theodore and his *Historia Tripartita* see Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. IX-XXXVI. On the date of composition see Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. X-XI.

³ On the date of composition see p. 6, n. 27.

Both Theodore and Cassiodorus wrote their *Church Histories* by combining excerpts taken almost exclusively from three sources: the *Ecclesiastical Histories* of Socrates of Constantinople, of Sozomen and of Theodoret of Cyrhus.⁴

The purpose of this article is to show that the two *Historiae Tripartitae* are not just a random collection of excerpts copied from earlier sources, but are the expression of each author's vision of the *Church History*. In this respect, the process of compilation itself, which involves on the one hand the selection and on the other hand the combination of excerpts, allowed each author to compose his own *Church History* while benefiting from the canonical authority of the "recycled" historiographic material.

Introduction

The term *Tripartita* is a late appellation referring to the shared composition technique of these two works. The first occurrence of the term *Historia Tripartita* dates back to the beginning of the ninth century. It appears for the first time with reference to Cassiodorus' work in the official report of the Synod held in Paris in 825.⁵ Later these term became a generic title and was used to designate Theodore Lector's work too, certainly because of the similarity between the two works. Before the ninth century, except for Liberatus of Carthage (sixth century) who seems to refer to Cassiodorus' work with the words *ecclesiastica historia*,⁶ the rare mentions of Theodore's and Cassiodorus' works identify them only by their sources. *The Byzantine*

⁴ F. DE MARINI AVONZO, "Due citazioni del Codex Iustinianus nella Historia Tripartita di Cassiodoro", in *Scritti per il XL della morte di P. E. Bensa*, Milano, 1969: p. 97-106, (reprint in F. DE MARINI AVONZO, *Dall'impero cristiano al medioevo: studi sul diritto tardoantico*, Goldbach, 2001, p. 125-134. De Marini showed that Cassiodorus also used the *Codex Justinianus* which he may have discovered in Constantinople between 540 and 550.

⁵ M. L. W. LAISTNER, "The Value and Influence of Cassiodorus' Ecclesiastical History", *The Harvard Theological Review* 41.1 (1948), p. 51-67. Laistner remarks that the title *Historia Tripartita* is also used by certain writers during the ninth century and gradually started being mentioned even without Cassiodorus' name.

⁶ Liberatus Carthaginensis Diaconus, *Breviarium cause Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum*, ed. by E. SCHWARTZ, *ACO*, 2,5, p. 98-141: "ex ecclesiastica historia nuper de Greco in Latinum translata, et ex synodalibus, vel sanctorum Patrum epistolis, hoc Breviarium collegi" ("I put together this *Breviarium* from the *Church History* recently translated into Latin and from the synodal acts, namely the letters of the Holy Fathers", trad. (French): E. DELACENSERIE, *L' "Histoire ecclésiastique" de Socrate de Constantinople. Banque de données et autorité historiographiques pour la création d'œuvres originales au vie s. (Théodore le Lecteur, Cassiodore, la première version arménienne)*, Doctoral dissertation, Ghent, 2016, p. 182).

Epitome of Ecclesiastical Histories,⁷ composed in or after 610, points out that Theodore Lector mixed excerpts taken from Sozomen's *History* with excerpts taken from Socrates' and Theodoret's *Histories* in order to complete it.⁸ In a letter to the bishops Eulogius of Alexandria and Anastasius of Antioch written in 597, Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) quoted a passage from Cassiodorus' *Church History* ascribing it to Sozomen, and rejected it because it praised Theodore of Mopsuestia, condemned with his works by the fifth ecumenical Council of Constantinople in 553.⁹

This traditional way of speaking of Theodore's and Cassiodorus' *Church Histories* referring to their sources does not imply a negative evaluation of them by medieval readers. Nonetheless, it has regrettably influenced modern scholars, who quickly belittled the *Historiae Tripartitae*, applying to them the modern concept of "compilation". This term evokes today nega-

⁷ For an overview about the *Epitome* see Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. XXIV-XXXIX. For a deeper analysis of the manuscripts and of the successive versions of the *Epitome* see B. POUDERON, "Les Fragments anonymes du Baroc. Gr. 142 et les notices consacrées à Jean Diacrinoménos, Basile de Cilicie et l'anonyme d'Héraclée", *Revue des études byzantines* 55 (1997), p. 169-192; B. POUDERON, "Le codex Parisinus Graecus 1555A et sa recension de l'épitomé byzantin d'Histoires ecclésiastiques", *Revue des études byzantines* 56 (1998), p. 169-191. For the relations between Theodore's *Historia Tripartita* and the *Epitome* see NAUTIN, "Théodore Lecteur", *art. cit.*, n. 1; POUDERON, "Pour une évaluation de l'Épitomé" *art. cit.*, n. 1; B. POUDERON, "Theophane, témoin de l'Épitomé d'histoires ecclésiastiques", de Théodore le Lecteur ou de Jean Diacrinoménos? communication au *Colloque international « Les historiens fragmentaires de langue grecque à l'époque impériale et tardive »*, Nantes, 2015.

⁸ NAUTIN, "Théodore Lecteur" *art. cit.*, n. 1, p. 214. The title in the *Epitome* is the following: "Συναγωγή ιστοριῶν διαφόρων ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα γεννήσεως τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἐξῆς, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λόγου τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ιστορίας Εὐσεβίου τοῦ παμφίλου" ("Réunion de différentes Histoires depuis la naissance du Seigneur dans la chair et la suite, en commençant par le livre premier de l'Histoire ecclésiastique d'Eusèbe de Pamphile").

⁹ Sanctus Gregorius Magnus, *Registrum Epistolarum Libri I-VII, Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, p. 478, VII.31: "In historia autem Sozomeni de quodam Eudoxio, qui Constantinopolitanae ecclesiae episcopatum arripuisse dicitur, aliqua narrantur. Sed ipsam quoque historiam sedes apostolica suscipere recusat, quoniam multa mentitur et Theodorum Mopsuestiae nimium laudat atque usque ad diem obitus sui magnum doctorem ecclesiae fuisse perhibet." ("But in Sozomen's *History*, several things are reported about a certain Eudoxius, who is said to have taken possession of the Episcopate of the Church of Constantinople. But the Apostolic See refuses to approve of this *History* because it lies on many things, and because it exceedingly praises Theodore of Mopsuestia and claims he was a great doctor of the Church until the day of his death". Trad. (French) DELACENSERIE, *L' "Histoire ecclésiastique" de Socrate*, *op. cit.*, n. 6, p. 185). On the confusion between Sozomen's *History* and Cassiodorus' *History*, see P. F. BEATRICE, "De Rufin à Cassiodore. La réception des *Histoires ecclésiastiques* grecques dans l'Occident latin", in *L'Historiographie de l'Église des premiers siècles*, ed. by B. POUDERON, Y-M. DUVAL, Paris, 2001, p. 237-257.

tive features such as lack of originality, or even plagiarism.¹⁰ Thus since the seventeenth century scholars have mainly focused on the two *Historiae Tripartitae* only as valuable witnesses of the three sources they preserve. Moreover, Cassiodorus' work used to be considered a translation of Theodore's *History*. If not officially claimed, this assumption is obvious in the way modern research has dealt with both works. Günther Christian Hansen's judgment on Theodore's *Historia Tripartita* (1971) is insightful. Although he had the opportunity to edit the first two books of Theodore's *Church History*, the only ones to be preserved, from *Codex Marcianus Gr. Z 344 00917*, he limited himself to provide a description of the contents of this *Historia Tripartita* based on the excerpts of which it is composed, providing for each excerpt references to the excerpted source.¹¹ Günther Christian Hansen explicitly considered a critical edition unnecessary, the only useful information for scholars being the list of the excerpted texts from the three sources (Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret).¹² Although Cassiodorus' *Church History* has been published in a critical edition,¹³ modern interest in this work is still limited to three main topics: first, the authorship (whether Cassiodorus or his colleague Epiphanius is the real author of the Latin *Historia Tripartita*¹⁴); second, the context of the composition (was

¹⁰ *Le Nouveau Petit Robert de la langue française. Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française*, Paris, 2017: « compilation = 1) Action de compiler, 2) Livre fait d'emprunts et qui manque d'originalité ». « compiler = 1) mettre ensemble (des extraits, des documents) pour former un recueil, 2) plagier ». *Oxford English Dictionary*: "compilation" = The action or process of producing something, especially a list or book, by assembling information collected from other sources. "to compile" = Produce (a list or book) by assembling information collected from other sources.

¹¹ Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*.

¹² Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. XI "Der Text der Tripartita ist nie gedruckt worden, und auch in der vorliegenden Ausgabe ist darauf verzichtet, den griechischen Text des Werkes wiederzugeben. Dies würde etwa 250 bis 300 Seiten unseres Formats beanspruchen, an vielen Stellen nur einen korrupten (d.h. schon im Autographon Theodors korrupt vorliegenden) Text bieten können und im Grunde nichts von Belang lehren. Die Handschrift ist von grossem Wert für die Textgestaltung der drei 'synoptischen' Kirchenhistoriker, aber dieser Wert kann nur an den Ausgaben dieser Historiker selbst erkennbar werden".

¹³ Cassiodorus – Epiphanius, *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, ed. by W. JACOB – H. HANSLIK (CSEL), Vienna, 1952.

¹⁴ On the "authorship" of the *Historia Tripartita* see A. FRANZ, *M. Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator. Ein Beitrag zu Geschichte der Theologischen Literatur*, Breslau, 1872, p. 106. Franz limited Epiphanius' role to the translation; Cassiodorus – Epiphanius, *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, p. XIII-XV: "Historiam Tripartitam autem revera Epiphanii solius esse censeo"; R. HANSLIK, "Epiphanius scholasticus oder Cassiodor? Zur historia ecclesiastica Tripartita", *Philologus* 115 (1971), p. 107-113. Hanslik revised a bit his 1952-assumption; J. J. O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*. Berkeley, 1979, p. 214-216 and p. 246-247; M. MAZZA, "La Historia Tripartita di Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro Senatore: metodi e scopo", in *Flavio Magno Au-*

the Latin *Historia Tripartita* composed before, after or during Cassiodorus' stay in Constantinople?);¹⁵ third and most importantly, the proximity of the work to its sources (Did Cassiodorus reproduce Theodore's work and the three *Ecclesiastical Histories* of Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret verbatim?).¹⁶ By focusing on the three sources of the *Historiae Tripartitae* or on peripheral questions, modern scholars have denied any historiographical originality to these compositions.

In this paper I will argue that the nature of Theodore's and Cassiodorus' works as compilations does not exclude the authors' expressions of their personal historiographical viewpoints, concerning the political and religious transformations of their time. In fact, the process of compilation, through the choice and combination of the excerpts it entails, is a subtle mechanism to create original works, since it allows the authors to convey their own message while exploiting the authority of the established Christian sources they quote. In order to establish it, I will first examine the selection of "documents" – imperial and episcopal correspondence, confessions of faith, quotations of other authors – related to Constantine's reign in both *Historiae Tripartitae*. Then I will analyze the combination of a group of documents directly related to the intervention of Constantine in

relio Cassiodoro: atti della settimana di studi, Cosenza-Squillace 19-24 settembre 1983, ed. by S. LEANZA, Soveria Mannelli, 1986, p. 214-216. Cassiodorus is the author. He chose excerpts and compiled them. Epiphanius translated them; BEATRICE, "De Rufin à Cassiodore", *art. cit.*, n. 9, p. 248-251. Beatrice agrees with Hanslik, although he considered Cassiodorus as the director of the "writing project".

¹⁵ The first studies dated the composition of Cassiodorus' *Historia Tripartita* to the last part of his life, in the Vivarium, see FRANZ, *M. Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, *op. cit.*, n. 14, p. 104-120; Cassiodorus-Epiphanius, *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*; O'DONNELL, *Cassiodorus*, *op. cit.*, n. 14, p. 214-216 and p. 246-247. Av. CAMERON, "Cassiodorus Deflated", *Journal of Roman Studies* 71 (1981), p. 183-186; M. MAZZA, "La Historia Tripartita"; S. BARNISH, "Roman responses to an unstable world: Cassiodorus' *Variae* in Context", in *Vivarium in Context*, ed. by S. BARNISH, L. RUGGINI, L. CUPPO, R. MARCHESE, R. BREU, Vicenza, 2008, p. 7-22; BEATRICE, "De Rufin à Cassiodore": p. 249-250; L. VAN HOOFF – P. VAN NUFFELEN, "The Historiography of Crisis: Jordanes, Cassiodorus and Justinian in Mid Sixth-Century Constantinople", *Journal of Roman Studies* 107 (2017), p. 1-26. Van Nuffelen-Van Hoof date the composition of *Historia Tripartita* earlier, during Cassiodorus' exile in Constantinople.

¹⁶ J. BIDEZ, *La tradition manuscrite de Sozomène et la Tripartite de Théodore le Lecteur*, Leipzig, 1908; H. JANNE, "Un contresens de Cassiodore: les furets du Contre Apion", *Byzantion* 11 (1936), p. 225-227; F. A. BIETER, *The Syntax of the Cases and Prepositions in Cassiodorus' Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, Washington, 1938; L. SZYMANSKI, *The Translation Procedure of Epiphanius-Cassiodorus in the «Historia Tripartita»* (books I and II, diss.), Washington, 1963; F. WEISSENGRUBER, *Epiphanius Scholasticus als Übersetzer. Zu Cassiodorus-Epiphanius Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, Vienna, 1972; S. RATTI, "Epiphane traducteur dans l'*Historia Tripartita*: contresens et déformations", *Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft* 9 (2006), p. 21-35; POUDERON, "Pour une évaluation de l'Épître", *art. cit.*, n. 1.

the development of church affairs. This analysis will also demonstrate how Cassiodorus' *Church History* is far from being a mere translation of Theodore's work, and highlight how the two differ from one another.

1. The Two *Historiae Tripartitae*

Before examining the use of documents in the two *Historiae Tripartitae*, it is useful to introduce both works and illustrate the circumstances and method of their composition. Theodore wrote two *Church Histories*, sometimes considered to be a single work: the *Historia Tripartita* (from 306-439) in 4 books, and what is called his own *Ecclesiastical History*, a continuation of the first up to 518.¹⁷ One single manuscript, the *Codex Marcianus Gr. Z 344 (00917)*, preserves the first two books of the *Historia Tripartita*.¹⁸ Our knowledge of the last two books, as well as of Theodore's own *Ecclesiastical History*, is based on the *Byzantine Epitome of Ecclesiastical Histories*.¹⁹ Despite its fragmentary nature, the second *Church History* has received special attention from modern scholars and has been widely

¹⁷ *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. S. ADLER, Leipzig (Teubner. 5 vols), 1928-1938: "Θ 153" remarks that Theodore wrote a *Church History* from the Emperors Constantine to Justinian: "Θεόδωρος ὁ ἀπὸ ἀναγνωστῶν τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἔγραψεν ἱστορίαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἀπὸ τῶν χρόνων Κωνσταντίνου ἕως τῆς βασιλείας Ἰουστινιανοῦ". («Theodore, lector of the Great Church of Constantinople, wrote an *Ecclesiastical History* from the time of Constantine up to the age of the reign of Justinian», trad. (French) dans DELACENSERIE, *L' "Histoire ecclésiastique" de Socrate, op. cit.*, n. 6, p. 63). A *scholion* in manuscript *Codex Athous Vatopedi 286, fol. 210r* only refers to the second part of Theodore's work: "Θεόδωρος ὁ τοῦ ἐντολέως ἐπανομαζόμενος, ἀναγνώστης τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, συνεγράψατο ἱστορίαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἀπὸ τῶν χρόνων βασιλείας Θεοδοσίου τοῦ νέου καὶ πατριάρχου τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις Πρόκλου μέχρι τῆς βασιλείας Ἀναστασίου αἰρετικοῦ τοῦ δικόρου καὶ τῆς ἱεραρχίας Τιμοθέου τοῦ συναιρεσιώτου αὐτῶν· ἀφ' ἧς ἱστορίας καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐκλογῶν αἱ πλείους εἰσί". ("Theodore, who is called Lector of the Great Church in Constantinople named after his superior, composed a *Church History* from the time of the Emperor Theodosius the Younger and the Patriarch Proclus, who is among the Saints, up to the reign of the heretic Anastasius Dicorus and to the time of the high priest Timothy who shared his heresy. Most of the present excerpts come from this *History*". trad. (French) dans DELACENSERIE, *L' "Histoire ecclésiastique" de Socrate, op. cit.*, n. 6, p. 63).

¹⁸ On the reconstitution of books 3 and 4 of the *Historia Tripartita* and of the second *Church history*, see Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*.

¹⁹ For an overview about the *Epitome* see Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. XXIV-XXXIX. For a deeper analysis of the manuscripts and of the successive versions of the *Epitome* see POUDERON, "Les Fragments anonymes", *art. cit.*, n. 1; POUDERON, "Le codex Parisinus Graecus 1555A", *art. cit.*, n. 1. For the relations between Theodore's *Historia Tripartita* and the *Epitome* see NAUTIN, "Théodore Lecteur", *art. cit.*, n. 1; POUDERON, "Pour une évaluation de l'Épitomé", *art. cit.*, n. 1; POUDERON, "Theophane, témoin de l'Épitomé", *art. cit.*, n. 1.

studied during the last decade.²⁰ According to his own preface, Theodore started to write his *History* in a foreign country.²¹ He happened to be in Paphlagonia *Ἐκ τιῆς ψήφου*, i.e. *because of a decision*. A fragment of the *The Byzantine Epitome of Ecclesiastical histories* made Günther Christian Hansen and Pierre Nautin suggest that Theodore, former Lector in Hagia Sofia, followed the Chalcedonian Bishop of Constantinople Macedonius, who was exiled in 509/511 by the Emperor Anastasius I.²² This banishment took place in the context of the increasing opposition between Chalcedonians and non-Chalcedonians. Until 508, the Emperor Anastasius maintained the same religious policy as his predecessor Zeno.²³ Zeno's *Henoticon*, had produced a compromise between Chalcedonians and opponents of Chalcedon. Although this text had led to a schism with the Church of Rome, it enabled the main four eastern ecclesiastical seats to remain in union. In 508, Severus of Sozopolis, later bishop of Antioch and a leader of the resistance to Chalcedon, composed a new text which he presented to the Emperor Anastasius. This text anathematized explicitly Nestorius and Leo's *Tome*. Bishop Macedonius of Constantinople, like bishop Flavian of Antioch, was exiled for refusing to subscribe to this text because of its clear antichalcedonian orientation.²⁴ This tense religious conflict between Chalcedonians and Monophysites dominates the record of Theodore's second *Church History*.²⁵

²⁰ Ph. BLAUEAU, *Alexandrie et Constantinople (451-491). De l'histoire à la géo-ecclésiologie* (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 327), Rome, 2006. G. GREATREX, "Théodore Lecteur et son épitomateur anonyme du vii^e s.", in *L'Historiographie tardo-antique et la transmission des savoirs*, ed. by Ph. BLAUEAU, P. VAN NUFFELEN, Berlin, 2015, p. 121-142.

²¹ Theodore Lector, *Historia Tripartita* (Codex Marcianus Graecus Z. 344, fol. 000w4r (I), l. 1-2): "ἐπιξενούσθαί μοι λαχόντι κατὰ τὸ ὑμέτερον Παφλαγόνων ἔθνος ἐν μητροπόλει τοῦ νομα Γάγγρῳ" ("It happened to me to be sojourn among your people in Paphlagonia, in the city of Gangra", trad. (French) Delacenserie, *L' "Histoire ecclésiastique" de Socrate*, op. cit., n. 6, p. 69.).

²² Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*; NAUTIN, "Théodore Lecteur".

²³ See *Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours. Tome III. Les Eglises d'orient et d'Occident*, ed. by J.-M. MYEUR – L. PIETRI – Ch. PIETRI † – A. VAUCHIEZ – M. VENARD, Paris, 1998.

On the reign of Anastasius I, see M. MEIER, *Anastasios I. Die Entstehung des Byzantinischen Reiches*, Stuttgart, 2009.

²⁴ See *Histoire du christianisme. Tome III*. BLAUEAU, *Alexandrie et Constantinople*, op. cit., n. 20; J. DIJKSTRA – G. GREATREX, "Patriarchs and Politics in Constantinople in the Reign of Anastasius (with a Reedition of O.Mon.Epiph. 59)", *Millennium Jahrbuch zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr. / Yearbook on the Culture and History of the First Millennium CE*. (2009), p. 223-264.

²⁵ See BLAUEAU, *Alexandrie et Constantinople*, op. cit., n. 20, p. 619-653.

Just like Theodore, Cassiodorus organized his *Historia Tripartita* according to imperial reigns, but into 12 books.²⁶ The date when Cassiodorus composed his work remains unclear and has always been a subject of discussion. For a long time modern scholars had assumed that Cassiodorus wrote his *Church History* in his property of Vivarium, in Calabria, where he had retired and created an intellectual environment oriented towards the study, the copying and the creation of literary works. New studies suggest that Cassiodorus wrote a very substantial version, if not the final version of his work, when he was in Constantinople during Justinian's Italian campaigns (from 535 onwards) and the Three-Chapters Controversy.²⁷ Like many other Latins, Cassiodorus, former *Magister officiorum* of King Theodoric and *praefectus praetorii* of the Gothic kingdom, took refuge in Constantinople because of the war between the Goths and Justinian's army. Justinian's reconquest of the territories of the former Western Roman Empire started in 533 (capture of Carthage) and reached Italy in 535.²⁸ Planning the restoration of the former Roman Empire, Justinian also intended to unify the Church and to find a way to bring together Chalcedonians and anti-Chalcedonians in the same faith. The attempt to reconcile the two parties underwent several stages and led to the "Three chapters controversy".²⁹ The bishop Vigilius of Rome, and the Western Church more generally, whose principal representatives were in Constantinople, were directly involved in the religious conflict. In 553, the bishop Vigilius finally subscribed to the condemnation of the Three Chapters, despite the opposition of many Westerners. As a former *magister officiorum* of the Gothic King-

²⁶ Books 1-3 Constantine's reign; books 4-5 Constantine's sons' reign; Book 6 Julian's reign; books 7-8 Valentinian's and Valens' reign; book 9 Theodosius I's reign; book 10 Honorius' and Arcadius' reigns; books 11-12 Theodosius II's reign.

²⁷ The first studies dated the composition of Cassiodorus' *Historia Tripartita* during the last part of his life, in the Vivarium. FRANZ, *M. Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, *op. cit.*, n. 14, p. 104-120; Cassiodorus – Epiphanius, *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*; O'DONNELL, *Cassiodorus*, p. 214-216 and p. 246-247; CAMERON, "Cassiodorus Deflated"; MAZZA, "La *Historia Tripartita*"; Barnish "Cassiodorus' *Variae* in Context"; BEATRICE, "De Rufin à Cassiodore", p. 249-250; VAN HOOF – VAN NUFFELEN, "The Historiography of Crisis". Van Hoof-Van Nuffelen date the composition of *Historia Tripartita*, earlier, during Cassiodorus' exile in Constantinople. They have recently demonstrated that Jordanes used Cassiodorus' *Historia Tripartita* for the composition of the *Romana*.

²⁸ On the reconquest of Italy see P. MARAVAL, *Justinien. Le rêve d'un empire chrétien universel*. Paris, 2016, p. 199-209. On the Justinianic propaganda related to the reconquest, see M. S. BJORNLIIE, *Politics and Tradition between Rome, Ravenna and Constantinople. A Study of Cassiodorus and the Variae, 527-554*, Cambridge, 2012,

p. 90-102. H. LEPPIN, *Justinian. Das christliche Experiment*, Stuttgart, 2011.

²⁹ See *Histoire du christianisme. Tome III*, p. 414-416. C. CHAZEL - C. CUBITT, *The Crisis of the Oikoumene. The Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth-Century Mediterranean* (Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 14), Turnhout, 2007.

dom and a refugee in Constantinople, and as an acquaintance of the Bishop Vigilius of Rome, Cassiodorus was an eye-witness of these events which impacted on his *Historia Tripartita*, whether it was composed entirely in Constantinople or completed later in his retreat at the Vivarium.

The huge number of manuscripts (138) preserving Cassiodorus' work contrasts with the single *Codex Marcianus Graecus Z.344* preserving Theodore's and demonstrates the importance Western medieval authors attached to this work.³⁰

Cassiodorus did not refer to Theodore's work as a source or as an example of literary expression, but substantial internal evidence proves that he certainly knew it and used it. Cassiodorus translated Theodore's *Historia Tripartita* up to his Book II.7.³¹ However, in terms of composition, Cassiodorus mainly complies with Theodore's choice and chronological sequence of excerpts, albeit with sporadic exceptions,³² up to book II.12.³³ From this point Cassiodorus starts selecting and combining excerpts from the three sources – Socrates, Sozomen's and Theodoret's *Church histories* – in a different way than Theodore, although a large part of the selection and combination appears to be similar to Theodore's work. These discrepancies can be explained by comparing the prefaces of both works from the very beginning. On the one hand, Theodore and Cassiodorus are in agreement on the purpose of their work: they both mention their sources and say they want to merge the three previous church histories in order to form a single (standardized) work. However, neither Theodore nor Cassiodorus specifies exactly how he intends to combine his three sources.

“συναγαγεῖν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν
ἱστοριῶν τοὺς ἐκθέοντας καὶ μίαν τινὰ
ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀρμόσασθαι σύνταξιν[...]
ἐπὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον τῆς ὑποθέσεως σχῆμα
μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἀκριβείας, ὥς γε τῶν
ἐκτεθέντων ἡ γραφὴ μαρτυρήσει, τὴν

“Haec igitur historia ecclesiastica, quae
cunctis Christianis valde necessaria conpro-
batur, a tribus Graecis auctoribus mirabiliter
constat esse conscripta, uno scilicet Theodo-
rito venerabili episcopo et duobus disertis-
simis viris Sozomeno et Socrate. Quos nos

³⁰ For the manuscript tradition See W. JACOB, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der sogenannten Historia Tripartita des Epiphanius-Cassiodor, zum druck bezorgt durch Rudolf Hanslik, Akademie-Verlage* (T.U. 59), Berlin, 1954, p. 10-11. The most ancient manuscript is the *Lenigradensis* from the ninth century.

³¹ BIDEZ, *La tradition manuscrite*, *op. cit.*, n. 16, p. 55; B. Pouderon's philological analysis has pointed out some discrepancies and authorial license in the translation, at least in the first part of it (see POUDERON, “Pour une évaluation de l'Épitomè”, *art. cit.*, n. 1).

³² For instance: POUDERON, “Pour une évaluation de l'Épitomè”, *art. cit.*, n. 1. Pouderon has demonstrated that Cassiodorus reduced most of Theodore's narrative about Constantine's vision of the cross based on Sozomen's account, and exchanged it for Socrates' account.

³³ Which corresponds to Theodore Lector, *Historia Tripartita* (*Codex Marcianus Graecus Z. 344*, fol. 00031v, l. 5). Cassiodorus omits a part of Socrates' work (I.9,1-14) which appears in *Codex Marcianus Graecus Z. 344*, fols 00031v, l. 5 – 00032v, l. 9.

σπουδὴν πεποιήκεσαν θεοφιλεῖς ὁμοῦ
καὶ λογιώτατοι ἄνδρες λέγω δὴ θεο-
δώρητος ὁ τῆς ὁσίας μνήμης γενόμε-
νος ἐπίσκοπος Κύρρου, Σωζομενὸς καὶ
Σωκράτης³⁴

“ To put together the authors of Church histories and to harmonise them in a single narrative [...] Some God-loving as well as very erudite men - I mean Theodoret, who became bishop of Cyrrhus, of Sozomen, and of Socrates – put much effort into such a way of discussing the matter, with the utmost accuracy, as the text of their work will testify
”³⁶

per Epiphanium Scolasticum Latino con-
dentes eloquio necessarium duximus eorum
dicta deflorata in unius stili tractum domi-
no iuvante perducere et de tribus auctoribus
unam facere dictionem³⁵

“ So it appears that this Church History, which proved very much essential for all the Christians, was admirably written by three Greek authors, one being the venerable bishop Theodoret and the other two the most eloquent men Sozomen and Socrates. While putting them together in Latin language through the agency of Epiphanius Scolasticus, we deemed it necessary to bring the excerpts taken from them into a work of uniform style, with the help of God, and to make one single narrative out of the three authors. ”³⁷

On the other hand, Cassiodorus speaks specifically of excerpting (*deflorata*) while Theodore does not. Cassiodorus also adds that he will organize these excerpts, without specifying in which order.

“Nos autem eorum relectis operibus et unumquemque cauta mente tractantes cognovimus non aequaliter omnes de unaquaque re luculenter ac subtiliter explanasse, sed modo hunc, modo alterum aliam partem melius expedisse. Et ideo iudicavimus de singulis dictoribus deflorata colligere et cum auctoris sui nomine in ordinem collocare³⁸

“After having read their works over again, and examining accurately each one of them, we discovered that they did not all explain every fact with equal accuracy and precision, but now one, now the other made a better account of one or the other part. Therefore, we decided to collect excerpts from each writer and to set them in order with the name of their respective author³⁹

³⁴ Theodore Lector, *Historia Tripartita*, preface (Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 1; *Codex Marcianus Graecus* Z. 344, fol. 000w4r (I)).

³⁵ Cassiodorus, *Historia Tripartita*: preface (Cassiodorus – Epiphanius, *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, p. 1).

³⁶ Trad. (French) DELACENSERIE, *L' "Histoire ecclésiastique" de Socrate*, op. cit., n. 6, p. 69-70.

³⁷ Trad. (French) DELACENSERIE, *L' "Histoire ecclésiastique" de Socrate*, op. cit., n. 6, p. 198-199.

³⁸ Cassiodorus, *Historia Tripartita*: preface (Cassiodorus – Epiphanius, *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, p. 1-2).

³⁹ Trad. DELACENSERIE, *L' "Histoire ecclésiastique" de Socrate*, op. cit., n. 6, p. 199.

Cassiodorus, therefore, tends to refer explicitly to his sources while Theodore is vaguer.⁴⁰ The *Codex Marcianus graecus* Z. 344, which contains the first two books of Theodore's *Historia tripartita*, dates from the fourteenth century and contains marginal indications. These, however, were added by later copyists according to Joseph Bidez.⁴¹ The only detail that may point to systematic references to the sources is the fact that Theodore explicitly mentions that he starts his history from Sozomen's narrative, which could suggest that he also mentioned the name of the two other sources when he was switching from one to the other.⁴² During the transmission of the text copyists may have deleted this information and/or relegated them to marginal notes which then disappeared.

Essentially, the extant of the passages excerpted by Theodore and Cassiodorus varies from a few lines to several successive chapters or, in Cassiodorus, even a full book. The last two books of his *Historia Tripartita* are a Latin translation of book VII of Socrates' *Church History*. The excerpted passages are embedded one after the other. Theodore sometimes adds some words or short sentences to smooth the transition from one passage to the next. Theodore reproduces most of the text of his sources rather faithfully, occasionally omitting one word, or inverting the order of two or three words in a sentence. These changes usually do not impact the meaning of his narrative, with the exception of a few cases already highlighted by Günther Christian Hansen.⁴³ Moreover, Theodore and Cassiodorus excerpt the sources by following their progression, i.e. when one passage is taken from one source, the next passage from the same source will come from the same chapter or from the following one, very rarely from a previous one. The

⁴⁰ According to his preface, Theodore intended to indicate in the marge or in appendix (ἐν τῇ παρόψει) when Socrates' narrative agreed with Sozomen's narrative or not agreed. Up to now, scholars (BIDEZ, *La tradition manuscrite*; NAUTIN, "Théodore Lecteur", p. 234-235) have always suggested that Theodore intended to compare all the three sources (Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret), to collect information on which the three of them agreed and to state in the marge which source is in agreement with the main discourse. Actually, this methodology applied to only two of his sources, Socrates and Sozomen (see E. DELACENSERIE, *L' "Histoire ecclésiastique"*, op. cit., n. 6, p. 78-83 – article in preparation).

⁴¹ BIDEZ, *La tradition manuscrite*, op. cit., n. 16, p. 48-51.

⁴² Theodore Lector, *Historia Tripartita*, preface (Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 1; *Codex Marcianus Graecus* Z. 344, fol. 000w4r (I): "ἀρξομαι δὲ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Σωζομενοῦ").

⁴³ Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*. Moreover, it should be noted that seven centuries separate the original work from the manuscript *Codex Marcianus Graecus* Z. 344. Such a long time left the possibility for the copyists to intervene in the text. However, in the current state of the *Historia Tripartita*, which is unpublished and not fully studied, it is difficult to determine what is the share of responsibility of the copyists and that of Theodore in the modification of the Greek text.

difference between the two works lies mainly in their personal exploitation of the sources and especially in their selection of the extracts, as will be shown in the following analysis.

2. Selection and Assemblage of Documents Related to Constantine's Reign in the Two *Historiae Tripartitae*

Although the three church histories of Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret focus on religious events, the reigns of the various Emperors constitute their chronological frameworks. They all start their narratives in the fourth century, from Constantine's reign. The two *Historiae Tripartitae* start from there as well. Constantine's reign is described by Socrates and Theodoret in their first book, while in Sozomen's account, which starts in 306, it stretches out over the entire two first volumes out of nine. Like Socrates' and Theodoret's, Theodore Lector's account of Constantine's reign is limited to his first book, while Cassiodorus extended it to the three first volumes of a total of twelve. In both cases, their account of the ecclesiastical events during Constantine's reign represents a quarter of their work, much more than in their sources, where Constantine's reign is already given more space than the following. This can be explained by the fact that the three sources of the two *Historiae Tripartitae* incorporate a remarkable number of documents concerning the events of Constantine's reign and that of his sons. Many of these documents are also taken up by Theodore and Cassiodorus. The practice of inserting documents into the narrative was developed by Eusebius of Caesarea. Eusebius interspersed his *Church History*, like his *Life of Constantine*, with excerpts extracted from official archives or quotations from earlier authors.

The three *Church Histories* of Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret preserve various kinds of documents, such as imperial and episcopal correspondences, quotations or professions of faith. Socrates' and Theodoret's works are far more documented than Sozomen's. The latter believed that adding documents would have weighed down his narrative⁴⁴ too much, while Socrates had been asked by the sponsor of his work – an unknown Theodore – to revise his first two volumes by adding documents.⁴⁵ Therefore, Socrates' and Theodoret's accounts of Constantine's reign include a high number of documents, nineteen in the former and eighteen in the latter. Sozomen's work counts only 6. In Socrates' *History* the documents

⁴⁴ Sozomenos, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. by J. BIDEZ – G. C. HANSEN (GCS N.F.4), Berlin, 1995, I.1, 14.

⁴⁵ Socrates, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. by G. C. HANSEN, mit Beiträge von MANJA ŠIRINJAN, (GCS N.F. 1), Berlin. 1995, II.1, 4-6.

are integrated in the narrative to prove the truth,⁴⁶ and very often replace Socrates' own narrative.⁴⁷ Documents play a different role in Theodoret's *History*. Theodoret seemingly uses documents in the same way as Socrates, but in fact he diverts the documents from their original context and meaning, integrating them in a polemical commentary.⁴⁸

a. Selection of Documents Taken from the Three Sources by Theodore and Cassiodorus (See Appendix: Tables Nos 1,2,3)

Several documents are shared by two sources. Socrates' and Theodoret's *Histories* have 7 documents in common (the numbers between brackets refer to the documents in tables 1,2,3):

- [4] and [28] Quotation: Eusebius of Caesarea, *Vita Constantini*, III.13-11, on the role played by Emperor Constantine during the Council of Nicaea
- [6] and [27] Quotation: Eusebius of Caesarea about the profession of faith from the Council of Nicaea⁴⁹
- [7] and [25] Letter: the Council of Nicaea to the Egyptians
- [10] and [26] Letter: Emperor Constantine to the Churches (to bishops who did not attend the Council of Nicaea)
- [11] and [31] Letter: Emperor Constantine about the building of churches.
- [13] and [33] Letter: Emperor Constantine to Macarius of Jerusalem.
- [12 and [32] Letter: Emperor Constantine to Eusebius of Caesarea

⁴⁶ P. VAN NUFFELEN, *Un héritage de paix et de piété: étude sur les histoires ecclésiastiques de Socrate et de Sozomène* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 142). Leuven – Paris – Dudley (Ma.), 2004, p. 187-195. For P. Van Nuffelen (p. 193), "L'inclusion de documents est en effet typique pour une partie des historiens de l'Eglise, mais Sozomène s'en distancie partiellement et Jean d'Ephèse s'en abstient complètement. Elle reflète plutôt l'obsession d'établir fermement la vérité propre à la pensée chrétienne que l'obéissance à une règle du genre. ».

⁴⁷ See the introduction of Socrate de Constantinople, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, Livre I. Texte grec de l'édition de G. C. HANSEN (GCS), traduction de Pierre PÉRICHON s.j., Pierre MARAVAL, introduction et notes Pierre MARAVAL, (SC 477), Paris, 2004.

⁴⁸ See the introduction of A. Martin in *Théodoret de Cyr, Histoire ecclésiastique Tome 1. Livres 1-2* (SC 501), texte introduit, traduit et commenté par BOUFFARTIGUE, J., CANIVET, P., MARTIN A., PIETRI, P., THELAMON, F. Paris, 2006, p. 63-65. P. 65: « par un processus en boucle, le récit lui-même tire son contenu du document cité ensuite et utilisé comme preuve de la « vérité » théologique qu'il défend ».

⁴⁹ The beginning of Eusebius' discourse in Theodoret's work is a bit more extended than in Socrates' work.

Socrates' and Sozomen's *Histories* share 4 documents:

- [17] and [41] Profession of faith of Arius and Euzoïos to Emperor Constantine
- [15] and [38] Letter: repentance of Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicaea to Emperor Constantine
- [18] and [40] Letter: Emperor Constantine to Athanasius (Constantine threatens to depose him)
- [19] and [42] Letter: Emperor Constantine to the Council of Tyre

The use of the same documents can depend on several reasons. First of all, the three authors have a common interest in the same events. Secondly, they sometimes use the same sources. Furthermore, Socrates' work may have been a source for the two other church historians.⁵⁰ Even if a document appears in two or three sources, one can still tell where Theodore or Cassiodorus took it from, because each document is rarely separated from the narrative context in which it is embedded in the source.

Two observations emerge from analysis of the selection of documents by the two authors (see Appendix: Tables N^{os} 1,2,3). On the one hand, Cassiodorus excerpted fewer documents from his sources than Theodore. It might be interesting to notice that the majority of the omitted documents are part of the imperial correspondence. Cassiodorus left aside a great part of Constantine's letters, (eight, to be precise: N^{os} 8,10,11,12,13,14,16,18). On the other hand, although Cassiodorus' choice of documents is very close to Theodore's, Cassiodorus' work also contains documents that Theodore did not pick up. These belong to the shared documents. In the first

⁵⁰ From a chronological point of view, Socrates' *History* is anterior to Sozomen's and Theodore's work. A *terminus post quem* for the composition of Socrates' *History* is traditionally settled in 439. The *terminus ante quem* has been the subject of much discussion: in 443 for G. F. CHESNUT "The date of composition of Theodore's Church History", *Vigiliae Christianae* 35 (1981), p. 245-252; T. URBAINCZYK, *Socrates of Constantinople: Historian of Church and State*. University of Michigan, 1997; M. WALLRAFF, *Der Kirchenhistoriker Sokrates. Untersuchungen zu Geschichtsdarstellung, Methode und Person* (Forschungen zur Kirchen-und-Dogmengeschichte 68), Göttingen, 1997; in 444/446 for H. LEPPIN, *Von Constantin dem Grossen zu Theodosius II: Das christliche Kaisertum bei den Kirchenhistorikern Socrates, Sozomenus und Theodoret*, Göttingen, 1996; 439-440 for VAN NUFFELEN, *Un héritage de paix et de piété, op. cit.*, n. 46. On the composition of Sozomen's *History*: in 450 or after 450 for CAMERON 1992; between 439 and 449 for LEPPIN, *Von Constantin dem Grossen*; between 439/440 and 450 for VAN NUFFELEN, *Un héritage de paix et de piété, op. cit.*, n. 46. On the composition of Theodore's *History*: between 441/442 and 449 for CHESNUT "The Date of Composition", B. CROKE, "Dating Theodore's Church History and Commentary on the Psalms", *Byzantion* 54 (1984), p. 59-74; between 444 and 450 for LEPPIN, *Von Constantin dem Grossen* and VAN NUFFELEN, *Un héritage de paix et de piété, op. cit.*, n. 46.

case, the letter sent by the Council of Nicaea to Egyptians [No. 7], Cassiodorus used Theodoret's record [No. 25] instead of Socrates' work as Theodore did. The second case is the letter sent by Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicaea to Emperor Constantine the Great. Theodore excerpted this record from Sozomen's work [No. 38] while Cassiodorus took it from Socrates' *History* [No. 15]. On the other hand, in the third and last case, Sozomen's *Church History* provided Cassiodorus with Arius' profession of faith [No. 41] sent to Emperor Constantine the Great, while Socrates' work provided Theodore with it [No. 17].

These two observations lead to two conclusions: Cassiodorus had direct access to his sources and did not base his own work only on the *Historia Tripartita* of Theodore. Moreover, Cassiodorus also made his own choice among the documents found in the three sources.

The integration of these documents into their respective narrative also points to significant differences between the two authors' views.

b. Documents Order in the two *Historiae Tripartitae* (see Appendix: Tables Nos 4 and 5)

The main discrepancies between the two *Historiae Tripartitae* concern the succession of the documents related to Arius' return from exile. Arius and some of his partisans (Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nicaea, Euzoïos) were condemned by the Council of Nicaea and then exiled by Emperor Constantine.

While Theodore introduced Constantine's Letter to Sapor [No. 35] at the end of his narrative on the expansion of Christianity and Constantine's protection of Christians outside his Empire, Cassiodorus inserted it in the middle of his account of Arius' return from exile, thereby displacing Arius' profession of faith [Nos. 17 and 41]. Cassiodorus also reversed the order of appearance of the letters sent on the one hand by Constantine against Eusebius and Theognis [No. 34], and on the other hand by Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis to the Emperor, asking for clemency and for permission to come back from exile. [Nos. 38 and 15].

The main differences concern the return of Arius and his exiled companions from exile, and the vicissitudes surrounding this event, involving both the Emperor and Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, successor of Alexander, who had laboured to have Arius condemned during the Council of Nicaea.

The examination of the selection and assemblage of documents excerpted from the three *Church Histories* in both *Historiae Tripartitae* demonstrates a different use of the same material by Theodore and Cassiodorus, and therefore suggests two different points of view on the same events.

3. Two Pictures of Constantine the Great

These disparities in the selection and in the integration of documents between the narrative of Theodore's and Cassiodorus' impact on the representation of the facts, and in particular on the picture of the Emperor Constantine. As the first Christian emperor and as the convener of the first ecumenical Council (Nicaea, 325), Constantine played a fundamental role in the construction of the image of the ideal Christian Emperor. Several legends flourished about him throughout Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, in which various aspects of his life and his involvement in Church affairs were constantly reviewed. The initiator of the « Constantinian historiography/hagiography » was Eusebius of Caesarea. In addition to the information that can be found in his *Church History*, Eusebius also dedicated a complete work to the Emperor: the *Vita Constantini*.⁵¹ Socrates reproaches his predecessor for trying to please the Emperor and hence for lacking precision in the exposition of the facts.⁵² At the beginning of his second book, Socrates announced that he had reworked his account after the discovering of the works of bishop Athanasius of Alexandria, who was exiled by Constantine. Until then he had known only Rufinus' work, the Latin version of Eusebius' *Church History*.⁵³ Hartmut Leppin observed that Socrates, and after him Sozomen and Theodoret, could no longer ignore and pass over in silence the mistake made by Constantine. Although they do not question Constantine's piety and desire to maintain the peace of the Church, each of the three authors made him less idealized at different levels.⁵⁴ Like any other human being, Constantine has weaknesses and makes mistakes. To call Arius back from exile was his most serious mistake. Since Theodore and Cassiodorus excerpted from the three previous sources, one would expect to find Constantine's view of one of the three sources in both *Historiae Tripartitae*. The careful observation and analysis of Theodore's and Cassiodorus' selection and combination of documents taken from their three sources show that Theodore and Cassiodorus did not copy one specific source's point of view and that they did not depict the same Constantine. The following analysis will mainly focus on the two

⁵¹ See Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, introd., transl., and commentary by Av. CAMERON and S. G. HALL, Oxford, 1999; Eusebius von Caesarea, *De vita Constantini: Über das Leben Konstantins*, ed. by B. BLECKMANN, translated and commented by H. SCHNEIDER, Turnhout, 2007.

⁵² Socrates, *Kirchengeschichte*, I.1,2.

⁵³ Socrates, *Kirchengeschichte*, II.3

⁵⁴ LEPPIN, *Von Constantin dem Grossen*, op. cit., n. 50, p. 40-59.

series of documents related to the Council of Nicaea and Arius' return from exile.

a. The Emperor Constantine in Theodore's *Historia Tripartita*

To begin with, Theodore completely dropped a quotation from Eusebius of Caesarea (*Vita Constantini* III.13-14) transmitted by Socrates' and Sozomen's *Histories* [N^{os}. 4 and 28].⁵⁵ Eusebius describes Constantine's behavior during the Council of Nicaea. While the bishops are not able to find an agreement and keep accusing each other, the Emperor is the one who listens to everyone and helps the bishops to find their way toward a consensus. In place of this quotation, Theodore reports this event with an excerpt taken from Theodoret's own narrative.⁵⁶ Theodoret reports that Constantine's attitude during the Council was exemplary since he fulfilled his role and did not exceed his prerogatives. He maintained his neutral position by burning the libelli handed in by the bishops and considered that their judgment did not depend on him. His role is confined to the logistical organization of the Council (namely, providing maximum comfort to the bishops) and to the promotion and encouragement of harmony. After the Council, he ratified the profession of faith issued by the bishops as being in conformity with the will of God and hastened himself to confirm officially the decisions of the Council to all the bishops and the faithful. The Emperor Constantine presented himself as the son who loves his fathers: οἷα δὲ παῖς φιλοπάτωρ.⁵⁷ Leaving aside Eusebius of Caesarea's quotation transmitted by both Socrates' and Sozomen's works and choosing instead Theodoret's own narrative, Theodore eliminated any possibility of Constantine actively participating in the Council of Nicaea, and offered a very praiseworthy and passive image of the Emperor. Theodore describes Constantine, at the beginning of his reign, as an emperor who does not interfere in Church matters.

⁵⁵ Socrates, *Kirchengeschichte*, I.8,21-23.

⁵⁶ Theodore Lector, *Historia Tripartita* (Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 6; *Codex Marcianus Graecus* Z. 344, fol. 00024^v, l. 19-21): excerpt from Theodoret's, *Ecclesiastical History*, I.7,2. Theodore Lector, *Historia Tripartita* (Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 7-8; *Codex Marcianus Graecus* Z. 344, fol. 00027^r, l. 2-10): excerpt from Theodoret, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. by L. PARMENTIER – G. C. HANSEN (GCS N.F. 5), Berlin, 1998, I.7,7-9.

⁵⁷ Theodore Lector, *Historia Tripartita* (Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 7; *Marcianus Graecus* Z. 344, fol. 00027^r, l. 27-31): excerpt from Theodoret, *Kirchengeschichte*, I.7,13: "Τὰ ὅσα καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις παραπλήσια, οἷα δὲ παῖς φιλοπάτωρ, τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὡς πατράσι προσέφερε, τῶν ἀποστολικῶν δογμάτων τὴν συμφωνίαν πραγματευόμενος" / "With those words and other similar, just like a son who loves his father, he addressed the priests like fathers, working toward a harmonization of the of the apostolic doctrines."

However, this situation does not last long according to Theodore's selection and use of the following documents already mentioned:

No	source	Reference of the source	Title of the documents	In Theodore's <i>Historia Trip.</i>
16	S	I.25, 7-8	Letter: Emperor Constantine to Arius	00054 ^r l. 15-22
34	Th	I.20,1-10	Letter: Emperor Constantine against Eusebius and Theognis	00054 ^v , l. 5 – 00055 ^r , l. 27
38	Sz	II.16,3-7	Letter: repentance of Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicea	00055 ^v , l. 1-26
17	S	I.26, 2-6	Profession of faith of Arius and Euzoïos to Empereur Constantine	00056 ^r , l. 7-25
18	S	I.27, 4	Letter: Emperor Constantine to Athanasius (Constantine threatens to depose him)	00056 ^v , l. 8-13

First, it should be mentioned that these documents, especially the profession of faith Arius submitted to Constantine, still raise the debate on whether Arius had been recalled from exile once or twice, and when the recall(s) happened: in 327 or only in 334/335 (the date of the Council of Jerusalem). According to Annick Martin's study, the confusion goes back to Socrates' *Church History*.⁵⁸ Socrates reports separately the episode of Arius' recall from exile by Constantine after the Council of Nicaea and the episode of the Council of Jerusalem, whereas the events had happened one after the other in 334/335.⁵⁹ Like Socrates, Theodore recounted both events separately and therefore also suggested a chronological gap between the two events. This alleged chronological gap allows both Theodore and Socrates to insist on the disorders caused by Arius and his partisans at Alexandria against Athanasius, as well as the Emperor Constantine's involvement in them.

From Theodore's perspective, produced by this combination of documents with narrative excerpts interspersed among them, Constantine is clearly responsible for Arius' return from exile and also for Arius' readmission to the Church. In Theodore's *History*, like in Socrates' *History*, Arius is recalled before his condemnation has been examined and revoked by the bishops.⁶⁰ The annulment of Arius' condemnation would have been a legitimate reason for Constantine to recall him, but this had not happened yet

⁵⁸ A. MARTIN, "Le fil d'Arius, 325-335", *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique* 84.2 (1989), p. 297-304.

⁵⁹ MARTIN, "Le fil d'Arius", *art. cit.*, n. 58, p. 311-318.

⁶⁰ Theodore Lector, *Historia Tripartita* (Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 18; *Codex Marcianus Graecus Z. 344*, fols 00053v, l. 22. – 00054r, l. 13): excerpt from Socra-

when he did recall him. So, in Theodore's *History*, the Emperor interferes in Church matters by recalling Arius on his own initiative, and therefore by urging the bishops to examine his case again.⁶¹ Moreover, Constantine is also responsible for Eusebius' and Theognis' return. By inserting Constantine's letter addressed to the community of Nicomedia against Eusebius of Nicomedia [No.34] just before mentioning the letter of repentance of the same Eusebius and Theognis of Nicaea [No.17], on the one hand Theodore may suggest that the Emperor was unfavorable to their return. On the other hand, however, even if they had been recalled by the Emperor after their confession of faith was examined by the bishops, Constantine is deemed responsible because Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis use Arius' pardon as a basis for their own request to claim their own.

Theodore further stresses Constantine's interference in Church matters by inserting Constantine's letter to Athanasius [No. 18], where he threatens Athanasius with deposition if he does not accept Arius back into his church.⁶² In Theodore's sequence, this threat follows directly Arius' return, when his profession of faith has not yet been examined and approved by the bishops gathered at the Council of Jerusalem (September 335). According to Theodore's chronology of events this gathering is largely posterior to Arius' return, whereas in reality it is the Council which allowed his rehabilitation and which took place in the same year (334/335).

b. The Emperor Constantine in Cassiodorus' *Historia Tripartita*

Like Theodore, Cassiodorus did not pick up Eusebius' quotation (*Vita Constantini*, III.13-14), transmitted by Socrates and Theodoret, describing Constantine's behavior during the Council of Nicaea, which presents him as actively involved in the resolution of the conflicts between bishops, incapable of reaching an agreement independently [No.4].⁶³ Like Theodore,

tes' *Ecclesiastical History*, I.25,1-6. Constantia, Constantine's sisters, believed what the Arian priest said and made of this priest one of her friends.

⁶¹ P. VAN NUFFELEN, "Arius, Athanase et les autres: dimensions juridiques et politiques du retour d'exil au iv^e siècle", in *Exil et relégation. Les tribulations du sage et du saint Durant l'Antiquité romaine et chrétienne (I^{er}-vi^{es}. Ap. J.-C.). Actes du colloque organisé par le Centre Jean-Charles Picard. Université de Paris xii-Val de Marne (17-18 juin 2005)*, ed. by BLAUDEAU Ph., Paris, 2008, p. 147-175. In theory, the injunction of exile was the prerogative of the Emperor. However, the Emperor did not systematically exile all the persons condemned by the Church, nor did he wait for the approval of a council to banish a bishop.

⁶² Theodore Lector, *Historia Tripartita* (Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, 1995, p. 19.; *Codex Marcianus Graecus* Z. 344, fol. 00056^v, l. 13): excerpt from Socrates, *Kirchengeschichte*, I.27,5.

⁶³ Socrates, *Kirchengeschichte*: I.8, 21-23 = Eusebius von Caesarea, *De vita Constantini* III.13-14.

Cassiodorus opted for Theodoret's narrative, which limited Constantine's involvement in Church affairs and assured Constantine's submission to the bishops' decision.⁶⁴

Unlike Theodore, and although Cassiodorus mentions it,⁶⁵ Cassiodorus did not select Constantine's letter to the Churches [No. 26]⁶⁶ and Constantine's letter to the Church of Alexandria [No. 8], in order to inform the absentees about the decisions of the Council and to encourage all people to preserve the Church's harmony.⁶⁷ Giving up a large part of Constantine's correspondence, as already noted,⁶⁸ Cassiodorus suggests that the proclamation and dissemination of the decisions of Nicaea was due to the bishops only, i.e. to the Church. The single imperial letter Cassiodorus preserves and inserts at this point of his narrative concerns the sentence against people who preserved Arius' works and were not willing to burn them [No. 9: to the bishops and people].⁶⁹ But this letter concerned an imperial law applying to all subjects, not an episcopal decision.

Further examination of Cassiodorus' selection of documents will reveal how much Cassiodorus seeks to minimize Constantine's involvement in religious affairs, and how Cassiodorus' perspective is different from Theodore's one.

No	source	Reference of the source	Title of the document	In Cassiodorus' <i>Historia Trip.</i>
15	S	I.14, 2-6	Letter: repentance of Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicea	II.17
34	Th	I.20,1-10	Letter: Emperor Constantine against Eusebius and Theognis, to the people of Nicomedia	II.22
35	Th	I.25,1-11	Letter: Emperor Constantine to Sapor, the King of the Persians.	III.3
41	Sz	II.27,6-10	Profession of faith of Arius and Euzoïos to Emperor Constantine	III.6

⁶⁴ Cassiodorus, *Historia Tripartita*, II.5 (Cassiodorus – Epiphanius, *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, p. 90-92: excerpt from Theodoret, *Kirchengeschichte*, I.7,7-17.)

⁶⁵ Cassiodorus *Historia Tripartita*, II.14 (Cassiodorus – Epiphanius, *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, p. 108: excerpt from Sozomenos, *Kirchengeschichte*, I.25.4.)

⁶⁶ Socrates, *Kirchengeschichte*, I.9, 1-14.

⁶⁷ Socrates, *Kirchengeschichte*, I.9,17-25.

⁶⁸ See « Selection of the documents taken from the three sources by Theodore and Cassiodorus ».

⁶⁹ Cassiodorus, *Historia Tripartita*, II.15 (Cassiodorus – Epiphanius, *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, p. 108-109: excerpt from Socrates, *Kirchengeschichte*, I.9, 30-31.)

If Cassiodorus could not hide that Constantine recalled Arius from exile,⁷⁰ he did however leave out two related documents transmitted by Socrates' *History*, and used previously by Theodore: Constantine's letter to call Arius back from exile [No. 16] and Constantine's letter that threatened Athanasius [No. 18]. The omission of these two documents prevents Cassiodorus from stressing Constantine's effective implication in Arius' return. To report this event, Cassiodorus used Sozomen's account.⁷¹ In Sozomen's *History*, Arius' return is directly followed by the Council of Jerusalem, which allowed Arius to be admitted to communion again. These events would have taken place in 335, whereas according to Socrates' chronology followed by Theodore, seven or eight years separate the two events. According to Cassiodorus' chronology, Arius will be allowed to return into communion only after the Council of Jerusalem had decided it. The absence of time between Arius' recall by Constantine and the Council of Jerusalem reduces the possible involvement of Constantine in the affair. This aspect is also highlighted by discarding Constantine's threat to Athanasius.

Cassiodorus also deals with the episode concerning the submission of Arius' profession of faith [No. 41] differently from Theodore. Cassiodorus does not follow Socrates' narrative like Theodore, but chooses Sozomen's *History*. Both sources picture Constantine's attitude in receiving Arius' profession in a different way. In Sozomen's version, favoured by Cassiodorus, although Constantine believes that the profession of faith of Arius is in agreement with Nicaea's decision, he does not take the liberty of admitting Arius to communion. The Emperor left this decision to the approval of the bishops gathered in Jerusalem.⁷² In Socrates' version, chosen by Theodore, Constantine believes that, if Arius is in accord with the faith of Nicaea, he has the right to send him back to Alexandria, even though his profession of faith has not been approved yet by the Council of Jerusalem.⁷³ The

⁷⁰ Cassiodorus, *Historia Tripartita*, III.6 (Cassiodorus – Epiphanius, *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, p. 142: excerpt from Sozomenos, *Kirchengeschichte*, II.27,4.).

⁷¹ Cassiodorus, *Historia Tripartita*, III.6 (Cassiodorus – Epiphanius, *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, p. 144: excerpt from Sozomenos, *Kirchengeschichte*, II.27,13-14.).

⁷² Cassiodorus *Historia Tripartita*, III.6 (Cassiodorus – Epiphanius, *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, p. 144: excerpt from Sozomen's *Ecclesiastical History*, II.27,12): “ὁπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς παραπλήσια δοξάζειν Ἀρειὸν τε καὶ Εὐζώιον τοῖς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνεληλυθόσιν ἤσθη τῷ πράγματι. οὐ μὴν ἑαυτῷ ἐπέτρεψεν εἰς κοινωνίαν αὐτοὺς δέξασθαι πρὸ κρίσεως καὶ δοκιμασίας τῶν τούτου κυρίων κατὰ τὸν νόμον τῆς ἐκκλησίας” / “Arbitratus autem imperator Arium et Euzoium similia credere his, qui Nicaea convenerant, valde gavisus est. Non tamen sibimet persuasit, ut eos in ecclesiae communione susciperet ante iudicium atque probationem congruarum personarum secundum ecclesiae legem”.

⁷³ Socrates, *Kirchengeschichte*, I.25, 6: “καὶ εἰ Ἀρειος, ἔφη, συντίθεται τῇ συνόδῳ, καὶ εἰ ἀληθῶς τὰ ἐκείνης φρονεῖ, δέξομαι τε αὐτὸν εἰς πρόσωπον, καὶ σὺν τιμῇ ἐκπέμψω εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.” / “He said: ‘if Arius agrees with the Council and if he truly adheres to its principles, I will welcome him in front of me and will send him to Alexandria with honor’”.

choice of Sozomen's instead of Socrates' narrative is therefore much more favorable to the image of Constantine and minimizes his fault in the reintroduction of Arianism in the Church.

4. Conclusions

If Theodore and Cassiodorus based their narratives on the same sources – the three *Church Histories* of Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret – their compilations of excerpts, i.e. the selection and combination of excerpts, differ from one another. With the same material the two authors depicted their own image of Constantine. This picture is not specifically copied from one of the three sources. On the one hand, although Theodore followed the ambiguous chronology of Socrates' narrative, he minimized Constantine's involvement in Church affairs during the Council of Nicaea and inflated it after Nicaea by omitting or integrating documents in his narrative. His selection of excerpts leads to a contrast between two images/models of Constantine. On the other hand, Cassiodorus chose Sozomen's chronology but, while dropping several documents he also gave a more positive image of Constantine than his sources or even than Theodore did. It is useful to examine the reasons why Theodore and Cassiodorus selected and combined excerpts in their own more specific ways, whereas there were plenty of other possibilities to combine excerpts taken from the same sources/material. Since they each took the trouble to stand out from their sources, and Cassiodorus from his predecessor, one can suspect that they both had their own conception of the History of the Church and that the contemporaneous religious and political context of the sixth century influenced their writing-compilation. Assuming this, the picture of Constantine can be examined in relation to the imperial policy during the sixth century. In Theodore's work, the opposition of a passive Emperor in the Church affairs and an Emperor involved in Church affairs may refer to the evolution of the role played by the Emperor Anastasius I. Until the year 507, the Emperor Anastasius I officially followed Zeno's religious policy and the *Henotikon*, which had guaranteed the harmony of bishops of the main four episcopal seats for more than twenty five years. After 508, Anastasius got more involved in the Church affairs by imposing a new religious compromise emerging under antichalcedonian influence. Anastasius gradually promoted Monophysism, to the detriment of the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon defended by Bishop Macedonius of Constantinople, exiled by the Emperor.

On the other hand, the Cassiodorian Constantine may suggest a criticism of the Emperor Justinian's policy and behaviour toward the Church.

Justinian, who wanted to restore the unity of the Roman Empire from a territorial and religious point of view, i.e. the Roman Empire during Constantine the Great's reign seemed to behave in an opposite way to the Cassiodorian Constantine. Anxious to put an end to the religious quarrels of the Church and to impose a common faith, he never ceased to be involved in the Church's affairs (the Three Chapters Controversy) and to put the Western Church under pressure.

One of the hidden purposes of both *Historiae Tripartitae* could have been to criticize the imperial figure, and more generally the events of their time, through the image they drew of the first Christian Emperor. The two *Historiae Tripartitae* reflected the time of each of the two authors. The three *Church Histories* of Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret are canonical sources of what happened before the Council of Chalcedon, which marked the beginning of the contemporary religious problems at the time of Theodorus and Cassiodorus. Despite this, the two *Historiae Tripartitae* must be read independently of one another and independently of their sources or of their "compilatory" aspect.

Appendix

The three following tables list the documents referring to the reign of Emperor Constantine used by the three sources – Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret. They have been numbered in order to make the following analysis easier for the reader.

Table No. 1

	From Socrates		Title of the documents	Cass. <i>HT</i>	Theodore's <i>HT</i>
1	I	6, 4-30	Letter: Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, to other bishops.	I.13	00013 ^r -14 ^r
2	I	7, 2-20	Letter: Emperor Constantine to bishop Alexander of Alexandria and to Arius.	I.19	00023 ^r -24 ^r
3	I	8, 5-11	Quotation: Eusebius of Caesarea, <i>Vita Constantini</i> III.7-9	II.1	00025 ^r -25 ^v .
4	I	8, 21-23	Quotation: Eusebius of Caesarea, <i>Vita Constantini</i> III.13-14 (a part of it)	no	no
5	I	8, 29-30	Profession of faith from the Council of Nicaea	II.9	00029 ^r
6	I	8, 35-43	Quotation: Eusebius of Caesarea about the profession of faith from the Council of Nicaea (Athanasius, <i>De decretis</i> 33)	II.11	00029 ^v -30 ^v
7	I	9, 1-14	Letter: the Council of Nicaea to the Egyptians	no	00031 ^v -32 ^v
8	I	9, 17-25	Letter: Emperor Constantine to the Church of Alexandria	no	00034 ^r -34 ^v
9	I	9, 30-31	Letter: Emperor Constantine to bishops and people.	II.15	00035 ^r
10	I	9, 32-46	Letter: Emperor Constantine to the Churches (to bishops who did not attend the Council of Nicaea).	no	no
11	I	9, 47-50	Letter: Emperor Constantine about the building of churches	no	no
12	I	9, 51-55	Letter: Emperor Constantine to Eusebius of Caesarea	no	no
13	I	9, 56-63	Letter: Emperor Constantine to Macarius of Jerusalem	no	no
14	I	13, 11-12	List of Fathers of Nicaea	no	Beginning 00037 ^v -38 ^r

15	I	14, 2-6	Letter: repentance of Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicaea	II.17	no
16	I	25, 7-8	Letter: Emperor Constantine to Arius	no	00054 ^r
17	I	26, 2-6	Profession of faith of Arius and Euzoios to Emperor Constantine	no	00056 ^r
18	I	27, 4	Letter: Emperor Constantine to Athanasius (Constantine threatens to depose him)	no	00056 ^v .
19	I	34, 1-12	Letter: Emperor Constantine to the Council of Tyre	III.7	00063 ^r -64 ^r

Table No. 2

	From Theodoret		Title of the documents	Cass. <i>HT</i>	Theodore <i>HT</i>
20	I	4, 1-60	Letter: Alexander of Alexandria to Alexandre of Constantinople	I.14	00014 ^v -20 ^r
21	I	5, 1-4	Letter: Arius to Eusebius of Nicomedia	I.15	00020 ^v -21 ^r
22	I	6,1-8	Letter: Eusebius of Nicomedia to Paulinus of Tyre	I.16	00021 ^v -22 ^r
23	I	8,1-5	Quotation: Refutation of the Arians by Eustathius of Antioch (Fragment 32)	II.6	00028 ^r
24	I	8,7-16	Quotation: Refutation of the Arians by Athanasius of Alexandria (<i>Epistola ad Afros</i> , 5,4-6,4)	II.7	00028 ^r -28 ^v
25	I	9,2-13	Letter: the Council of Nicaea to the Egyptians	II.12	no
26	I	10,1-12	Letter: Emperor Constantine to the Churches (to bishops who did not attend the Council of Nicaea)	no	00032 ^v -34 ^r
27	I	12,1-18	Quotation: Eusebius of Caesarea about the profession of faith from the Council of Nicaea (Athanasius, <i>De decretis</i> 33)	no	no
28	I	13,2	Quotation: Eusebius of Caesarea, <i>Vita Constantini</i> , III.13-14.	no	no
29	I	13,3-4	Quotation: Eusebius of Caesarea, <i>Vita Constantini</i> , III.21-22.	no	no
30	I	14,3-10	Quotation: Athanasius about Arius' death (Theodoret's own tradition) (\neq No. 43)	no	no
31	I	15,1-2	Letter: Emperor Constantine about the building of churches.	no	00038 ^r

32	I	16,1-4	Letter: Emperor Constantine to Eusebius of Caesarea	II.16	00038 ^r -38 ^v
33	I	17,1-8	Letter: Emperor Constantine to Macarius of Jerusalem.	no	00039 ^v
34	I	20,1-10	Letter: Emperor Constantine against Eusebius and Theognis, to the people of Nicomedia	II.22	00054 ^r -55 ^r
35	I	25,1-11	Letter: Emperor Constantine to Sapor, the King of the Persians.	III.3	00052 ^v -53 ^v
36	I	27	Letter: Emperor Constantine to the Alexandrians (≠ No. 8)	no	00057 ^v -58 ^r
37	I	29,1-6	Letter: Emperor Constantine to the Synod which will gather in Tyre	no	00059 ^v -60 ^v

Table No. 3

	From Sozomen		Title of the documents	Cass. <i>HT</i>	Theodo- rus' <i>HT</i>
38	II	16,3-7	Letter: repentance of Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicea to Emperor Constantine	no	00055 ^r -55 ^v
39	II	17,2-3	Quotation: Apollinarius about Athanasius of Alexandria (fragment 168)	no	00057 ^r
40	II	22, 5	Letter: Emperor Constantine to Athanasius (Constantine threatens to depose him)	no	no
41	II	27,6-10	Profession of faith of Arius and Euzoïos to Emperor Constantine	III.6	no
42	II	28,2-12	Letter: Emperor Constantine to the Council of Tyre	no	no
43	II	30, 1-5	Quotation: Athanasius about Arius' death (Epistula ad episcopos Aegypti et Lybyae 18-19 + local tradition ⁷⁴) (≠ No. 30)	no	00066 ^r -66 ^v

74

The two tables below show the succession of documents concerning the reign of Constantine in each of the two *Historiae Tripartitae*, i.e. in the first book of Theodore's work and in the first three books of Cassiodorus' work. The source of each document – Socrates (S), Sozomen (Sz), Theodoret (Th) – is also specified. It should be noted that a narrative account precedes and follows each document.

⁷⁴ See VAN NUFFELEN, *Un héritage de paix et de piété*, p. 480.

Table No. 4

Nº	Source	Reference of the source	Title of the documents	In Theodore's <i>HT</i>
1	S	I.6, 4-30	Letter: Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, to other bishops.	00013 ^r -14 ^v
20	Th	I.4, 1-60	Letter: Alexander of Alexandria to Alexander of Constantinople	00014 ^v -20 ^r
21	Th	I.5, 1-4	Letter: Arius to Eusebius of Nicomedia	00020 ^v -21 ^r
22	Th	6,1-8	Letter: Eusebius of Nicomedia to Paulinus of Tyre	00021 ^v -22 ^r
2	S	I.7, 2-20	Letter: Emperor Constantine to bishop Alexander of Alexandria and to Arius.	00023 ^r -24 ^v
3	S	I. 8, 5-11	Quotation: Eusebius of Caesarea, <i>Vita Constantini</i> III.7-9	00025 ^r -25 ^v
23	Th	I.8,1-5	Quotation: Refutation of the Arians by Athanasius of Alexandria (<i>Epistola ad Afros</i> , 5,4-6,4)	00028 ^r
24	Th	I.8,7-16	Quotation: Refutation of the Arians by Athanasius of Alexandria (<i>Epistola ad Afros</i> , 5,4-6,4)	00028 ^r -28 ^v
5	S	I.8, 29-30	Profession of faith from the Council of Nicaea	00029 ^r
6	S	I.8, 35-43	Quotation: Eusebius of Caesarea about the profession of faith from the Council of Nicaea (Athanasius, <i>De decretis</i> 33)	00029 ^v -30 ^v
7	S	I.9, 1-14	Letter: the Council of Nicaea to the Egyptians	00031 ^v -32 ^v
26	Th	I.10,1-12	Letter: Emperor Constantine to bishops who did not attend the Council of Nicaea	00032 ^v -34 ^r
8	S	I.9, 17-25	Letter: Emperor Constantine to the Church of Alexandria	00034 ^r -34 ^v
9	S	I.9, 30-31	Letter: Emperor Constantine to bishops and people.	00035 ^r
14	S	I.13, 11-12	List of Fathers of Nicaea	Beginning 00037 ^v -38 ^r
31	Th	I.15,1-2	Letter: Emperor Constantine about building of churches.	00038 ^r
32	Th	I.16,1-4	Letter: Emperor Constantine to Eusebius of Caesarea	00038 ^r -38 ^v
33	Th	I.17,1-8	Letter: Emperor Constantine to Macarius of Jerusalem.	00039 ^v

35	Th	I.25,1-11	Letter: Emperor Constantine to Sapor, the King of the Persians.	00052 ^v -53 ^v
16	S	I.25, 7-8	Letter: Emperor Constantine to Arius	00054 ^r
34	Th	I.20,1-10	Letter: Emperor Constantine against Eusebius and Theognis, to the people of Nicomedia	00054 ^r -55 ^r
38	Sz	I.16,3-7	Letter: repentance of Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicaea	00055 ^r -55 ^v
17	S	I.26, 2-6	Profession of faith of Arius and Euzoios to Empereur Constantine	00056 ^r
18	S	I.27, 4	Letter: Emperor Constantine to Athanasius (Constantine threatens to depose him)	00056 ^v
39	Sz	II.17,2-3	Quotation: Apollinarius about Athanasius of Alexandria (fragment 168)	00057 ^r
36	Th	I.27	Letter: Emperor Constantine to the Alexandrians (≠ No. 8)	00057 ^v -58 ^r
37	Th	I.29,1-6	Letter: Emperor Constantine to the Synod which will take place in Tyre	00059 ^v -60 ^v
19	S	I.34, 1-12	Letter: Emperor Constantine to the Council of Tyre	00063 ^r -64 ^r
43	Sz	II. 30, 1-5	Quotation: Athanasius about Arius' death (<i>Epistula ad episcopos Aegypti et Lybiae</i> 18-19 + local tradition ⁷⁵).	00066 ^r -66 ^v

Table No. 5

No	source	Reference of the source	Title of the documents	In Cassiodorus' HT
1	S	I.6, 4-30	Letter: Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, to other bishops.	I.13
20	Th	I.4, 1-60	Letter: Alexander of Alexandria to Alexandre of Constantinople	I.14
21	Th	I.5, 1-4	Letter: Arius to Eusebius of Nicomedia	I.15
22	Th	6,1-8	Letter: Eusebius of Nicomedia to Paulin of Tyre	I.16
2	S	I.7, 2-20	Letter: Emperor Constantine to bishop Alexander of Alexandria and to Arius.	I.19
3	S	I. 8, 5-11	Quotation: Eusebius of Caesarea, <i>Vita Constantini</i> III.7-9	II.1

⁷⁵ See VAN NUFFELEN 2004, p. 480.

23	Th	I.8,1-5	Quotation: Refutation of the Arians by Athanasius of Alexandria (<i>Epistola ad Afros</i> , 5,4-6,4)	II.6
24	Th	I.8,7-16	Quotation: Refutation of the Arians by Athanasius of Alexandria (<i>Epistola ad Afros</i> , 5,4-6,4)	II.7
5	S	I.8, 29-30	Profession of faith from the Council of Nicaea	II.9
6	S	I.8, 35-43	Quotation: Eusebius of Caesarea about the profession of faith from the Council of Nicaea (Athanasius, <i>De decretis</i> 33)	II.11
25	Th	I.9,2-13	Letter: the Council of Nicaea to the Egyptians	II.12
9	S	I.9, 30-31	Letter: Emperor Constantine to bishops and people	II.15
32	Th	I.16,1-4	Letter: Emperor Constantine to Eusebius of Caesarea	II.16
15	S	I.14, 2-6	Letter: repentance of Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicaea	II.17
34	Th	I.20,1-10	Letter: Emperor Constantine against Eusebius and Theognis, to the people of Nicomedia	II.22
35	Th	I.25,1-11	Letter: Emperor Constantine to Sapor, the King of the Persians	III.3
41	Soz	II.27,6-10	Profession of faith of Arius and Euzoios to Emperor Constantine	III.6
19	S	I.34, 1-12	Letter: Emperor Constantine to the Council of Tyre	III.7

Summary

The two so-called *Historiae Tripartitae* composed by Theodore Lector and Cassiodorus during the first half of the sixth century are traditionally perceived and studied as a random collection of excerpts copied from earlier sources (The *Church Histories* of Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret of Cyrus). This paper intends to show that the nature of Theodore' and Cassiodorus' works as compilations does not exclude the authors' expressions of their personal historiographical viewpoints, concerning the political and religious transformations of their time. Actually, the process of compilation, through the choice and combination of the excerpts it entails, is a subtle mechanism to create original works: the authors are allowed to convey their own message while exploiting the authority of the established Christian

sources they quote. In order to demonstrate that, we suggest an examination of the selection and assemblage of documents excerpted from the three *Church Histories* in both *Historiae Tripartitae*, and then the impact of this selection on the picture of the Emperor Constantine. The careful observation and analysis show that Theodore and Cassiodorus did not copy one specific source's point of view and that they did not depict the same Constantine. In Theodore's work, the opposition of a passive Emperor in the Church affairs and an Emperor involved in Church affairs may refer to the evolution of the role played by the Emperor Anastasius I. In Cassiodorus work, Constantine may suggest a criticism of the Emperor Justinian's policy and behaviour toward the Church.

Emerance DELACENSERIE
UGent / Université d'Angers
<emerancedelacenserie@gmail.com>

A “Woven-Texture” Narration: On the Compilation Method of the Syriac Renaissance Chronicles (Twelfth-Thirteenth Centuries)*

Marianna MAZZOLA

(Ghent / Paris)

1. Introduction

The practice of excerpting texts as a literary form in Late Antiquity and Middle Age has been receiving more and more scholarly attention.¹ The so called compilatory works have been finally divested from the undeserved label of unoriginal compositions and their literary creativity has been

* The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP/2007-2013)/ERC Grant Agreement n. 313153. I would like to express my gratitude to Peter Van Nuffelen who has revised and commented this paper at various stages and to Pier Giorgio Borbone, Maria Conterno, Emerance Delacenserie, Andy Hilken and Panagiotis Manafis for their valuable comments. All uncredited translations are my own.

¹ For an overview of the role of the excerpts in the literary production from Antiquity to the Middle Age see J. KÖNIG & G. WOOLF, eds, *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to Renaissance*, Cambridge, 2013; S. MORLET, ed., *Lire en extraits. Lecture et production des textes, de l'Antiquité à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Paris, 2015. Despite the fact that examples can be found in Classical Antiquity the compilatory activity seems to become prominent as a cultural phenomenon from the fourth century. See P. VAN NUFFELEN, “Historiography as a Cultural Practice,” in *Historiographie tardo-antique et transmission des savoirs*, ed. by P. VAN NUFFELEN & P. BLAUDEU, Berlin, 2015, p. 15. Paolo Odorico's work on Byzantine literature goes in the same direction. Questioning the attribution of the collecting and copying practice to the specific context of the tenth century Byzantine encyclopaedism he has demonstrated that this practice dates back to earlier texts which all responds to a common culture in Late Antiquity which is defined as “culture of the sylloge”. see P. ODORICO, “La cultura della sillogé. 1) Il cosiddetto enciclopedismo bizantino. 2) Le tavole del sapere di Giovanni Damasceno”, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83 (1990), p. 1-23. For a study of Byzantine compilations from the ninth to the fourteenth century see P. VAN DEUN & C. MACÉ, eds, *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium?*, Leuven, 2011. For Syriac see M. DEBIÉ, “L'historiographie tardo-antique: une littérature en extraits”, in *Lire en Extraits*, ed. by S. MORLET, Paris, 2015, p. 393-413.

located in the way they excerpt and organize their sources.² Therefore, as the practice of excerpting has been shown to be a widespread method, attention should be moved to the implications of these literary means. The selection of the material and the new frame into which it is embedded indeed discloses the communicative intention of the author. As to historiography, scholars have argued for qualitative differences among and between chronicles and collections in terms of aim and view of history.³

In this article I shall seek to analyse the compilation method of the Syriac Renaissance chronicles of Michael the Great⁴ and the Anonymous (1234)⁵ as cues of the way they intended to provide historical knowledge to their readers. Through a comparison with the earlier Syrian Orthodox chronicles,⁶ I shall argue that these features betray the participation of the authors in a common compilation culture but also resulted from the historical context they were working in. To this end I shall give an introductory overview of historiographical collections and chronicles in Syriac. As it will be noticed, historiographical collections do not exist independently in Syriac and thus Syrian Orthodox chose exclusively the chronicle format to transmit historical knowledge, yet within the chronicle format they adopted a compilatory method. Second, I shall analyse the differences between the compilation methods of the sixth-ninth-century chronicles and the Syriac Renaissance chronicles. Last, I shall seek to determine what these differences disclose about the view of history found in the Syriac Renaissance

² E.g. In the reassessment of the concept of encyclopaedism, Paolo Odorico has questioned the unoriginal character of the “encyclopaedia”, stressing the innovation of the new structure resulted from the use of the previous material. P. ODORICO, “La cultura della sillogé. 1) Il cosiddetto enciclopedismo bizantino. 2) Le tavole del sapere di Giovanni Damasceno”, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83 (1990), p. 1-23; P. ODORICO, “Cadre d'exposition/Cadre de pensée: la culture du recueil”, in *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium?* ed. by P. VAN DEUN, Leuven, 2011, p. 89-108.

³ For the “anti-historic” nature of the *Excerpta Constantiniana* see B. FLUSIN, “Les Excerpta Constantiniens: logique d'une anti-histoire”, in *Fragments d'Historiens Grecs. Autour de Denys d'Halicarnasse*, ed. by S. PITTIA, Roma, 2002, p. 537-559.

⁴ Native of Melitene, he was trained in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum and elected Syrian Orthodox Patriarch in 1166. For his work see M. DEBIÉ, *L'écriture de l'histoire en syriaque: transmissions interculturelles et constructions identitaires entre hellénisme et islam*, Leuven-Paris-Bristol, 2015: 577-585; D. WELTECKE, *Die Beschreibung der Zeiten von Mor Michael dem Grossen (1126-1199). Eine Studien zu ihrem historischen und historiographiegeschichtlichen Kontext*, Leuven, 2003.

⁵ Younger contemporary of Michael the Great. He was part of the entourage of the maphrian Gregory (1189-1214). For his work see M. DEBIÉ, *L'écriture de l'histoire en syriaque: transmissions interculturelles et constructions identitaires entre hellénisme et islam*, Leuven-Paris-Bristol, 2015, p. 585-589.

⁶ I limit myself to Syrian Orthodox literature, to which the Renaissance Chronicles belong. East Syrian historiography knew a largely separate development.

chronicles and what may have been the conditions that prompted the development of this method.

2. Historiographical Collections and Chronicles in Syrian Orthodox Literature

Before starting the analysis of these chronicles, it might be useful to give a preliminary definition of what I am going to cite as collection and chronicle, in order to avoid terminological misunderstanding. For collection I mean a list of excerpts organized thematically. In such collections the historiographical excerpts are removed from the sequential development of the events, and the causal relation typical of the historiographical discourse fails. For chronicle I refer to a work that organises historical material according to a chronological framework.⁷ In Syrian Orthodox historiography, this historical material consists of excerpts. Thus, collections and chronicles in Syriac both follow the same method: selecting, excerpting, possibly shortening or modifying the excerpts and finally organizing the excerpts in a new composition according, respectively, to thematic and chronological criteria.

Historiographical collections, like e.g. the *Excerpta Constantiniana* in Byzantium, do not exist independently in Syriac. Historiographical excerpts are always embedded in larger miscellaneous collections according to the corroborating or complementary function they can play for the aim of the collection, mostly related to dogmatic issues.⁸ Hence, the role of the historiographical excerpts is ancillary to the theological aim of the collection.

The absence of proper historiographical collections suggests that Syrian Orthodox only intended to provide historical memory through chronicles. It can be suggested the relevance of the chronological arrangement: the emergence of the Syrian Orthodox historiography from the sixth century has been interpreted as a result of a new feeling of self-identity and the need of self-legitimation as independent Church after the Council of

⁷ A wide treatise on chronicle genre is found in R. W. BURGESS & M. KULIKOWSKI, *Mosaics of Time. The Latin Chronicle Traditions from the First Century BC to the Sixth Century A.D.*, Turnhout, 2013. I have drawn from the definition of Burgess and Kulikowski only the chronological criterion since Syrian Orthodox chronicles do not always meet the other criteria of brevity and paratactic narrative.

⁸ E.g. the selected passages from Ecclesiastical Historians in MS Vat. sir. 145 provide the historical background to the apologetic treatise of Elijah against the duality of the natures professed in Leo's Tome included at the beginning of the collection. Historiographical excerpts are found in MSS Vat, sir. 37, Vat. sir. 144, Vat. sir. 145, Berlin Sachau 315, London Add. 12154, London Add. 14541, London Add. 17216, Deir al-Surian 28A.

Chalcedon.⁹ Several studies have indeed underlined the key role of historiography in shaping Syrian Orthodox identity.¹⁰ Accordingly, it can be argued that the historical legitimacy of the Syrian Orthodox Church can be demonstrated through a chronologically arranged work showing the persistence of the Church in the path of the orthodoxy.

3. The Sixth- to Ninth-Century “Patchwork” Chronicles

A first period of historiographical writing in Syriac goes from the sixth to the ninth century.¹¹ In this first stage, Syriac chronicles mostly consisted of sequences of brief notes, chronologically arranged, in which the narrative material was often limited to brief historical notices. The so-called brief chronicles,¹² even though virtually covering the whole span of time from the creation up to their own time, are incomplete, presenting several gaps in the narration. The effort to organize the sources usually does not go beyond a rough chronological frame with the intervention of the compiler remaining quite limited. In fact, the compiler usually limits himself to stitching bits of earlier sources one after the other according to the period they cover, refraining from a more accurate combination and from cross-checking of the material.

⁹ M. DEBIÉ, “Syriac Historiography and Identity Formation”, *Church History and Religious Culture* 89. 1-3 (2009), p. 93-114.

¹⁰ See S. ASHBROOK HARVEY, “Remembering Pain: Syriac Historiography and the Separation of the Churches”, *Byzantion* 58.2 (1988), p. 295-308; M. DEBIÉ, “Syriac Historiography and Identity Formation”, *Church History and Religious Culture* 89. 1-3 (2009), p. 93-114; M. MORONY, “History and Identity in the Syrian Churches,” in *Redefining Christian Identity*, ed. by H. M. VAN DER BERG, J. J. VAN GINKEL, T. M. VAN LINT, Leuven- Paris- Dudley, 2005, p. 1-33; J. VAN GINKEL, “History and Community: Jacob of Edessa and the West Syrian Identity,” in *Redefining Christian Identity*, ed. by H. M. VAN DER BERG, J. J. VAN GINKEL, T. M. VAN LINT (ed.), Peeters, Leuven- Paris- Dudley, 2005, p. 67-75; A. PALMER, “Une chronique syriaque contemporaine de la conquête arabe: essai d’interprétation théologique et politique”, in *La Syrie de Byzance à l’Islam, VII^e-VIII^e siècles. Actes du Colloque international, Lyon-Maison de l’Orient Méditerranéen, Paris – Institut du Monde Arabe, 11-15 Septembre 1990*, ed. by P. CANIVET & J. P. REY-COQUAIS, Damascus, 1992, p. 31-46.

¹¹ For a comprehensive work on Syriac Historiography see M. DEBIÉ, *L’écriture de l’histoire en syriaque: transmissions interculturelles et constructions identitaires entre hellénisme et islam*, Leuven – Paris- Bristol, 2015. A succinct list is provided in S. BROCK, “Syriac Historical Writing: A Survey of the main Sources”, *Journal of the Iraqi Academy* 5 (1979-1980), p. 1-30.

¹² A. PALMER, “Les chroniques brèves syriaques”, in *L’historiographie syriaque*, ed. by M. DEBIÉ, Paris, 2009, p. 57-87.

The *Composite chronicle up to 640*¹³ attempts to cover the whole history from the creation up to its composition, but it actually results of a sequence of almost disconnected sources which only coarsely covers the entire span of time. The excerpts are accumulated one after the other as follows:

1st rubric: World people with some geographical information, Genealogy from Adam up to Noah, Patriarchal List.

2nd rubric: World chronology, Kings List, Prophets List

3th rubric: Epitome of Eusebius Chronicle. Note on the Ismaelites.

4th rubric: Continuation of Eusebius up to 639/40.

5th rubric: Narration on the earthquake of Antioch.

6th rubric: Condemnation of the Council of Chalcedon.

The hand of the compiler emerges from occasional statements and summarizing passages between the rubrics. In short, the passage from the material to the new work is not entirely achieved. However, the attempt of the compiler to order the excerpts chronologically and to assemble them by some brief statements betrays his intention to provide its own work and not only a bare gathering.¹⁴

A more refined project was undertaken by the anonymous author of the *Chronicle of Zuqnin*,¹⁵ in the eighth century. First attempts to supplement main sources with others through some kind of combination are witnessed in the work.¹⁶ Despite this, the chronicle mainly still looks like an accumulation of sources which also presents several chronological gaps:

¹³ M. DEBIÉ, *L'écriture de l'histoire en syriaque: transmissions interculturelles et constructions identitaires entre hellénisme et islam*, Leuven – Paris- Bristol, 2015: 543-545, A. PALMER, “Une chronique syriaque contemporaine de la conquête arabe: essai d’interprétation théologique et politique”, in *La Syrie de Byzance à l’Islam, VII^e-VIII^e siècles. Actes du Colloque international, Lyon-Maison de l’Orient Méditerranéen, Paris – Institut du Monde Arabe, 11-15 Septembre 1990*, ed. by P. CANIVET & J. P. REY-COQUAIS, Damascus, 1992, p. 31-46. For edition and translation see Anonymous, *Composite Chronicle up to 640* in bibliography.

¹⁴ Andrew Palmer has suggested an anti-chalcedonian intention of the author. See A. PALMER, “Une chronique syriaque contemporaine de la conquête arabe: essai d’interprétation théologique et politique”, in *La Syrie de Byzance à l’Islam, VII^e-VIII^e siècles. Actes du Colloque international, Lyon-Maison de l’Orient Méditerranéen, Paris – Institut du Monde Arabe, 11-15 Septembre 1990*, ed. by P. CANIVET & J. P. REY-COQUAIS, Damascus, 1992, p. 31-46.

¹⁵ M. DEBIÉ, *L'écriture de l'histoire en syriaque: transmissions interculturelles et constructions identitaires entre hellénisme et islam*, Leuven – Paris – Bristol, 2015, p. 561-566, W. WITAKOWSKI, *The Syriac Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tell Mahre*, Stockholm, 1987. For edition and translation see Anonymous, *Chronicle of Zuqnin* in bibliography.

¹⁶ For the identification and use of the sources see W. WITAKOWSKI, *The Syriac Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tell Mahre*, Stockholm, 1987, p. 124-136.

Creation- 313 (*Bible, Cavern of Treasures, Eusebius' Chronicon*)

Conversion of Constantine (*Acts of Saint Sylvester*)

313-436 (Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History*)

444-485 (John of Ephesus' *Ecclesiastical History*)

494-506 (Pseudo Joshua the Stylite' *Chronicle*)

563-573 (John of Ephesus' *Ecclesiastical History*)

For instance, in the second part, based on Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History* the author often limits himself to quoting Socrates' titles, without even reporting the narrative itself. The history of the conversion of Constantine which is obviously placed between the matter taken from Eusebius and the one taken from Socrates comes from the *Acts of Saint Sylvester*.¹⁷ The author does not integrate the story with pieces taken from Socrates, even though this source was at his disposal.

To sum up, in the first phase of Syrian Orthodox chronography, chronicles tend to concatenate earlier sources, whereby the involvement of the compiler in the material remains very limited.

3. The Syriac Renaissance "Woven-Texture" Chronicles

After the ninth century Syrian Orthodox historiography goes through a stagnant period of two centuries when no chronicle seems to have been written. Interest in historiography experiences a phase of revitalization between the twelfth and thirteenth century, commonly known as Syriac Renaissance,¹⁸ which saw the appearance of several historiographical works, including the two universal Chronicles that will be presented shortly. As it will be shown, the compilation method adopted by these chroniclers is profoundly different from that found in the earlier chronicles.

a. The *Chronicle* of Michael the Great (1126-1199)

Michael the Great composed a monumental chronicle from the creation up to his own time, originally structured in three columns respectively

¹⁷ Anonymous, *Chronicle of Zuqnin*, ed. by J. B. CHABOT, (CSCO, III, t. 1) Paris, 1927, p. 151-159, trans. by J. B. CHABOT (CSCO, 121) Paris, 1948, p. 113-119.

¹⁸ A first definition of Syriac Renaissance is given by A. Baumstark. A. BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn, 1922: 285-286. A partial reassessment of his definition is found in H. TEULE, "The Syriac Renaissance", in *The Syriac Renaissance*, ed. by H. TEULE, C. FOTESCU TAUWINKL, R. B. TER HAAR ROMENY, J. J. VAN GINKEL, Leuven- Paris- Walpole, 2010, p. 1-30.

dealing with ecclesiastical, civil and *varia* matters. Dorothea Weltecke has described it as the highest standard reached in Syriac historiography, marked by a source-critical method, universality and a profound interest in the history of Syrian Orthodox Church.¹⁹

As expected, Michael draws massively, if not almost exclusively, from previous material. The preference for literary quoting entire passages, rather than to reworking them, is witnessed through all his work. Whilst, as we mentioned, the resort to existing previous material is a common practice, here it is carried out on the base of a sophisticated method which, as I will argue, betrays that Michael was conscious of the authoritative value of quotations.

In the chapter dealing with Constantine, Michael starts his narration quoting literally the beginning of the works of John of Ephesus²⁰ and Ignatius of Melitene²¹ as his main sources for this period beside Socrates. The passages are just presented one after the other as they are perfectly complementary and they do not need any intervention for making sense: Ignatius provides the historical information about the beginning of Constantine's rule, and John of Ephesus gives a brief notice on his conversion.²²

First chapter on the beginning of the reign of Constantine the Victorious:

Constantine the Victorious ruled with his father Constantius for three years, as we have related in the previous book. After the death of his father, he began ruling in the year 623 of the Greeks, 8 of the Indiction, 5817 of Adam but 5813 (of Adam) according to others.

John of Asia says, at the beginning of his book, that Constantine lately turned from the worship of the idols, like his father had already converted to the worship of God as the history of Sylvester of Rome relates. Ignatius of Melitene begins saying so: When Constantine the Victorious began ruling, Maximian, Diocletian, Maxentius and Severus had already ruled. All of them persecuted the Christians. When Severus died, the Romans conferred the honor (of the power) to Constantine the Great and proclaimed Caesar Licinius who was the husband of his sister Constantia. When he (Constantine) associated him to the power in the seventh year (of his reign), this impious Licinius started perse-

¹⁹ D. WELTECKE, "Les grandes chroniques des XII^e et XIII^e siècles", in *L'historiographie syriacque*, ed. by M. DEBIÉ, Paris, 2009, p. 107-135; D. WELTECKE, "A Renaissance in Historiography? Patriarch Michael, the Anonymous Chronicle AD A. 1234, and Bar 'Ebroyo", in *The Syriac Renaissance*, ed. by H. TEULE, C. FOTESCU TAUWINKL, R. B. TER HAAR ROMENY, J. J. VAN GINKEL, Leuven – Paris – Walpole, 2010, p. 95-111.

²⁰ Syrian Orthodox bishop of Ephesus and historian (AD 507-589).

²¹ Syrian Orthodox bishop of Melitene and historian (d. AD 1104).

²² Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, VII.1, ed. by J. B. CHABOT, Paris, 1910, p. 121-122.

cutting the Christians covertly. After he had revolted even against the emperor, Constantine marched against him and he was killed. After him Martinus raised to the power but he was killed.

It is striking that, even if the seventh book is based mostly on Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History*, Michael does not quote Socrates' detailed narration on the beginning of Constantine rule,²³ preferring to quote the beginning of Ignatius and John. Since Socrates' account of Constantine's ascent to power is longer and more articulated, Michael should have to cut his narration, to summarize some parts of it or to try to unify them in a narrative as fluid as possible. An operation apparently superfluous since the two other sources provided him all the information he needed in a more succinct way and spared him the effort to intervene on them.

Later on, Michael uses entire passages on Arius taken from Theodoret and John of Ephesus, copying and pasting them one after the other in order to enforce the same negative judgment on Arius.²⁴

Beginning of the Book of Theodoret: After the tyrants were blotted out, Constantine started ruling and the Church triumphed in peace, Satan incited another heresy. Formerly the creature was adored instead of the creator; now, in his jealousy, he found some perverted men asserting that the creator was created and made. In his letter to Eusebius [he mentions] those who adhered to his doctrine: [Eusebius] of Cesarea, Theodotus, Paulinus of Tyr, [Athanasius] of Anazarbus, Gregory of Berytus and Aetius of Lydia.

John of Asia confirms also these things at the beginning of his book saying: since the Malicious could not bear the peace of the Church, this tortuous snake made Arius its instrument and led astray many people in order to make them assert that the Son, consubstantial of the Father, was a creature and that he was created as one of his creatures. Before being expelled from the Church by Peter bishop of Alexandria, Arius corrupted the doctrine [of those] whose heart was darkened by the error: Mari of Chalcedon, Eusebius of Nicomedia and others.

Theodoret and John of Ephesus are literally quoted to show that the two sources are unanimously hostile to Arius. Such procedure is witnessed through the entire work. It cannot not recall the text-concordance practice (*symphonia*) borrowed from exegesis and already applied from Eusebius to

²³ Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, I.2-I.4, ed. by G. C. HANSEN (*GCS*, 1), Berlin, 1995, p. 1-5, trans. by A. C. ZENOS in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* 2, ed. by P. SCHAFF & H. WACE, Buffalo, 1890, p. 1-3.

²⁴ Michael the Great, *Chronicle*: VII.1, ed. by J. B. CHABOT, 1910, Paris, p. 121-122.

his *Ecclesiastical History*.²⁵ The quotation of agreeing sources assures the reliability of the information provided in the work.

The quotation of the excerpts responds thus to a common practice recognizing the authority of a text on the basis of the works it referred to. In order to assure the authoritative function of the quotation, the reference to the authors used has to be as much as possible explicit. A still partial work of *Quellenforschung* has shown that Michael might have used about one hundred fifty sources for his work.²⁶ In his preface, preserved only in a later Armenian adaptation, Michael lists all his principal sources, i.e. the sources which provide the main chronological and narrative framework to his work.²⁷ In the course of his chronicle Michael always notifies where the narratives of his principal sources started and stopped, informing the reader on which new sources the following chapter is based. E.g.²⁸:

You should know, oh reader ... that several chroniclers begins their writings starting from the beginning of the kingdom of Constantine the believing emperor, like Socrates and John of Asia, and also Theodoret that is out of our circle,²⁹ and Ignatius of Melitene. As to us, we began this book from the beginning of the world and we gathered (ܚܬܝܒܝܢ) ³⁰ from the ancient writers, like Eusebius and others, and we compiled (ܨܚܝܒܝܢ) ³¹ them up to here. Henceforth, we gather (ܚܬܝܒܝܢ) and unite (ܠܗܬܬܝܒܝܢ) in the texture the writings of those who started in this period.

When sources complementary to the main ones are used they are likewise regularly cited.

In short, we can notice that Michael was conscious of the authoritative role of the quotation, which emerges from the preference for keeping, as most as possible, the original excerpts, the concordance (*symphonia*) practice and the regular mention of the authors of the excerpts borrowed.

Concerning the combination of extracts we notice that the use of the sources is not simply sequential, that is Michael does not limit himself to

²⁵ See S. MORLET, *Lire en extraits. Lecture et production des textes, de l'Antiquité à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Paris, 2015.

²⁶ D. WELTECKE, *Die Beschreibung der Zeiten von Mor Michael dem Grossen (1126-1199). Eine Studien zu ihrem Historischen und historiographiegeschichtlichen Kontext*, Leuven, 2003: 136.

²⁷ Michael the Great, *Chronicle (Armenian version)*, ed. by ANONYMOUS, 1871, Jerusalem, p. 1-2, trans. by J. B. CHABOT, 1899, Paris, p. 1-2.

²⁸ Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, VII.1, ed. by J. B. CHABOT, 1910, Paris, p. 121.

²⁹ I.e. not a Monophysite.

³⁰ From the root ܚܬܝܒܝܢ (kṇš) "gather, collect".

³¹ From the root ܨܚܝܒܝܢ (ḥml) meaning the action of amassing, laying up like corn into a bar. It should be intended therefore not like a mere gathering but like a layered construction. See R. PAYNE SMITH, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, Oxford, 1879, p. 1303.

reporting the sources one after the other according to the temporal span they cover but combines them according to a predefined plan. Pieces of different sources are combined and sometimes even placed out of their chronological context. For instance, even though the *Chronicle* of Dionysius of Tell Mahre³² covers only the years AD 582-842 and is used by Michael as a source from the tenth to the twelfth book, some retrospective digressions of Dionysius are quoted earlier. The digression on the origin of Nestorian power in the Persian Empire is quoted in the eighth book, at the end of the reign of Marcian (AD 457).³³ Again, for the chronological references Michael uses the work of Eusebius from Abraham up to Constantine and Jacob of Edessa from Constantine up to AD 710. Even though Jacob is quoted as a source for the period following Constantine, Michael inserts his note on the mistake of Eusebius about the computation of the Jewish kings in the fourth book, where the reign of Israel and Judea are discussed.³⁴ This relocation of extracts to the appropriate spot in the chronicle, that is without respecting the order they appear in the original work, discloses a precise working method quite different from what we found in the earlier chronicles: to go through the sources, to split up them into shorter sections and assign to each excerpt its appropriate place in the chronicle. This method means that Michael wrote his chronicle according to a predefined plan.³⁵

The sophistication of Michael's method does not regard only the assemblage of the extracts but also implies an intervention on the extract itself in order to assure the coherence and the fluency of the text, as the following example shows:

Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, I. 5-6³⁶

A certain one of the presbyters under his jurisdiction, whose name was Arius, possessed of no inconsiderable logical acumen, imagining that the bishop was subtly teaching the same view of this subject as Sabellius the Libyan, from love of controversy took the opposite opinion to that of the Libyan, and as he thought vigorously responded to what

Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, VII.1³⁷

Arius was trained in the rhetorical language and he diligently devoted himself to the study of profane and philosophical sciences. He was prating saying: "If the Father begat the Son, he that was begotten had a beginning of existence: and thus, it is evident that there was a time when the Son was not in being." And as a fire is kindled from a little spark,

³² Syrian Orthodox patriarch and historian (d. AD 845).

³³ Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, VIII.14, ed. by J. B. CHABOT, 1910, Paris, p. 239-240.

³⁴ Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, IV.14, ed. by J. B. CHABOT, 1910, Paris, p. 42.

³⁵ Panagiotis Manafis suggested me that this might betray the existence of historiographical collections used as working tools for the composition of the chronicles. Further work on the material transmission of historiography in Syriac might substantiate this hypothesis.

³⁶ Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, I. 5-6, ed. by G. C. HANSEN (*GCS*, 1), Berlin, 1995, p. 5-6, trans. by A. C. ZENOS in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* 2, ed. by P. SCHAFF & H. WACE, Buffalo, 1890, p. 3.

³⁷ Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, VII.1, ed. by J. B. CHABOT, 1910, Paris, p. 123.

was said by the bishop. "If," said he, "the Father begat the Son, he that was begotten had a beginning of existence: and from this it is evident, that there was a time when the Son was not. It therefore necessarily follows, that he had his substance from nothing." Having drawn this inference from his novel train of reasoning, he excited many to a consideration of the question; and thus from a little spark a large fire was kindled: for the evil which began in the Church at Alexandria, ran throughout all Egypt, Libya, and the upper Thebes, and at length diffused itself over the rest of the provinces and cities. Many others also adopted the opinion of Arius; but Eusebius in particular was a zealous defender of it: not he of Caesarea, but the one who had before been bishop of the church at Berytus, and was then somehow in possession of the bishopric of Nicomedia in Bithynia. When Alexander became conscious of these things, both from his own observation and from report, being exasperated to the highest degree, he convened a council of many prelates; and excommunicated Arius and the abettors of his heresy; at the same time he wrote as follows to the bishops constituted in the several cities.

his breath spread not only across Alexandria but across the entire Egypt, Libya, Upper Thebes, Syria and several countries. Alexander who was at that time archbishop of Alexandria, convened a synod in Alexandria, excommunicated Arius and wrote letters in every region proclaiming his deposition.

The narration of the dispute between Arius and Alexander, bishop of Alexandria is largely taken from Socrates. Some parts, such as Arius' statement are literally quoted by Socrates but since Michael does not intend to copy the entire book but just selects some parts, he needs to assemble the extracts coherently. Some sentences are indeed Michael's summaries of what Socrates narrates at lengths. The sentence "who was in that time bishop of Alexandria" is a necessary addition for Michael's reader, since he has removed Socrates' previous passage where Alexander is presented as bishop of Alexandria. Alexander's long letter addressed to the bishops and entirely reported by Socrates in his following chapter is briefly abridged with the sentence "he declared his deposition". Even if the literally quoting of excerpts is preferred, he cuts the material when pressed by the need of brevity, preserving the quotation as faithfully as possible but assembling them and summarising parts of the original narration.

Michael's willingness to distance himself from the previous Syriac chroniclers and to write a fluid and homogeneous work is clear also from a significant statement he inserts at the beginning of the thirteenth book.

Complaining about not having any other Syriac sources besides Ignatius of Melitene for the period following Dionysius of Tell Maḥre, he says to have been forced to use sources in other languages “so that the texture would remain woven”.³⁸

Scholium: we have gathered, with the help of God, from the ancient books of the chronicles and approved (sources) the record of the first generations and the narrations of the events which occurred at that time, and in order all the generations from the books of learned men that wrote and handed down to the posterity the record of the things which took place before them or in their days until the time of their departure from this world, like this holy Dionysius, whose books especially we used to enrich this Chronicle until now.

Thenceforward, whence he stopped we start increasing the texture (ܚܝܠܐ) of the expositive discourse. But since we have not found in our language, after the mentioned patriarch, anybody but the venerable Ignatius of Melitene, who started his Chronicle at the time of Constantine the Great, passing on the times very briefly and like a swift whip (ܕܠܚܝܩܐ) and up to here we have put together what is said in short by him regarding other things, henceforth we have only his book to write out.

As we said, he wrote briefly, making the texture (ܚܝܠܐ) only of the kingdoms of the Roman emperors and he established the succession of the priesthood only according to our chiefs: he did not endeavor (to deal with) the Empire of the Arabs who ruled before him, as Dionysius did, nor that of the Turks which started at his time or a little bit earlier and that still rules in our days; he gave himself up to establish the succession of the Churches of (other) peoples only partially. It is necessary henceforward to write out from the languages of (other) nations the things which are accurate, in order to join them to those by him, so that the texture (ܚܝܠܐ) be not thinned out but that it be woven (ܝܠܘܐ), like its beginning until the end of our life, so that those who endeavor to build upon this foundation in the same way, each one in his time up to the end of this temporary and miserable world.

Since Ignatius' work is limited to a chronological framework with brief historical notes, Michael cannot base his work entirely on that, but he needs to combine it with some additional narrative material. His sophisticated method of combining the extracts as fluidly and as homogeneously as possible is again evident. Moreover, he aims at covering all the epochs, the earlier as the more recent ones, with equivalent quantity of information, looking for any additional sources that could help him in this purpose.

³⁸ Michael the Great, *Chronicle*: XIII.1, ed. by J. B. CHABOT, 1910, Paris, p. 544-545.

Michael's refined method of compilation and his methodical use of the sources should not lead us, however, to consider his work as free from bias. Jan van Ginkel's investigation on the use of John of Ephesus by Michael has showed that John's text has been massively reduced and that most of John's statement encouraging reconciliation between Chalcedonians and Miaphysites has been omitted by Michael, who lived in a time when the break between the Churches was irreparable.³⁹ Similarly, when Michael draws from Socrates the letter sent by Constantine to Arius and Alexander, he strategically omit Constantine's stances against the division of the Church and the statements on the impossibility to discern properly such complex theological matter are removed because they might have sound inappropriate within a Chronicle written seven centuries after the definitive separation of the Syrian Orthodox and Chalcedonian Church for theological reasons.⁴⁰

To sum up, Michael consciousness of the authoritative value of the literal quotation emerges clearly from the way he uses and presents the excerpts (preference for the literal quotation, regular mention of the name of the sources, *symphonia* practice). He wishes to present a coherent and fluid text through intervention in the excerpts, to maintain a chronological continuity and to assure a balance between chronological and narrative material throughout the whole chronicle, in order to give what he calls a "woven-texture" narration. In order to assure such a result he also does not simply report the sources sequentially but combines extracts according to a predefined scheme. The sources are not reproduced entirely but they are filtered according to Michael's purpose. Thus, the intent is not to preserve them as entire pieces of work.

b. The Anonymous' *Chronicle up to 1234*

The other great chronicle of this period is the Anonymous' *Chronicle up to 1234*. It is structured as follows: a first unitary section covering history from creation up to Constantine and a second one divided into a civil part and an ecclesiastical one, from Constantine up to the author's time. The

³⁹ J. VAN GINKEL, "Making History: Michael the Syrian and his Sixth-Century Sources", in *Symposium Syriacum VII, Uppsala University, Department of Asian and African Languages 11-14 August 1996*, Roma, 1998, p. 351-358; J. VAN GINKEL, "Michael the Syrian and his Sources: Reflections on the Methodology of Michael the Great as a Historiographer and its Implications for Modern Historians", *Journal of Canadian Society of Syriac Studies* 6 (2006), p. 53-60.

⁴⁰ Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, VII.1, ed. by J. B. CHABOT, 1910, Paris, p. 123, trans. by J. B. CHABOT, 1899, Paris, p. 243-244; Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, I.7, ed. by G. C. HANSEN (GCS, 1), Berlin, 1995, p. 13-17, trans. by A. C. ZENOS in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* 2, ed. by P. SCHAFF & H. WACE, Buffalo, 1890, p. 6-7.

text is organized in short thematic chapters introduced by headings and arranged in chronological order. The Anonymous does not mention systematically his sources and therefore their identification has to rely on a thorough work of *Quellenforschung*.⁴¹

As did Michael, the Anonymous relocates excerpts in the right chronological order as he has conceived it. Dionysius of Tell Maḥre's short geographical note on the name of Syria is removed from its original context, a narrative of the ninth century, and inserted by the Anonymous in the pre-Christian part of his text.⁴² Likewise, we find a note of Dionysius on the foundation of Byzantium in the section dedicated to Constantine,⁴³ even if, as said above, Dionysius deals with the period between the sixth and ninth centuries. The preference for long literal quotations and the tendency to proceed by juxtaposing the quotations to form a coherent narrative is again evident: two versions of Socrates' narration on Constantine's nephews are included in the Anonymous.

Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, III.1⁴⁴

In this condition of things his brother Gallus having been created Caesar, on his way to the East came to Nicomedia to see him. But when not long after this Gallus was slain, Julian was suspected by the emperor; wherefore he directed that a guard should be set over him: he soon, however, found means of escaping from them, and fleeing from

Anonymous, Chronicle up to 1234, Ch. 28⁴⁵

When the emperor Constantius ruled in Rome, he appointed Gallus his nephew as Caesar. After a while, (Gallus) revolted against the emperor and he was killed. The emperor sought to kill also his brother Julian, but he was forgiven by request of the empress.

Anonymous, Chronicle up to 1234, Ch. 31⁴⁶

While he (Julian) was engaged in such things, his brother Gallus became Caesar by the emperor and he went to Nicomedia to meet his brother passing through the East.

But after a while Gallus was killed and the emperor ordered Julian to be guarded. After he was guarded for a while, he fled from the guards, departing from place

⁴¹ This investigation has been carried out in 2014 by Andy Hilken in his doctoral dissertation. A. HILKENS, *The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle of 1234 and its Sources*, diss. Ghent University. This part of my article starts from his study.

⁴² Anonymous, *Chronicle up to 1234*, ed. by J. B. CHABOT (CSCO, ser. III, 14), Leuven, 1920, p. 112-114, trans. by J. B. CHABOT (CSCO, ser. III, 14), Leuven, 1937, p. 88-90.

⁴³ Anonymous, *Chronicle up to 1234*, ed. by J. B. CHABOT (CSCO, ser. III, 14), Leuven, 1920, p. 142-145, trans. by J. B. CHABOT (CSCO, ser. III, 14), Leuven, 1937, p. 113-115.

⁴⁴ Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, III.1, ed. by G. C. HANSEN (GCS, 1), Berlin, 1995, p. 189., trans. by A. C. ZENOS in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers 2*, ed. by P. SCHAFF & H. WACE, Buffalo, 1890, p. 77.

⁴⁵ Anonymous, *Chronicle up to 1234*, ed. by J. B. CHABOT (CSCO, ser. III, 14), Leuven, 1920, p. 154.

⁴⁶ Anonymous, *Chronicle up to 1234*, ed. by J. B. CHABOT (CSCO, ser. III, 14), Leuven, 1920, p. 162.

place to place he managed to be in safety. At last the Empress Eusebia having discovered his retreat persuaded the emperor to leave him uninjured, and permit him to go to Athens to pursue his philosophical studies.

to place. When he was discovered in Athens, the empress Eusebia convinced (the emperor) to allow him (to stay) in Athens, studying philosophy.

The first account, an adapted and shortened version of Socrates is placed in the part concerning Constantine. The second account is a literal translation and it is included in the narrative about Julian. Andy Hilkins has shown that the adaptation is not an abridgement made by the Anonymous himself but comes from another source, likewise based on Socrates, which the Anonymous used together with a copy of a Syriac translation of Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History*.⁴⁷ The position of these two passages suggests not only that the Anonymous prefers quoting already existent extracts rather than to rewrite his material but also that their location is the fruit of a conscious choice. The first passage is clearly "Constantine-centric" that is Constantine is the thematic and grammatical subject while the second focuses on Julian. This use of extracts reminds us of the working method of Michael, as seen above.

Examples of intervention on the extracts themselves are also evident:

Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, I.2⁴⁸

Meanwhile, Maxentius sorely oppressed the Roman people, treating them as a tyrant rather than as a king, shamelessly violating the wives of the nobles, putting many innocent persons to death, and perpetrating other similar atrocities. The emperor Constantine being informed of this, exerted himself to free the Romans from the slavery under him (i.e. Maxentius), and began immediately to consider by what means he might overthrow the tyrant. Now while his mind was occupied with this great subject, he debated as to what divinity's aid he should invoke in the conduct of the war. He began to realize that

Anonymous, *Chronicle up to 1234*, Ch. 22⁴⁹

However, Maxentius was acting wickedly with the Romans. He committed fornication with women and slew and killed many. When the emperor Constantine the believer learned this, since he realized that the partisans of Diocletian had gained nothing from the worship of the idols but (that) his father who had turned to God, spent his life in prosperity he planned to free the Romans from him and thought to invoke God for help.

⁴⁷ A. HILKENS, *The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle up to the Year 1234 and its Sources*, diss. Gent University, 2014, p. 174-186.

⁴⁸ Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, I.2, ed. by G. C. HANSEN (*GCS*, 1), Berlin, 1995, p. 2-3, trans. by A. C. ZENOS in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* 2, ed. by P. SCHAFF & H. WACE, Buffalo, 1890, p. 1-2.

⁴⁹ Anonymous, *Chronicle up to 1234*, ed. by J. B. CHABOT (*CSCO*, ser. III, 14), Leuven, 1920, p. 139.

Diocletian's party had not profited at all by the pagan deities, whom they had sought to propitiate; but that his own father Constantius, who had renounced the various religions of the Greeks, had passed through life far more prosperously.

In this state of uncertainty, as he was marching at the head of his troops, a preternatural vision, which transcends all description, appeared to him. In fact, about that part of the day when the sun after posing the meridian begins to decline towards the west, he saw a pillar of light in the heavens, in the form of a cross, on which were inscribed these words, "By This Conquer"

These extracts are quoted from Socrates. The piece relating the conversion of Constantine is combined to the rest of the text giving to it a different nuance. In the Anonymous' text, the liberation of the Romans from Maxentius is liberation from idolatry, a connection that is not explicit in Socrates text.

To sum up, most of the features of Michael' *Chronicle* can be found also in the Anonymous: consistent preference for literal borrowings from the sources, the effort to assemble the excerpts in a coherent and fluid way, and a sophisticated method of compilation guided by a predefined plan.

4. Historical Context of the Syriac Renaissance Chronicles

Which are, then, the cultural and historical circumstances that might have prepared the ground for the compilation method found in Michael and then in the Anonymous?

The historiographical revival of the Syriac Renaissance started in the region of Melitene, a region which in 934 passed from the Abbasids to the Byzantines and knew progressively a significant growth of its Syrian Orthodox community. Since 965 the Emperor Nicephorus II Phocas invited Syrian Orthodox to migrate to the region, promising them religious immunity.⁵⁰ The more favourable taxation, the flourishing trade and the permission to construct new buildings led many Syrian Orthodox, mostly coming from Tagrit and Mosul, to settle in the Melitene region. From the middle of the tenth up to end of the eleventh century more than fifty new monasteries and thirty new episcopal sees are attested for the first time in

⁵⁰ Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, XIII.4, ed. by J. B. CHABOT, 1910, Paris, p. 555, trans. by J. B. CHABOT, 1899, Paris, p. 130.

the sources,⁵¹ which implies the establishment of a capillary and well connected system in the region which lasted at least until the attack of Melitene by the Seljuks in AD 1058. This monastic revival worked as a propeller for a literary and artistic revival. The rich merchant families subsidized, beside the building, decoration and restoring of churches and monasteries, also the purchase of parchment for copying manuscripts.⁵² The Monastery of Sergisye is said to have been furnished with an impressive library under the guidance of John of Maron (fl. mid. tenth century).⁵³ Copying activity might have overflowed to the Tur Abdin region since shortly later, in 988, the bishop of the monastery of Qartmin undertook an ambitious project of purchasing and copying manuscripts that provided the monastery with a well-furnished library.⁵⁴ Despite the Seljuk attacks from the middle of the eleventh century until the conquest of Edessa in AD 1144 and Melitene in AD 1170 which were generally perceived as traumatic events,⁵⁵ the Syriac Renaissance Chroniclers still benefited of the monastic-bishopric networks established in the previous century around Melitene⁵⁶ and had access to the same well-furnished libraries.⁵⁷ Michael's and the Anonymous' multi-layered works were indeed made possible by the opportunity to access such

⁵¹ G. DAGRON, "Minorités ethniques et religieuses dans l'Orient byzantin à la fin du X^e et au XI^e siècle: l'immigration syrienne", *Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation byzantines* 6 (1976), p. 188-189.

⁵² G. DAGRON, *art. cit.*, p. 195-198, A. PALMER, "Charting Undercurrents in the History of the West-Syrian People: The Resettlement of Byzantine Melitene after 934", *Oriens Christianus* 70 (1986), p. 53-58, B. VARGHESE, "The Byzantine Occupation of Northern Syria (969-1085) and the Renaissance of the Syrian Orthodox Church", *The Harp* 28 (2013), p. 61-65.

⁵³ Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, XIII.3, ed. by J. B. CHABOT, 1910, Paris, p. 553, trans. by J. B. CHABOT, 1905, Paris, p. 125.

⁵⁴ Bar 'Ebroyo, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed.-trans. by J. B. ABBELOOS & T. LAMY, 1872, Leuven, p. 417-419. On the relation between the calligraphic revival launched by Athanasius IV in Melitene and the calligraphic activity in the Monastery of Qartmin see A. PALMER, "Charting Undercurrents in the history of the West-Syrian people: The resettlement of Byzantine Melitene after 934", *Oriens Christianus* 70 (1986), p. 31-46.

⁵⁵ The strong emotional impact which the conquest of Edessa exerted on Syrian Orthodox is witnessed by the several works sprang out on this topic. See "Dionysius Bar Šalibi", "John of Kaisum", "Saliba the Elder" in P. VAN NUFFELEN & L. VAN HOOFF, eds, *Clavis Historicorum Tardae Antiquitatis*, Turnhout, (forthcoming).

⁵⁶ Among the patriarchs and intellectuals who rose between the eleventh and twelfth century the majority were native of Melitene, formerly metropolitans of the city or monks of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum which was also regularly used as patriarchal residence. Basilios III (1074-1075), Athanasius Bar Kamore (1091-1129), Dionysius Bar Salibi (d. 1171 A.D) Michael the Great (1166-1199), Ignatius III David (1222-1252), Dionysius IV 'Angur (1252-1261).

⁵⁷ This is self-evident by the plenty of sources used by the major authors of the Syriac Renaissance: Dionysius Bar Salibi, Jacob bar Shakko, Michael, the Anonymous.

libraries. Similar libraries were apparently not available to the previous chroniclers: the author of the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* explicitly complained that he could not find enough sources to cover all his work even after several journeys.⁵⁸ The number of sources available is perceived as relevant by Michael who consistently refers to the authors he used, especially stressing their concordance, what would not be possible if he had at his disposal only a single witness for each period.

Moreover, for the first time after the Arab conquest of Syria in the seventh century, the Syrian Orthodox ended up living together in a circumscribed, prosperous and well connected region where they represented the majority of the population. The authors of the Chronicles have now a large, identifiable audience to address. If we look at the chronicles of Michael and the Anonymous we notice that they are intended to cover the entire time-span of world history and the authors are concerned to distribute the historical material plentifully and equally among the entire work. The sources are split up and their retrospective digressions are located to the appropriate chronological spot in the chronicle in order to allow the reader to access all the information available about that period. The consciousness of the authoritative value of the literary quotation from the sources is betrayed not only from the regular preference for literary borrowing but especially from the recurring mention of the name of the sources and the concordance-text practice. In short, these chronicles share, in my view, three main criteria: comprehensiveness, systematic method and authority. The first two elements are absent in the previous chronicles while the latter is present but less stressed. Such elements characterize projects of knowledge-systematization which occurred in the context of political centralization in other empires and periods.⁵⁹ It can be argued therefore that a similar context of centralization⁶⁰ prompted our authors, who noticeably were part of

⁵⁸ Anonymous, *Chronicle of Zuqnin*, ed. by J. B. CHABOT, (CSCO III, t. 2) Paris, 1933, p. 147, trans. by R. HESPEL (CSCO, 507), Paris, 1989, p. 109.

⁵⁹ See the contributions of P. Magdalino and A. Nemeth on the *Excerpta Constantiniana* and the contributions of E. Muhanna and M. van Berkel on Mamluk encyclopedias. P. MAGDALINO, "Byzantine Encyclopaedism of the Ninth/Tenth Century," in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to Renaissance*, ed. by J. KÖNIG & G. WOOLF, Cambridge, 2013, p. 219-231; A. NÉMETH, "The Imperial Systematization of the Past," in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to Renaissance*, ed. by J. KÖNIG & G. WOOLF, Cambridge, 2013, p. 232-258; E. MUHANNA, "Why was the Fourteenth Century a Century of Arabic Encyclopaedism?," in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to Renaissance*, ed. by J. KÖNIG & G. WOOLF, Cambridge, 2013, p. 343-356; M. VAN BERKEL, "Opening a World of Knowledge: Mamluk Encyclopaedias and their Readers," in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to Renaissance*, ed. by J. KÖNIG & G. WOOLF, Cambridge, 2013, p. 357-375.

⁶⁰ This is corroborated by the composition of other comprehensive theological and exegetical compilations during the twelfth-thirteenth centuries by Jacob Bar Shakkō and Dionysius Bar Salibi.

the highest civil and ecclesiastical hierarchy, to provide a definitive, accessible systematization of their community historical memory.

Summary

Syrian Orthodox historians adopted a compilatory method in the composition of their chronicles. The practice of selecting, excerpting and structuring previous material in a new work is thus a cue of the way the authors intended to provide historical knowledge to the readers. This article focuses on the compilation method of the Syriac Renaissance chronicles of Michael the Great and Anonymous (1234). Through a compared text analysis with some of the main sources it will be detected common redactional techniques and attitudes which partly results from the participation of the authors to a common compilation culture, shared by earlier historians as well, and partly from the new historical-intellectual context they were working in. It will be argued that both Michael the Great and the Anonymous employ novel redactional devices to emphasize the authoritative value of the quotations and harmonize the combination of the sources with the aim of providing a reasoned systematization of earlier historical knowledge. The new historical circumstances which determined the tenth-century centralization of the Syrian Orthodox community in the Melitene region and the consequent economic and intellectual flourishing created the conditions for the development of this project and the new literary techniques associated with it. Moreover, whereas parallel projects of systematization in other traditions (like e.g. Byzantium) produced excerpts collections, Syriac Renaissance historians adopted exclusively the chronicle format. This choice ties in the earlier historiographical tradition since no historical collection exists independently in Syriac, which betrays the relevance of the chronological arrangement for the Syrian Orthodox historical discourse.

Marianna MAZZOLA
UGent / EPHE, Paris
<marianna.mazzola@ugent.be>

The Making of *K'art'lis c'xovreba*, the So-Called Georgian Chronicles¹

Stephen H. RAPP JR.

(Huntsville, TX)

The long history of Georgian literature is punctuated by two outbursts of compilations; both unfolded in times of imperial intervention. The first spans the ninth through the early fourteenth centuries when, in the face of unprecedented Byzantine interference, the allied Bagratid dynasty and Georgian church established the first unified Georgian kingdom.² But under Mongol and Timurid pressure in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the distressed threads of the political union began to fray. The second period coincides with the transition from the early-modern to the modern eras. Between the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, fierce Safavid, Ottoman, and Russian rivalries hastened the decay of Bagratid authority and culminated in the outright tsarist annexation of Georgian lands starting in 1801.³ Imperial oppression coupled with unprecedented access to Russia and Western Europe sparked a revival of literary and historiographical activity.

The Ecclesiastical Background

Both literary phases, one medieval and one early-modern, are firmly rooted in late antiquity and are dominated by text and excerpt collections produced in monasteries, an institution thought to have been introduced in eastern Georgia by the Thirteen Syrian Fathers back in the sixth centu-

¹ This essay is dedicated to the women and men who lost their lives in the Brussels attacks of 22 March 2016. I am eternally grateful to my hosts at Ghent University – especially Peter Van Nuffelen, Lieve Van Hoof, and their students – as well as the staff of Zaventem airport, the International Red Cross, and Delta Airlines for their unwavering hospitality during my trek from Zaventem to Leuven, Ghent, and Amsterdam.

² Overviews of Georgian history: R. G. SUNY, *The Making of the Georgian Nation*, rev. ed., Bloomington, IN, 1994; and D. RAYFIELD, *Edge of Empires: A History of Georgia*, London, 2012. See also: W. E. D. ALLEN, *A History of the Georgian People*, London, 1932; and D. M. LANG, *The Georgians*, New York – Washington, DC, 1966.

³ See esp. SUNY, *Making of the Georgian Nation*.

ry.⁴ As late antiquity faded, the eastern Georgian church based in K'art'li – roughly corresponding to the Iberia of the Greeks, Romans, and Byzantines⁵ – metamorphosed into an all-Georgian enterprise. Its expanding administrative machinery drew together territories on both sides of the Surami Ridge, the customary demarcation of eastern and western Georgia.⁶ Arab rule over the eastern districts, including the political, economic, and spiritual centers of Mc'xet'a (Mtskheta) and Tp'ilisi (modern T'bilisi, cf. Tiflis), sparked the shift of ecclesiastical activity to the southwest, where powerful monasteries rose to the fore. Of particular importance for the production and dissemination of Georgian literature – including compilations – are the monastic scriptoria of Tao-Klarjet'i, a "K'art'velizing" region that was transformed culturally into a new K'art'li.⁷ Among Tao-Klarjet'i's most dynamic scriptoria were those at the monasteries of Xanzt'a (Khandzta) and Šatberdi. Meanwhile, the early medieval Georgian church expanded the monastic network that had crisscrossed Caucasia since late antiquity. The enlarged network comprehended Georgian foundations in the Romano-Byzantine and Islamic worlds as never before. Monastic hubs in Syria, the Holy Land, Sinai, Cyprus, Anatolia, Greece, and the Balkans fueled

⁴ Michael TARCHNIŠVILI with J. ASSEALG, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur*, Studi e Testi, vol. 185, Città del Vaticano, 1955, p. 107-109 and 410-412; Korneli KEKELIZE, *K'art'uli literaturis istoria*, vol. 1, T'bilisi, 1960; and B. MARTIN-HISARD, "Les «Treize saints pères». Formation et évolution d'une tradition hagiographique géorgienne (VI^e-XII^e siècles)", *Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes* 2 (1986), p. 100-110. For an overview of monasticism in Georgia, see G. PERADZE, "Über das georgische Mönchtum", *Internationale kirchliche Zeitschrift* 16/3 (1926), p. 152-168, and *IDEM*, "Die Anfänge des Mönchtums in Georgien", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 46/9 (1928), p. 35-75. See also C. B. HORN, *Asceticism and Christological Controversy in Fifth-Century Palestine: The Career of Peter the Iberian*, Oxford, 2006.

⁵ See the essays in *Sak'art'velosa da k'art'velebis aǵmnišvneli uc'xouri da k'art'uli terminologia* (Designations of Georgia and Georgians in foreign and Georgian sources) – ed. G. PAIČAZE, T'bilisi, 1993, with English summaries.

⁶ D. BRAUND, *Georgia in Antiquity: A History of Colchis and Transcaucasian Iberia 550 BC-AD 562*, Oxford, 1994, p. 40-43 et sqq.

⁷ These twin districts along the Anatolian border had a mixed Armeno-Georgian population; the Armenians call them Tayk' and Klarjk'. Their monasteries are investigated in the publications of W. DJOBADZE, including *Early Medieval Georgian Monasteries in Historic Tao, Klarjet'i, and Šavšet'i*, *Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie*, Stuttgart, 1992. See also A. EASTMOND, *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia*, University Park, PA, 1998. On the Armeno-Georgian families of Tao-Klarjet'i/Tayk'-Klarjk' and eastern Anatolia, see A. P. KAZHDAN, *Armiane v sostave gosподstviuushchego klassa vizantiiskoi imperii v XI-XII vv.*, Erevan, 1975. For the southwestern territories as a new K'art'li (neo-K'art'li, cf. Sak'art'velo, "the place where K'art'velians/Georgians dwell"), see S. H. RAPP JR., *Imagining History at the Crossroads: Persia, Byzantium, and the Architects of the Written Georgian Past*, 2 vols., Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1997.

this transregional web.⁸ Among the most energetic nodes were the Black Mountain near Antioch, St. Catherine’s Monastery on Mt. Sinai, the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, and Iveron (“of the Iberians/Georgians”) on Mt. Athos.

Thousands of manuscripts were produced and exchanged within this tricontinental network; collections of texts and excerpts were especially prominent. Works originally composed in late antiquity dominate the contents of Georgian compilations of this and the early-modern literary phase. Translations and adaptations of ecumenical religious texts from Greek, Armenian, and other languages, including Syriac and Arabic,⁹ were prioritized. Some sources were rendered into Georgian for the first time. Others, including books of the New Testament, were newly translated for improved accuracy.¹⁰ Interest in *synaxaria*, *polykephala* (*mravalt’avis* [sing. მრავალთავი]),¹¹ *tropologia* (*iadgaris* [sing. იადგარი]),¹² and other collections of translated, adapted, and excerpted ecclesiastical material reached a fevered pitch. The trend intensified as Georgian society solidified in the ninth and tenth centuries, a period characterized by the unprecedented but selective “Byzantinization” of ecclesiastical and royal circles. At this time, the Georgian church substituted its traditional adherence to the Jerusalemite liturgy of St. James with that of Constantinople.¹³ The shift is indicative of multilateral efforts to integrate the Georgian church more fully into Eastern Christendom. Vital to this process is the consolidation of Chalce-

⁸ For specific sites and the importance of Georgian monastic activities beyond Caucasia, see L. MENABDE, *Žveli k’art’uli mcerlobis kerebi*, 2 vols., T’bilisi, 1961 and 1980, English summary, “Seats of Ancient Georgian Literature Abroad”, vol. 2, p. 433-443. On Cyprus, see now I. GAGOŠIŽE, D. MINDORAŠVILI, and G. GAGOŠIŽE, *Ġalia: k’art’velta monasteri kviprosze* = *Gialia: Georgian Monastery on Cyprus*, T’bilisi, 2014.

⁹ For Arabic, see Tamar PATARIDZE, “Christian Literature Translated from Arabic into Georgian: A Review”, *Annual of Medieval Studies at Central European University* 19 (2013), p. 47-65.

¹⁰ Georgian New Testament and Bible in late antiquity and the medieval period: C’iala K’URC’IKIZE, *K’art’uli biblia* (The Georgian Bible) T’bilisi, 2010; and J. W. CHILDERS, “The Georgian Version of the New Testament”, in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, 2nd ed. – eds. B. D. EHRLMAN and M. W. HOLMES, Leiden-Boston, 2013, p. 293-327.

¹¹ See esp. *Klarjuli mravalt’avi* – ed. T’amila MGALOBlišVILI, T’bilisi, 1991, with English summary, “The Klardjeti Polyccephalon”, p. 466-490; and M. VAN ESBROECK, *Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens: étude descriptive et historique*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1975.

¹² E.g. *Čil-etratis iadgari* (The Čil-etrati *iadgari*) – ed. A. ŠANIZE, T’bilisi, 1977.

¹³ P. JEFFERY, “The Lost Chant Tradition of Early Christian Jerusalem: Some Possible Melodic Survivals in the Byzantine and Latin Chant Repertories”, *Early Music History* 11 (1992), p. 151-190; and D. GALADZA, “Sources for the Study of Liturgy in Post-Byzantine Jerusalem (638-1187 CE)”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 67 (2013), p. 75-94.

donian dyophysitism, which had attained primacy among K'art'velian prelates starting in the early seventh century.

In the "Byzantinizing" environment of the early medieval epoch, Georgians created original ecclesiastical texts, especially in the sphere of hagiography. An outstanding example is the *vita* of St. Nino, a foreign holy ("Roman" = Cappadocian?) woman whose intercession had secured eastern Georgia's royal conversion back in the 320s or 330s.¹⁴ *The Life of Nino* greatly extended the oldest (known) written tradition of Nino in Georgian, *The Conversion of K'art'li*, a mixture of hagiography and historiography penned by an anonymous author in the early seventh century. In the ninth/tenth century, the succinct *Conversion* was deemed insufficient and a full-blown hagiographical treatment was deployed. This transpired as the Georgian church integrated itself as never before into the larger Christian world and as it simultaneously endeavored to safeguard its distinctiveness and independence ("autocephaly") in the wake of intensifying Byzantine imperial claims and encroachments. Another area of remarkable Georgian literary development was hymnography. Renowned Georgian hymnographers of the age included Ioane Zosime, Ioane Minč'xi (Minchkhi), Mik'ael Modrekili, and Ioane Mtbevari (John of Tbet'i).¹⁵ Such men were well versed in Byzantine hymnography but forged their own distinct Georgian tradition.

Georgian compilations of the ninth to fourteenth centuries are dominated by religious materials, both translated and original. Ecclesiastical collections, generically dubbed *krebulis* (sing. კრებული), took many forms. They encompass three principal genres:

- **liturgical material** (two prominent examples from St. Catherine's Monastery: Mt. Sinai-53 [ninth-tenth century] and Sin-12 [tenth century]);
- **writings of the church fathers**, including Gregory of Nazianzos, Maximus the Confessor,¹⁶ and John Chrysostom (e.g. Kekeliže Institute of MSS A-1 [eleventh century], Q-34 [1025-1031], and S-384 [eleventh-twelfth centuries]); and

¹⁴ For the 320s, see Lela PATARIZE, "K'art'velt'a gak'ristianeba 'k'art'lis c'xovrebi's mixed-vit" (The conversion of the Georgians according to *K'art'lis c'xovreba*), in *K'ristianoba sak'art'veloši (istoriul-et'nologiuri gamokveveni)* (Christianity in Georgia: historical-ethnographical study), T'bilisi, 2000, p. 8-16, with English summary, p. 126.

¹⁵ TARCHNIŠVILI, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur*, p. 109-121. See also J. A. GRAHAM, *The Transcription and Transmission of Georgian Liturgical Chant*, Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 2015.

¹⁶ On Maximus and the Georgian tradition, see: *Maximus the Confessor and Georgia* – eds. T. MGALOBlishvili and L. KHOPERIA, London, 2009; and S. J. SHOEMAKER, *The Life of the Virgin: Maximus the Confessor*, New Haven, 2012.

- **hagiographies**, including assemblages of complete *vitae* and metaphrases (e.g. Kekelize Institute of MSS A-130 [1713]).

Christian sources belonging to these classifications are frequently interspersed within a single collection.¹⁷ For example, works associated with the Church Fathers are found alongside hagiographical literature in Kekelize Institute of MSS A-95, an eleventh-century *polykephalon*.¹⁸ Many of the texts transmitted in Georgian *krebulis* were originally composed in late antiquity.

The First Iteration of *K’art’lis c’xovreba* and Leonti Mroveli

Though it is difficult to see beyond the blazing spotlight of ecclesiastical literature, Georgians also assembled historiographical material (for a summary of the components of Georgian historiographical compilations, see the Appendix). Given the comparatively larger output and their ecumenical reach, religious compendia have more frequently captured scholarly attention, sometimes to the complete detriment of historiography. When historiographical collections have been engaged, focus has too often converged on the *early-modern* iteration of *K’art’lis c’xovreba* (ქართლის ცხოვრება, often transcribed *Kartlis Tskhovreba*, cf. Russian *Кармлис Ихосреба*), widely known in English as “the Georgian Chronicles”.¹⁹ This late version of *K’art’lis c’xovreba* was assembled from received medieval manuscripts; it was edited, updated, and expanded by a scholarly commission appointed by the Georgian Bagratid King Vaxtang VI at the end of the seventeenth century. Much of our knowledge about this early-modern recension ultimately proceeds from the seminal monograph published by Konstantine Grigolia in 1954; unfortunately, *Axali k’art’lis c’xovreba* (*The New K’art’lis c’xovreba*) remains inaccessible to those who do not read Georgian.²⁰ By contrast, the actual text of this early-modern King Vaxtang, or “Vaxtangiseuli”, recension has been available to the global academic community since the mid-nineteenth century. M.-F. Brosset’s edi-

¹⁷ For accessible surveys of medieval Georgian ecclesiastical literature, see: TARCHNIŠVILI, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur*; and D. RAYFIELD, *The Literature of Georgia: A History*, Oxford, 1994.

¹⁸ *K’art’ul xelnacert’a aḡceriloba: qop’ili saeklesio muzeumis (A) kolek’c’iisa* (Description of Georgian manuscripts: the former collection of the Ecclesiastical Museum [A]), vol. I, T’bilisi, 1973, p. 361-393.

¹⁹ For an overview of the corpus, see Mariam LORT’K’IP’ANIZE, *Ra aris k’art’lis c’xovreba* (What is *K’art’lis c’xovreba*?), T’bilisi, 1989.

²⁰ GRIGOLIA, *Axali k’art’lis c’xovreba*, T’bilisi, 1954. See also C. TOUMANOFF, “Medieval Georgian Historical Literature (VIIth-XVth Centuries)”, *Traditio* 1 (1943), p. 161-166.

tion and French translation of *K'art'lis c'xovreba* was published in 1849.²¹ While this pathfinding publication retains certain value today and is still cited with some regularity in Western-language research, it is nevertheless based on late variants of *K'art'lis c'xovreba* and not the oldest, pre-“Vaxtangiseuli” redactions. Significantly, the King Vaxtang commission did not compose *K'art'lis c'xovreba ex nihilo*. At the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the commission gathered existing manuscripts and generated a homogenized and updated edition of the corpus. More recent texts were appended and in some cases passages from later sources were “interpolated” into late antique and medieval ones.²²

In fact, the comprehensive editing of *K'art'lis c'xovreba* has a considerably longer history. Back in the eleventh century Leonti Mroveli, archbishop of the important see of Ruisi, gathered and harmonized earlier historiographical works.²³ He remedied irritating gaps of coverage, smoothed the narrative, and injected Christian allusions at critical moments. Mroveli's textual interventions coincided with the apex of the medieval Georgian kingdom under the Bagratids, and during the serious challenges posed by Seljuq Turks, Byzantines, and other foreign powers. While it is possible that Leonti Mroveli himself configured *K'art'lis c'xovreba* in the form we know today, the eleventh-century archbishop based his edition upon *existing* historiographical works. The variants of the Georgian texts Mroveli had at his disposal derived from the late eighth and early ninth centuries. In turn, most of these narratives are descendants of sources – both oral and textual – stemming from late antiquity.

²¹ M.-F. BROSSET, *Histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au XIX^e siècle*, St. Petersburg, 1849.

²² English translations of thirty-four “interpolations” inserted into texts composed before the twelfth century: R. THOMSON, *Rewriting Caucasian History: The Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles*, Oxford, 1996, appendix, p. 354-378.

²³ S. H. RAPP JR., *Studies in Medieval Georgian Historiography: Early Texts and Eurasian Contexts*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, vol. 601, Subsidia, vol. 113, Louvain, 2003, p. 157-168. See also G. GAP'RINDASHVILI, “Leonti mrovelis 1066 c. samšeneblo carcera t'rexvis k'vabebidan” (The 1066 building inscription of Leonti Mroveli at the T'rexvi caves), *Sak'art'velos mec'nierebat'a akademiis sazogadoebriv mec'nierebat'a ganqop'ilebis moambe* (Bulletin of the Department of Social Science of the Georgian Academy of Sciences) 1 (1961), p. 239-268, with English summary, p. 261-262.

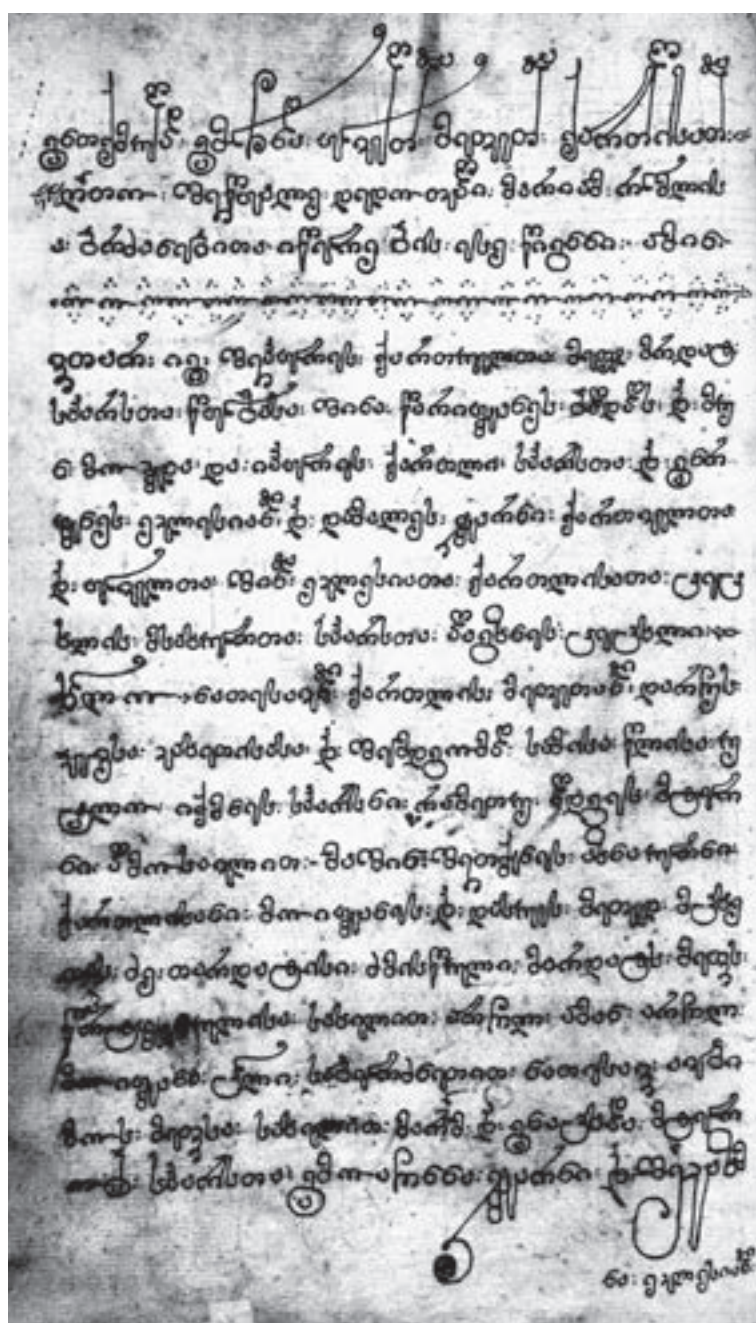


Image 1. Start of *The Life of Vaxtang Gorgasali* in the Mariam-seuli (M) redaction of *K'art'li's c'xovreba*, Kekelize Institute of MSS, T'bilisi, S-30, p. 294.

All images courtesy of the Kekelize Institute of MSS.

From its inception, then, *K'art'lis c'xovreba* has been a composite literary monument whose authors, editors, and scribes stretch across a vast temporal horizon, from late antiquity to early-modern times. By Mroveli's floruit, the component narratives were already being projected through several filters. Indeed, *K'art'lis c'xovreba* was a living tradition that was frequently adjusted and modified to reflect evolving attitudes, values, and ambitions.

There are many factors complicating scholarly investigations of *K'art'lis c'xovreba*, including its various recensions, its transmission in a late and fragmentary manuscript tradition, and its articulation in a non-Indo-European language. Another quandary is posed by the initial section of the corpus, which consists of two distinctive suites – or “mini-corpora” – of distinct texts that have been homogenized by successive layers of editing. Since the eleventh century, if not earlier, *K'art'lis c'xovreba*'s five initial texts have been united into two suites of chronologically-arranged narratives.²⁴ In surviving Georgian manuscripts these suites bear dedicated titles mirroring those of their core texts: *C'xorebay k'art'velt'a mep'et'a*²⁵ (ცხოვრება ქართველთა მეფეთა, literally “The Life of the K'art'velian Kings”) and *C'xorebay vaxtang gorgaslisa* (ცხოვრება ვახტანგ გორგასლისა, “The Life of Vaxtang Gorgasali”). The anchors of these suites are *K'art'lis c'xovreba*'s most ancient texts: *The Life of the [K'art'velian] Kings*, *The Life of Vaxtang Gorgasali*, and a continuation spuriously credited to a certain Juanšer Juanšeriani. In their received condition, these three works were written in the autumn of late antiquity, sometime between c. 790 and 813, the formation of the kingdom of Ap'xazet'i and the ascension of Ašot I respectively. The two remaining texts incorporated into these suites are somewhat later productions: the untitled source I propose to call *The Life of the Chosroid Kings* (or *The Life of the Successors of Mirian*), composed sometime between c. 800 and the eleventh century, though on the basis of earlier materials; and a version of *The Life of Nino*, the well-known *vita* of the ninth/tenth century. Given the role of Christianity in both later narratives, Archbishop Leonti Mroveli was probably responsible for conjoining *The Life of Nino* and *The Life of the Chosroid Kings* to the earlier *Life of the Kings*.

²⁴ RAPP, *Studies in Medieval Georgian Historiography*, op. cit., n. 22.

²⁵ Many surviving pre-Vaxtangiseuli MSS are defective for the start of *C'xorebay k'art'velt'a mep'et'a*: RAPP, *Studies in Medieval Georgian Historiography*, op. cit., n. 22, p. 22-32.

Components of *C'xorebay k'art'velt'a mep'et'a*

1. *Life of the [K'art'velian] Kings*, which lent its name to the entire suite
2. *Life of Nino*, a hagiographical text
3. *Life of the Chosroid Kings* (or *Life of the Successors of Mirian*)

It should be emphasized that, despite its convenience and pervasiveness, the oft-invoked phrase "Georgian Chronicles" is wholly inaccurate and should be rejected. Only one of the medieval components of *K'art'lis c'xovreba* resembles a proper chronicle; *Matiane k'art'lisay* or *The Chronicle of K'art'li* was not composed until the eleventh century. Moreover, the corpus was textually normalized by the successive editorial interventions of Leonti Mroveli and Vaxtang VI's learned men. At the same time, *K'art'lis c'xovreba* is a multilayered collection whose individual texts were written, copied, edited, and assembled across a millennium and more. But the oldest roots of *K'art'lis c'xovreba* are planted in late antiquity.

Notwithstanding the careful inquiries of Ivane Javaxišvili, Korneli Kekelize, Simon Qauxč'išvili, Cyril Toumanoff, and other Kartvelological giants, the origin and compilation of *K'art'lis c'xovreba* remains poorly understood.²⁶ In its extant condition, the corpus can be traced directly to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The oldest surviving manuscript transmits a medieval Armenian-language adaptation of the corpus called *Patmut'iwn Vrac'* (*Պատմութիւն Վրաց*), "History of the Georgians".²⁷ As demonstrated by Robert Thomson, this Armenian manuscript (variously designated A, a, and Arm/A) was copied sometime between 1274 and 1311.²⁸ Though the autograph is lost, the Armenian adaptation was created in the twelfth or early thirteenth century. *Patmut'iwn Vrac'* is definitely based on a lost Georgian-language variant that closely resembled the oldest extant Georgian redactions. By contrast, the earliest sur-

²⁶ E.g.: I. JAVAXIŠVILI, *Žveli k'art'uli saistorio mcerloba (V-XVIII ss.)* (Old Georgian historical writing, fifth-eighteenth centuries) = *Istoriis mizani, cqaroebi da met'odebi cinat' da axla* (Aims, sources, and methods of history, old and new), vol. 1, repr. in his *T'xzulebani* (Collected works), vol. 8, T'bilisi, 1977; KEKELIZE, *K'art'uli literaturis istoria* (History of Georgian literature), vol. 1; and C. TOUMANOFF, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, Washington, DC, 1963. For QAUXČ'IŠVILI, see *infra*.

²⁷ In scholarship about Armenia it is sometimes known, inaccurately, as Juanšer's Chronicle.

²⁸ THOMSON, *Rewriting Caucasian History*, *op. cit.*, n. 21, p. xl. See also *IDEM*, "The Armenian Version of the Georgian Chronicles", *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 5 (1990-1991), p. 81-90. For the critical text of the Armenian adaptation, see *K'art'lis c'xovrebi žveli somxuri t'argmani* (The old Armenian translation of *K'art'lis c'xovreba*) – ed. Ilia ABULAZE, T'bilisi, 1953, reprinted in vol. 2 of *K'art'lis c'xovreba: The Georgian Royal Annals and Their Medieval Armenian Adaptation* – general ed. RAPP.

viving Georgian-language manuscript was copied at the conclusion of the fifteenth century, though it certainly imparts a considerably older manuscript tradition.²⁹ Such intercultural transmission should not surprise us. Caucasia was a lively zone of cross-cultural interplay across the premodern epoch; Toumanoff constantly emphasized the cohesive yet diverse “Christian Caucasian civilization”.³⁰ There was considerable cultural sharing and exchange among Georgians, Armenians, and Caucasian Albanians, across confessional and even religious lines. A remarkable artifact of the interface of Caucasia’s Christian communities is the Albanian writing discovered in manuscripts from St. Catherine’s monastery on Mt. Sinai. Sin.Geo.N.13, for instance, is a palimpsest containing ecclesiastical texts composed in all three literary languages of early Christian Caucasia: Georgian, Armenian, and Caucasian Albanian.³¹

The first critical edition of *K’art’lis c’xovreba* appeared in two volumes prepared by Simon Qauxč’išvili (Qaukhchishvili) in the 1950s.³² Thanks to its prioritization of pre-Vaxtangiseuli manuscripts and meticulous *apparatus criticus*, Qauxč’išvili’s remains the superior critical edition. The initial volume comprehends texts written through the twelfth century inclusive. Most of this installment – along with the medieval Armenian adaptation, to which we shall return momentarily – was translated into English by Robert Thomson in 1996.³³ A new Georgian edition was published in 2008.

²⁹ Simon QAUXČ’İŠVILI, *K’art’lis c’xovreba: ana dedop’liseuli nusxa* (*K’art’lis c’xovreba: Queen Anne variant*), T’bilisi, 1942; and C. TOUMANOFF, “The Oldest Manuscript of the Georgian Annals: The Queen Anne Codex (QA), 1479-1495”, *Traditio* 5 (1947), p. 340-344.

³⁰ See esp. TOUMANOFF, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, *op. cit.*, n. 25. See also: N. G. GARSOĪAN and B. MARTIN-HISARD, “Unité et diversité de la Caucasic médiévale (IV^e-XI^e s.),” in *Il Caucaso: Cerniera fra Culture dal Mediterraneo alla Persia*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi Sull’alto Medioevo, vol. 43a, Spoleto, 1996, p. 275-361, translated as “The Unity and Diversity of Medieval Caucasia (4th-11th Century)”, in *Languages and Cultures of Eastern Christianity: Georgian* – eds. S. H. RAPP JR. and P. CREGO, Farnham, 2012, p. 49-96; and S. H. RAPP JR., “Recovering the Pre-National Caucasian Landscape”, in *Mythical Landscapes Then and Now: The Mystification of Landscapes in [the] Search for National Identity* – eds. R. BÜTTNER and J. PELTZ, Erevan, 1996, p. 13-52.

³¹ Description of Sin.Geo.N.13: *Catalogue of Georgian Manuscripts Discovered in 1975 at S. Catherine’s Monastery on Mount Sinai* – eds. Z. ALEKSIDZE *et al* and trans. M. SHANIDZE, Athens, 2005, p. 385-387. See also Zaza ALEK’SİZE, *Kavkasiis albanet’is damcerloba, ena da mcerloba* (Script, language, and literature of Caucasian Albanian), T’bilisi, 2003.

³² *K’art’lis c’xovreba* – ed. S. QAUXČ’İŠVILI, 2 vols., T’bilisi, 1955 and 1959. The first volume was reprinted as *K’art’lis c’xovreba: The Georgian Royal Annals and Their Medieval Armenian Adaptation* – general ed. S. H. RAPP JR., Delmar, NY, 1998.

³³ THOMSON, *Rewriting Caucasian History*, *op. cit.*, n. 21, which does not include the eleventh-century *Life and Tale of the Georgian Bagratids* by Sumbat DAVIT’IS-DZE (because it is not part of the Armenian adaptation *Patmut’iwn Vrac’*; moreover, it does not appear in all

Companion translations in English and Russian followed.³⁴ Although this new series takes into account the important pre-Vaxtangiseuli “Mc’xet’a” (Q) redaction that was unknown to Qauxč’išvili and his team, Qauxč’išvili’s remains the preferred published version.³⁵

A Lost Georgian Historiographical Compendium: *Hambavi mep’et’a*

While physical proof of *K’art’lis c’xovreba* can be traced only to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the oldest components of the corpus are considerably older. What, then, can we say about the condition of *K’art’lis c’xovreba* prior to the sweeping editorial labors of Leonti Mroveli in the eleventh century? And how direct and robust are the connections to late antiquity? In their surviving condition, *The Life of the Kings* and *The Life of Vaxtang* were written sometime between c. 790 and 813. But neither was composed *ex nihilo* at this time. Both received texts are built squarely upon a lost historiographical tradition I have dubbed *Hambavi mep’et’a* (ჰამბავი მეფეთა).³⁶ *Hambavi mep’et’a* has vanished as a stand-alone narrative. However, the surviving *Life of the Kings* and *Life of Vaxtang* are closely patterned upon this lost tradition and, in many cases, incorporate entire passages from *Hambavi mep’et’a*. Through comparative contextualization, I have deduced that the lost narrative of *Hambavi mep’et’a* crystallized in the sixth century. The precise identities of its authors and editors, who were active during the twilight of the Sasanian Empire, are unknown. But the tone and orientation of the composite *Hambavi mep’et’a* are clear: its creators situated Georgian history within an Iranian framework. This is true not only for the remote pre-Achaemenid and Achaemenid ages but for the broad sweep of Caucasia’s history, even after the Christianization of the region’s three monarchies in the fourth century.

early Georgian manuscripts). English translation: RAPP, *Studies in Medieval Georgian Historiography*, *op. cit.*, n. 22, p. 337-412, translated from the revised Georgian text edited by G. ARAXAMIA, *C’xorebay da ucqebay bagratoniant’a, č’uen k’art’velt’a mep’et’asa* (Life and tale of the Bagratids, our Georgian kings), T’bilisi, 1990.

³⁴ *K’art’lis c’xovreba* – general ed. R. METREVELI, T’bilisi, 2008; English translation: *Kartlis Tskhovreba: A History of Georgia*, T’bilisi, 2014; and Russian translation: *Kartlis Tskhovreba: Istoriia Gruzii*, T’bilisi, 2008.

³⁵ For Q, see A. E. KLIMASHVILI, “Novyi spisok ‘Kartlis Tskhovreba’ 1697 goda”, *Moambe* 3 (1960), p. 371-376. Q’s text enabled an improved critical edition of *The Life of King of Kings Davit’ II [Ağmašenebeli]: C’xorebay mep’et’-mep’isa davit’isi* – ed. Mzek’ala ŠANIŽE, T’bilisi, 1992.

³⁶ S. H. RAPP JR., *The Sasanian World through Georgian Eyes: Caucasia and the Iranian Commonwealth in Late Antique Georgian Literature*, Farnham, 2014, esp. “*Hambavi mep’et’a* and Sasanian Caucasia”, p. 353-375.

There is a deeper Iranian connection: *Hambavi mep'et'a* creatively mimicked the structure and content of the late antique Iranian epic tradition, and especially the *Xwadāy-nāmag*.³⁷ The lost *Xwadāy-nāmag* was consigned to writing in Iran under the later Sasanians. It is known today exclusively through subsequent Islamic-era works, such as Ferdowsi's famous *Šāhnāma* as well as the works of al-Ṭabarī and Bal'amī.³⁸ Like these later compositions, *Hambavi mep'et'a* is neither a translation nor a close adaptation of the Iranian epic. Rather, *Hambavi mep'et'a* is an original Georgian source that embodies the cross-cultural modes and images circulating throughout the expansive Iranian world. As such, *Hambavi mep'et'a* is a monument not only to the central role played in late antiquity by the Iranian Commonwealth – the broadest formulation of Ērānšāhr – but also to the symbiosis of the Roman and Iranian, not to mention the Christian and Zoroastrian, at the heart of the late antique experience.³⁹

From all indications, *Hambavi mep'et'a* was a composite and continuous narrative commencing with the formation of the K'art'velian monarchy after Alexander's conquest of Achaemenid Persia. It traced eastern Georgian royal history through the Christianization of the crown in the fourth century. The original text pushed towards and perhaps just beyond the suppression of K'art'velian kingship by the Sasanians around the year 580. *Hambavi mep'et'a* began as an oral tradition; written variants developed as the K'art'velian monarchy was diminished and collapsed in the second half of the sixth century. The oldest known Georgian historiographical compendium, *Hambavi mep'et'a* was not composed by a single author at a specific moment. Rather, it was a composite and living tradition subsuming a vivid spectrum of oral and written material. Consider, for instance, the received tradition about P'arnavaz, the first king of the K'art'velians to rule from the city of Mc'xet'a at the confluence of the Mtkuari (Kura) and Aragwi Rivers, just upriver from the subsequent capital Tp'ilisi. The c. 800 *Life of the Kings* – which is based heavily upon *Hambavi mep'et'a* – alludes to a preexisting tradition it calls *C'xorebay p'arnavazisi* (ცხოვრებაჲ და მცხოვრებობა), “The Life of P'arnavaz”. It is conceivable that *C'xorebay*

³⁷ E. YARSHATER, “Iranian National History”, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3/1 – ed. YARSHATER, Cambridge, 1983, p. 359-480; P. HUYSE, “Late Sasanian Society between Orality and Literacy”, in *The Sasanian Era* – eds. V. S. Curtis and S. Stewart, London, 2008, p. 140-155; and A. S. SHAHBAZI, “On the *X'wadāy-nāmag*”, *Acta Iranica* 30 (1990), p. 208-229.

³⁸ The Georgian *Hambavi mep'et'a* was not produced in Islamic times but instead took shape in the later Sasanian era: RAPP, *Sasanian World through Georgian Eyes*, *op. cit.*, n. 35.

³⁹ See, e.g.: M. P. CANEPA, *The Two Eyes of the Earth: Art and Ritual of Kingship between Rome and Sasanian Iran*, Berkeley, 2009; R. E. PAYNE, *A State of Mixture: Christians, Zoroastrians, and Iranian Political Culture in Late Antiquity*, Oakland, 2015; and P. WOOD, *The Chronicle of Seert: Christian Historical Imagination in Late Antique Iraq*, Oxford, 2013.

p'arnavazisi is a reference to an earlier written biography or oral tradition about P'arnavaz.⁴⁰ We should note, however, that *c'xorebay* (modern orthography *c'xovreba*), "life", is a historiographical convention inspired by Christian hagiography; compare Latin *vita* and Greek *bios*. Accordingly, this alleged written source set in the late Achaemenid/early Hellenistic period might have been imagined later so as to validate the received account about K'art'li's first monarch.

Extant narratives devoted to early Georgian history are distributed across several historiographical texts originating in late antiquity. The oldest of *K'art'lis c'xovreba*'s discrete texts are indebted to the earlier *Hambavi mep'et'a* tradition. However, not all of the early components of *K'art'lis c'xovreba* derive from or were influenced by *Hambavi mep'et'a*. Noteworthy exceptions are two hagiographical narratives: *The Life of Nino* and *The Life of Arč'il*, the last of which addresses martyrdom of an eighth-century prince. In addition, sometime between the turn of the eighth/ninth century and Mroveli's editorial efforts in the eleventh century was compiled an untitled royal history we might call *The Life of the Chosroid Kings*. It was purposefully written as a continuation of *The Life of the Kings*. This brief work takes up the reigns of the immediate successors of the first Christian king Mirian, the initiator of the Chosroid dynasty. The Chosroids were a Christianizing family with deep Parthian Mihrānid roots. Yet, as a strategy to elevate its kingly standing among Caucasia's nobility (which itself was profoundly connected to aristocratic and royal Parthian clans), the Chosroid house represented itself as the main line of the *xwarrah*-endowed Sasanian family; Georgian Xosroianni, i.e. Chosroids, literally means "those descended from [the Sasanian] Xusrō".⁴¹ *The Life of the Chosroid Kings* is unquestionably predicated upon an older source or sources. In my view, the text's underlying fabric is based upon *Hambavi mep'et'a*, though there is an important caveat: the pronounced Iranian trappings of the lost *Hambavi mep'et'a* have been deliberately muted in *The Life of the Chosroid Kings*.⁴²

What about the treatment of Christian kings in *K'art'lis c'xovreba*'s second suite, *C'xorebay vaxtang gorgaslisa*? It is conceivable that its two components, *The Life of Vaxtang Gorgasali* and its continuation by Ps.-Juanšer, had been combined already in the first half of the ninth century, well before

⁴⁰ RAPP, *Sasanian World through Georgian Eyes*, *op. cit.*, n. 35, 204-213. See also: Edišer XOSTARIA-BROSE, *Leonti mroveli da "k'art'lis c'xovreba"* (Leonti Mroveli and *K'art'lis c'xovreba*), T'bilisi, 1996; and A. TCHANTURIA [ČANTURIA], "The Life of Parnavaz: The Oldest Georgian Literary Source", *The Kartvelologist: Journal of Georgian Studies* 7 (Autumn 2000), p. 5-15.

⁴¹ The Chosroids may well have been linked through marriage to the Sasanians.

⁴² RAPP, *Sasanian World through Georgian Eyes*, *op. cit.*, n. 35, p. 261-270.

Mroveli's time.⁴³ These two works treat the (Christian) Chosroid K'art'velian monarchs from Mirdat IV (r. 406-409) in the early fifth century up to the *interregnum*, which commenced around 580. The compilation *C'xorebay vaxtang gorgasli* seems to have been incorporated wholesale into *K'art'lis c'xovreba*. The oldest known version of Vaxtang's royal biography was featured in *Hambavi mep'et'a*. Around the year 800 this account was reworked into a slightly different form and was henceforth known as *The Life of Vaxtang Gorgasali*. (Significantly, this corresponds with similar activity among the Armenians, who were also restructuring their historiographical works).⁴⁴ The continuation spuriously credited to Juanšer Juanšeriani addresses eastern Georgian history through the *interregnum*, which may lie beyond the chronological coverage of *Hambavi mep'et'a*. Whereas Ps.-Juanšer's continuation was influenced by *Hambavi mep'et'a*, it is even more reliant upon other near-contemporaneous sources that have not come down to us.

The assembly of *K'art'lis c'xovreba*'s initial suite, which features the pre-Christian history of eastern Georgia, is more difficult to determine. It will be recalled that *C'xorebay k'art'velt'a mep'et'a* comprises three distinct texts: *The Life of the Kings* (c. 800); the hagiographical *Life of Nino* (ninth/tenth century); and *The Life of the Chosroid Kings* (sometime between the ninth and eleventh centuries). Although the first and core text of *C'xorebay k'art'velt'a mep'et'a* is based chiefly upon the late antique *Hambavi mep'et'a*, in its extant condition we must regard the organic suite as an eleventh-century compilation. Reiterating the account found in *Hambavi mep'et'a*, the original c. 800 version of *The Life of the Kings* almost certainly included an account of the Christianization of Mirian and his Chosroid successors. This old conversion narrative featuring King Mirian was intentionally expunged for two chief reasons: it did not conform to prevailing *hagiographical* norms; and it was saturated with Iranian and Iranic royal imagery which had been largely abandoned by the Bagratids. The excision's leading suspect is Leonti Mroveli, who simultaneously added new Christian facets as he edited – and perhaps assembled – *K'art'lis c'xovreba* in the eleventh century. The archbishop would have replaced the original conversion account with two texts whose cultural indebtedness to the Iranian world was not obvious: *The Life of Nino* (which definitely postdates

⁴³ The opening of the extant *Life of Vaxtang* may have been added by a later editor/author, perhaps Leonti Mroveli. For the hypothesized *Life of Vaxtang^{pre}*, see RAPP, *Studies in Medieval Georgian Historiography*, *op. cit.*, n. 22, p. 204-207.

⁴⁴ R. W. THOMSON, "The Formation of the Armenian Literary Tradition", in *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period* – eds. N. GARSOÏAN, T. MATHEWS, and THOMSON, Washington, DC, 1982, p. 147.

the c. 800 *Life of the Kings*) and *The Life of the Chosroid Kings*. This activity was a giant step towards the formation of the received K'art'lis c'xovreba. Mroveli amputated the original ending of *The Life of the Kings*, which now terminates abruptly within Mirian's reign just prior to his Christian conversion. The surviving conversion account is a separate hagiographical tale that had become (and remains) the foundational narrative for the Georgian church: *The Life of Nino*. In this *vita* of the ninth/tenth century, the king's importance is eclipsed by the foreign holy woman Nino.⁴⁵

Insofar as Mirian's immediate Christian successors are concerned, Mroveli himself might have compiled *The Life of the Chosroid Kings* to remedy the narrative gap in the second half of the fourth and into the early fifth century. Accordingly, Archbishop Mroveli surgically mined the original *The Life of the Kings* (which, as noted, closely adhered to *Hambavi mep'et'a*) and retained the basic royal framework. This explains both the brevity of the resultant *Life of the Chosroid Kings*, with its narrow concentration upon the early Christian kings of K'art'li, as well as its dearth of Iranian royal imagery. We would have expected this imagery have an especially bold Iranian flavor given Mirian's Parthian extraction: he was an Iranian-born Parthian nobleman, originally named Mihrān, who had migrated to Caucasia. As it has come down to us, however, the Iranian dimensions are greatly curtailed.

Mroveli applied a far lighter editorial hand to an Iranian account of a Christian K'art'velian king. Vaxtang I Gorgasali's long reign stretched from 447 to 522 and is celebrated in *The Life of Vaxtang*, the nucleus of the suite *C'xorebay vaxtang gorgaslisa*. The anonymous *Life of Vaxtang* is, as noted, closely predicated upon the earlier *Hambavi mep'et'a*.⁴⁶ Here Vaxtang is unambiguously presented as a Sasanian-like hero-king with one glaring difference: he is a Christian monarch who credits his majesty and physical aptitude to the Christian God. The historical Vaxtang was a courageous and heroic ruler, but he was a beleaguered monarch caught in a crushing imperial vice, as the Roman Prokopios and Armenian Łazar P'arpec'i

⁴⁵ "Strangers" is a common theme in early Georgian literature; in this case, both the king and illuminatrix were born beyond the confines of eastern Georgia. For Nino, see C. B. LERNER, *The Wellspring of Georgian Historiography: The Early Medieval Historical Chronicle The Conversion of K'art'li and The Life of Nino*, London, 2004, esp. "The Social Status of Nino in Mc'xet'a", p. 89-96. For the modern period, see the splendid exploration by P. MANING, *Strangers in a Strange Land: Occidentalists Publics and Orientalist Geographies in Nineteenth-Century Georgian Imaginaries*, Boston, 2012.

⁴⁶ C. TOUMANOFF, "Chronology of the Early Kings of Iberia", *Traditio* 25 (1969), p. 25-29.

attest.⁴⁷ Insofar as “what really happened”, historians must tread with caution. First and foremost, we must scrutinize the idealized, multilayered narrative and not rush to accept its varnished testimony without critique and contextualization. This is especially true for the romantic portrayal of Vaxtang’s majesty within Caucasia and the Near East, including confident assertions of Vaxtang’s achievement in uniting the disparate Georgian lands and of saving Jerusalem and all Christendom from their enemies.

The Iranic tradition of Vaxtang’s rule escaped Mroveli’s cutting room floor and continued to be transmitted *en toto* in subsequent iterations of *K’art’lis c’xovreba*. But why would the archbishop-editor Mroveli have expurgated *Hambavi mep’et’a*’s account of the Christianizing Mirian yet have retained that of the Christian Vaxtang? Part of the answer lies in the fact that Mirian’s conversion came to be featured in a popular *vita*, a literary keystone of the contemporaneous Georgian church, whereas Vaxtang’s activities were known principally through *Hambavi mep’et’a* and the subsequent – and closely related – *Life of Vaxtang*. In addition, the Parthian Mihrān, called Mirian (variant Mirean) in Georgian, had migrated directly from northern Iran to eastern Georgia.⁴⁸ The received text presents this newcomer as having rapidly acculturated to the K’art’velian environment. So as to further disguise his non-K’art’velian, Parthian extraction the eleventh-century Mroveli amputated the most dramatic Iranian imagery so as to emphasize Mirian’s inherent “K’art’velianness”, at least at the time of his conversion and until his death in the mid-fourth century. This also obscured *Saint* Mirian’s previous attachment to Zoroastrianism, both in Iran and in Caucasia, where hybrid varieties of Mazdaism predominated before the triumph of Christianity.⁴⁹

Mok’c’evay k’art’lisay

In most if not all instances, the relatively infrequent introduction of expressly Christian material in the oldest texts of *K’art’lis c’xovreba* is the

⁴⁷ E.g. Łazar P’ARPEC’I, *Patmut’iwn Hayoc’* (History of the Armenians) – eds. G. TĒR-MKRTČ’EAN and S. MALXASEAN, Tiflis, 1904, p. 132-135 and 146 (repr. Delmar, NY, 1985); English translation by R. W. THOMSON, *The History of Łazar P’arpec’i*, Atlanta, 1991, p. 188-192 and 205. See also L.-N. JANAŠIA, *Łazar p’arpec’is c’nobebi sak’art’velos šesaxeš* (Łazar P’arpec’i’s evidence about the Georgians), T’bilisi, 1962.

⁴⁸ *Life of the Kings*, in *K’art’lis c’xovreba* – ed. QAUXČ’IŠVILI, vol. 1, p. 64-65.

⁴⁹ RAPP, *Sasanian World through Georgian Eyes*, *op. cit.*, n. 35, p. 142-160. See also: M. SHENKAR, *Intangible Spirits and Graven Images: The Iconography of Deities in the Pre-Islamic Iranian World*, Leiden – Boston, 2014, p. 22-26 *et sqq.*; and ALBERT DE JONG, “Armenian and Georgian Zoroastrianism”, in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism* – eds. M. STAUSBERG and Y. SOHRAB-DINSHAW VEVAINA, Oxford, 2015, p. 119-128.

result of the editorial reworking of Archbishop Leonti Mroveli in the eleventh century. This has an important parallel in another Georgian corpus rooted in late antiquity. Compiled in the ninth or tenth century, *Mok'c'evay k'art'lisay* (მოქცევაჲ ქართლისაჲ) is devoted to the Christianization of the eastern Georgian crown and features the two oldest surviving Georgian-language narratives of King Mirian's conversion. Both credit this fourth-century event to the intercession of the peripatetic holy woman Nino. The earliest account is the concise *Conversion of K'art'li*, for which *Mok'c'evay k'art'lisay* is named. In its surviving state, *The Conversion* dates from the seventh century and is the earliest known Georgian-language source for the Christianization of the K'art'velian monarchy. *Mok'c'evay k'art'lisay* also incorporates the aforementioned *Life of Nino*, a *vita* of the ninth/tenth century that expands the basic tale conveyed in *The Conversion of K'art'li*.⁵⁰ A related but not identical version of *The Life of Nino* was integrated into *K'art'lis c'xovreba* in the eleventh century, probably by Mroveli.

In order to set the scene for eastern Georgia's conversion, *Mok'c'evay k'art'lisay* also comprehends four short historiographical works not preserved elsewhere. All are untitled in extant manuscripts; most of their initial leaves have been vandalized, but by whom and when is uncertain. Toumanoff proposed the titles *Primary History of K'art'li* and *Royal List I, II, and III*, a convention adopted here. Significantly, these four historiographical texts lack the Iranic imagery saturating *K'art'lis c'xovreba's* *The Life of the Kings* and *The Life of Vaxtang*. Nevertheless, much of their narrative scaffolding has been appropriated from the same *Hambavi mep'et'a* tradition.

A dependence upon the older *Hambavi mep'et'a* is thus observable across two independent corpora: *K'art'lis c'xovreba* and *Mok'c'evay k'art'lisay*. The precise nature of these dependences requires further study, but there are some important distinctions between these two Georgian collections despite their shared pedigree.

⁵⁰ Critical Georgian edition of *Mok'c'evay k'art'lisay*: Ilia ABULAŽE'S *Žveli k'art'uli agi-ograp'iuli literaturis žeglebi* (Monuments of old Georgian hagiographical literature), vol. 1, T'bilisi, 1963/1964, p. 81-163. See also *Šatberdis krebuli X saukunisa* (The Šatberdi collection of the tenth century) – eds. B. GIGINEIŠVILI and E. GIUNAŠVILI, T'bilisi, 1979, p. 320-355. English translation: LERNER, *Wellspring*, p. 139-193. Georgian redactions found after the 1975 fire at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai are surveyed in Z. ALEK'SIDZE, "Four Recensions of the 'Conversion of Georgia' (Comparative Study)", in *Die Christianisierung des Kaukasus = The Christianization of Caucasus (Armenia, Georgia, Albania)* – ed. W. SEIBT, Wien, 2002, p. 9-16.

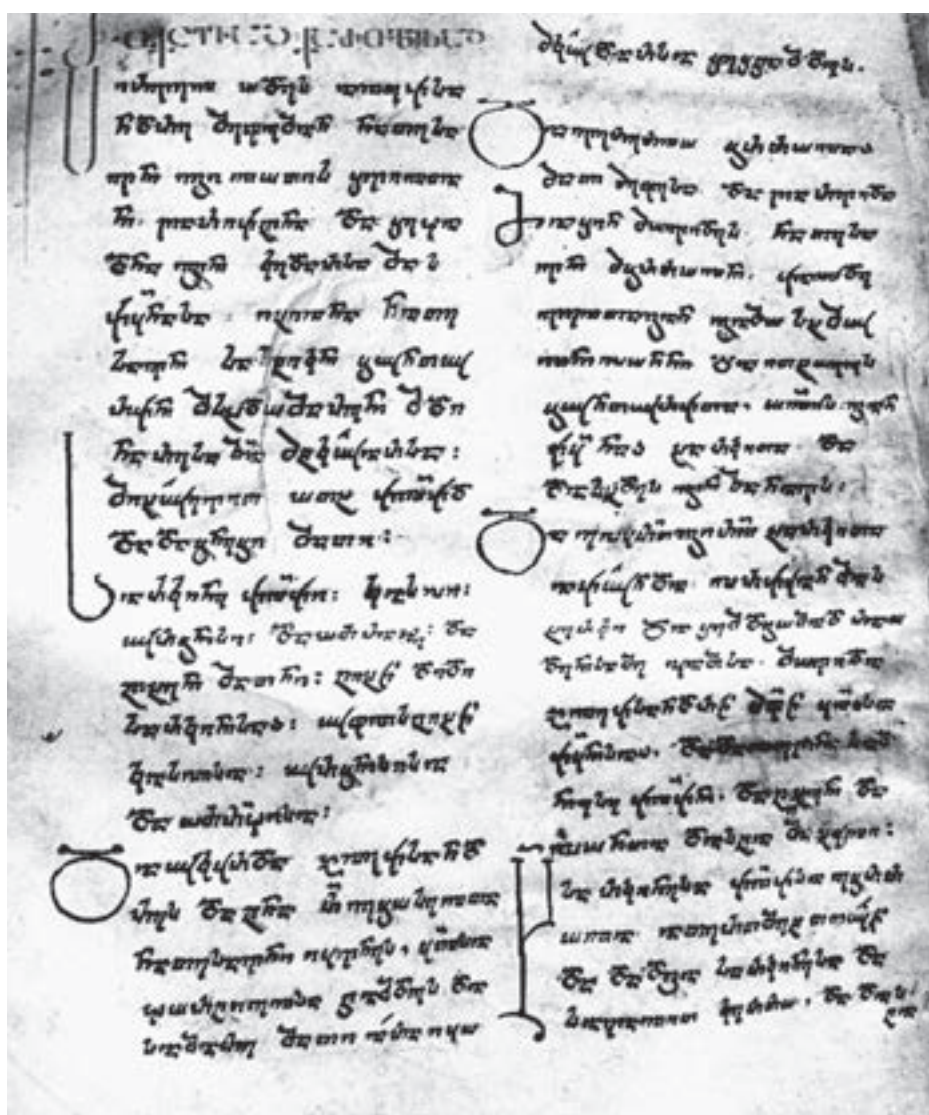


Image 2. Start of *The Primary History of K'art'li* in the Šatberdi redaction of *Mok'c'evay k'art'lisay*, Kekelize Institute of MSS, T'bilisi, S-1141, 215v.

K'art'lis c'xovreba is transmitted in dedicated manuscripts, yet the few surviving copies of *Mok'c'evay k'art'lisay* imply its (unique?) transmission within larger ecclesiastical compilations. For example, the Šatberdi Codex was created in Tao-Klarjet'i in the 970s.⁵¹ It preserves fourteen ecclesiastical texts, almost all of which are translations. The 285 leaves of the Šatberdi Codex comprise translated works of ecumenical importance by Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius of Cyprus, Basil of Caesarea, Hippolytus of Rome, Aphrahat, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus. Among its fourteen works is a single original Georgian composition: the corpus *Mok'c'evay k'art'lisay*. Remarkably, *Mok'c'evay k'art'lisay* appears twelfth place among the contents of the collection. While it is not specially distinguished within the manuscript, *Mok'c'evay k'art'lisay*'s inclusion among a compendium of ecumenical works had the practical effect of elevating the status of eastern Georgia's conversion within the whole of the Byzantine Commonwealth.

Nine surviving manuscripts are closely related but not identical to the Šatberdi Codex. All are compilations and range in date from the tenth through the eighteenth centuries. Only one of these manuscripts, the Čeliši Codex of the thirteenth/fourteenth century (Kekelize Institute of MSS H-600), transmits *Mok'c'evay k'art'lisay*. This is striking because three of the nine manuscripts belong to the same generation of the Šatberdi Codex: Jerusalem-44 of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; Jerusalem-74 of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; and Athos-11 of the tenth century.⁵² Should Šatberdi have been based upon an earlier manuscript, as it may have been, the prototype is lost. The prototype's inclusion of *Mok'c'evay k'art'lisay* is therefore questionable.⁵³

The mingling of *Mok'c'evay k'art'lisay* among works of an ecumenical nature is replicated in other Georgian compendia from the late antique and medieval periods. In particular, early Georgian saints' lives are typically preserved in collections of ecumenical hagiographies. Alternately, some are included in *polykephala*. Thus, the P'arxali *mravalt'avi* (Parkhali *polykephalon*; Kekelize Institute of MSS A-95) of the eleventh century includes full and excerpted works by Gregory of Neocaesarea, John Chrysostom, Athanasios of Alexandria, and Gregory of Nazianzos.

⁵¹ Description of the Šatberdi Codex: *K'art'ul xelnacert'a aġceriloba: qop'ili k'art'velt'a šoris cera-kiť'xvis gamavr'elebeli sazogadoebis (S) kolek'c'iisa* (Description of Georgian manuscripts: the former collection of the Society for the Propagation of Literacy among the Georgians [S]), vol. 2 – eds. E. METREVELI *et al*, T'bilisi, 1961, p. 36-40 (S-1141). The text of the entire compilation was published as *Šatberdis krebuli X saukunisa* – eds. GIGINEŠVILI and GIUNAŠVILI.

⁵² Mzek'ala Šანიზე and Elguja GIUNAŠVILI, in *Šatberdis krebuli X saukunisa*, p. 27-44.

⁵³ A broad parallel is found in *K'art'lis c'xovreba* in which certain works, like Sumbat DAVIT'IS-ZE's history of the Georgian Bagratids, is not found in all manuscripts: RAPP, *Studies in Medieval Georgian Historiography*, p. 34.

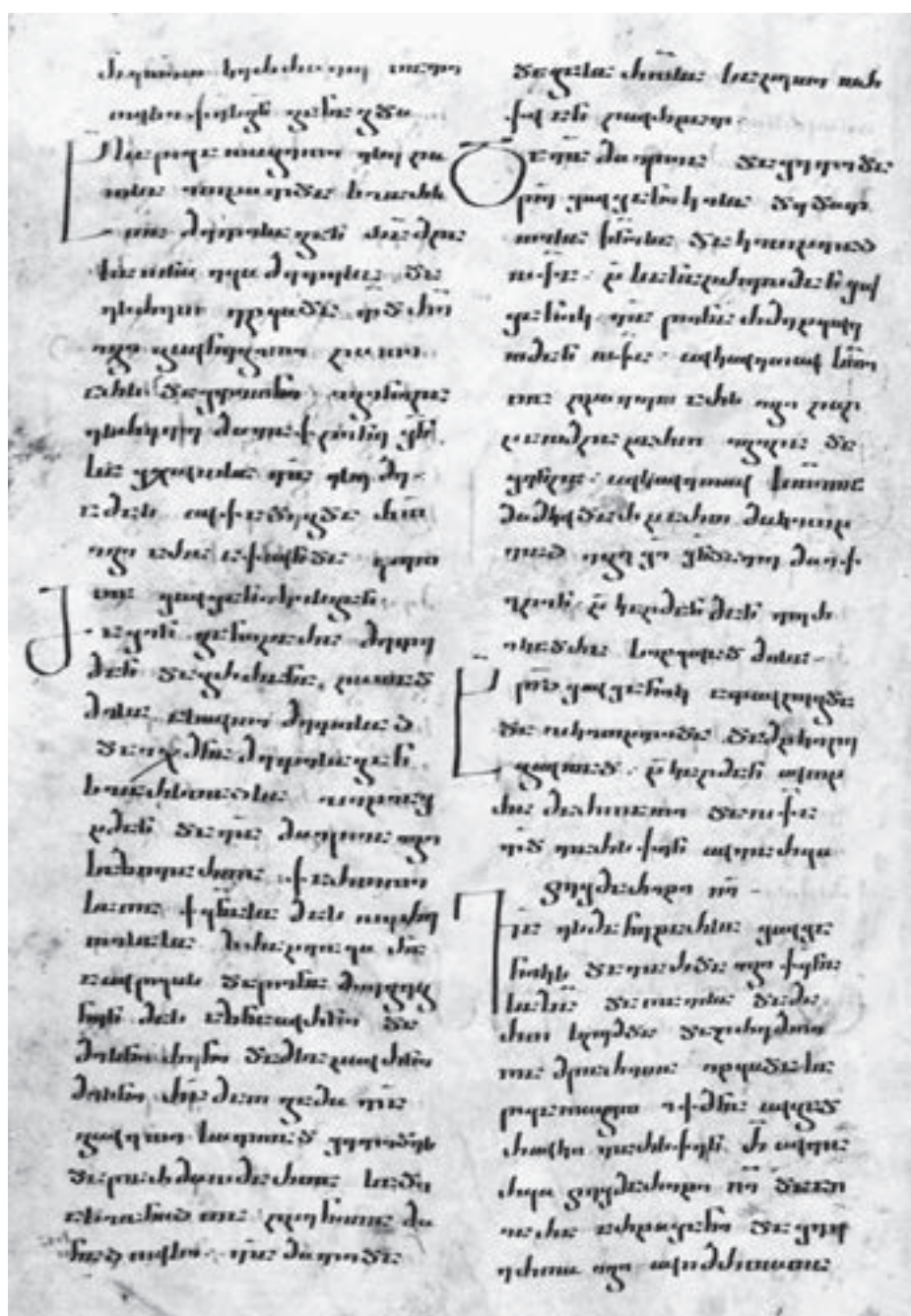


Image 3. Second leaf of the *vita* of Šušanik in the P'arxali *mravalt'avi*, Kekelize Institute of MSS, T'bilisi, A-95, 353v.

Among nearly 150 texts and excerpts of an ecumenical concern we find four Georgian hagiographies celebrating Nino (two texts), Habo, and Šušanik.⁵⁴ These hagiographies are not specially distinguished within the manuscript, thus paralleling the cases considered above. Only from the early eighteenth century do we find (extant?) collections of *vitae* dominated by original Georgian compositions, e.g. A-130 copied in 1713.⁵⁵

Conclusions

From their inception, Georgian historiographical works were evolving medleys of oral and written material having relevance for past events, present concerns, and future aspirations. This is certainly true for the lost *Hambavi mep'et'a*, which acquired its initial written form towards the end of the sixth century. Though its structure and basic content mimicked the Iranian *Xwadāy-nāmag*, *Hambavi mep'et'a* was an original Georgian composition embodying eastern Georgian interests, values, and aspirations. *Hambavi mep'et'a*'s presentation of eastern Georgian society – not just kingship – was fundamentally Iranic. As such, *Hambavi mep'et'a* and its literary descendants constitute valuable proof of Caucasia's active and contributory membership in the Iranian world across the ancient and late antique epochs. This is a reminder of the fundamental place of the expansive Iranian Commonwealth in late antiquity and its active contributions to that cross-cultural enterprise.

Sentences and sometimes whole passages and sections of *Hambavi mep'et'a* are the bedrock of two (surviving) historiographical texts that took shape around the year 800: *The Life of the Kings* and *The Life of Vaxtang Gorgasali*. Not later than 813 a continuation of the latter had been written and conjoined, thus resulting in the suite called *C'xorebay vaxtang gorgaslisa*. This timeframe accords with Armenian efforts "to sort out the previous histories, to place them in a chronological progression, and to fill in details about their authors".⁵⁶ By the eleventh century *The Life of the Kings*, which like *The Life of Vaxtang* was heavily indebted to *Hambavi mep'et'a*, was melded to the hagiographical *vita* of Nino and a brief account of the Christian successors of King Mirian, resulting in the suite *C'xorebay k'art'velt'a mep'et'a*. In turn, both mini-collections were incor-

⁵⁴ *K'art'ul xelnacert'a aḡceriloba: qop'ili saeklesio muzeumis (A) kolek'c'iisa*, vol. I, p. 361-393.

⁵⁵ *K'art'ul xelnacert'a aḡceriloba: qop'ili saeklesio muzeumis (A) kolek'c'iisa*, vol. I, T'bilisi, 1976, p. 137-145.

⁵⁶ THOMSON, "Formation of the Armenian Literary Tradition", *art. cit.*, n. 43, p. 147.

porated wholesale into what became the Georgians' primary historiographical corpus: *K'art'lis c'xovreba*.

K'art'lis c'xovreba's assembly and structure share basic features with another Georgian corpus produced in the twilight of late antiquity: *Mok'c'evay k'art'lisay*. Both compendia mix historiographical and hagiographical elements. But there is a palpable difference. Whereas the ecclesiastical *Mok'c'evay k'art'lisay* was transmitted chiefly within compilations of ecumenical Christian texts,⁵⁷ *K'art'lis c'xovreba* was copied in dedicated manuscripts with few, if any, additional materials. A notable exception is the inclusion of the medieval Georgian translation of the *Cave of Treasures* in a later recension of *K'art'lis c'xovreba*.⁵⁸ In addition, *K'art'lis c'xovreba* seems to have been subjected to more layers of intensive editing across a longer chronological range. Analogous to the lost Middle Iranian *Xwadāy-nāmag* and Georgian *Hambavi mep'et'a*, *K'art'lis c'xovreba* was a living, centuries-long, cross-cultural tradition, one which medieval Bagratids perpetuated but one through which the Bagratids also endeavored to distinguish themselves as a definite break from Caucasia's royal Iranic past. At the same time, members of the Georgian church, including the prominent archbishop Leonti Mroveli, also made significant contributions to the articulation of *K'art'lis c'xovreba*. Therefore, we should avoid drawing a sharp line between what was secular and what was religious in premodern Caucasia.

There is much we do not know about Georgian historiographical compilations owing to their incomplete and relatively late manuscript traditions. But from its infancy in late antiquity, and well into the medieval age, Georgian historiography was original, sophisticated, and complex. It was a creative endeavor comprehending an assortment of authors, editors, and scribes working across numerous cultural and political boundaries. And it was a cosmopolitan undertaking that transcended and mediated the Byzantine, Iranian, and Islamic worlds.

⁵⁷ At least in terms of extant manuscripts.

⁵⁸ *La caverne des trésors: version géorgienne* – ed. C. KOURCIKIDZÉ and trans. J.-P. MAHÉ, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, vols. 526-527, *Scriptores Iberici*, vols. 23-24, Louvain, 1992-1993. For the Georgian text, see also ed. K'URC'IKIZE, in *K'art'lis c'xovreba*, T'bilisi, 2008, p. 657-711. On the Syriac original, see now S. MINOV, "Date and Provenance of the Syriac *Cave of Treasures*: A Reappraisal", *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 20/1 (2016), p. 129-229.

Appendix: Contents of Georgian Historiographical Collections

K’ART’LIS C’XOVREBA, “The Life of Georgia” (*components to the fourteenth century inclusive; early-modern texts added in the later Vaxtangiseuli recension*)

Suite A (combines texts 1-3): *C’xorebay k’art’velt’a mep’et’a*

1. *Life of the Kings* (extant form c. 800)
2. *Life of Nino* (hagiographical, ninth/tenth century)
3. *Life of the Chosroid Kings* (or *Life of the Successors of Mirian*, sometime between c. 800 and the eleventh century)

Suite B (combines texts 4-5): *C’xorebay vaxtang gorgsalisa*

4. *Life of Vaxtang Gorgasali* (extant form c. 800)
5. Continuation credited to Juanšer Juanšeriani (c. 800)
6. *Life of Arč’il* (largely hagiographical, perhaps ninth century)
7. Sumbat Davit’is-ze, *Life and Tale of the Bagratids* (does not appear in all pre-Vaxtangiseuli recensions, c. 1030)
8. *Chronicle of K’art’li* (eleventh century)
9. *Life of King of Kings Davit’* (twelfth century)
10. *Histories and Eulogies of the Crowned* (thirteenth century)
11. *Life of Monarch of Monarchs T’amar* (thirteenth century)
12. *History of the Five Reigns* (thirteenth century)
13. *Chronicle of a Hundred Years* (often attributed to Žamt’aagmcereli, “Chronicler of a Bygone Age”, fourteenth century)

MOK’C’EVAY K’ART’LISAY, “The Conversion of K’art’li/Georgia”

1. *Primary History of K’art’li* (probably seventh century)
2. *Royal List I* (probably ninth-tenth century)
3. *Conversion of K’art’li* (hagiographical, seventh century)
4. *Royal List II* (probably ninth-tenth century)
5. *Royal List III* (probably ninth-tenth century)
6. *Life of Nino* (hagiographical, ninth/tenth century)

Summary

In the Georgian milieu, historical writing is intimately tied to the creation and transmission of literary compendia. Georgian literature was enabled by the open Christianization of the fourth and fifth centuries, especially the invention of a Georgian script and subsequent writing of original hagiographies. But Christianization was not identical to Romanization/Byzantinization. Accordingly, the earliest Georgian historiography looked not to Christian or Romano-Byzantine models but rather emulated – and was an expression – of the Iranian epic tradition. Since the Iron Age Caucasia's principal socio-cultural orientation looked towards Persia/Parthia/Iran, not the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean. This essay investigates the origin of Georgian historiography in late antiquity and emphasizes the genre's profound connections to the Iranian Commonwealth. Here, history and myth freely commingled, and such narratives (once oral traditions were consigned to writing) were constantly made and remade, thus encouraging their transmission as literary compilations. The potential role of the eleventh-century archbishop Leonti Mroveli in the formation of *K'art'lis c'xovreba* is reconsidered, as is the comprehensive re-editing of the corpus in the medieval and early-modern epochs.

Stephen H. RAPP Jr
Sam Houston State University
<srapp@shsu.edu>

